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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

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Written in FRENCH by

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ILLUSTRATED WITH

MAPS, GENEALOGICAL TABLES, and the HEADS and MONUMENTS of the KINGS.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK XIII.

The Reigns of the Three Kings of the Houſe of York, EDWARD IV. EDWARD V. *and* RICHARD III. *containing the Space of Twenty-four Years and a Half.*

16. EDWARD IV.

EDWARD was proclaimed the 5th of March, and on the 12th or 13th of the ſame month, he was obliged to put himſelf at the head of his army. Before his departure from London, a tradeſman was executed for ſaying, he would make his ſon Heir of the Crown [a]. Probably, he added ſome contemptuous words againſt the new king, and expreſſed too much zeal for the houſe of Lancaſter. However that be, ſome have conſidered this man's execution, in

1461. Edward goes to fight the queen. Hall. An execution upon a ſlight account. Stow. Habington.

a Meaning only, as it is ſaid, his own houſe, which had the ſign of the crown. Rapin, not knowing the jeſt, ſays, it was for ſaying, "he would "make his ſon prince of Wales." The man's name was Walter Walker, a Grocer in Cheapſide. Habington, p. 431.

Edw. IV. 1461. in the beginning of his reign, as a preſage of the blood which was yet to be ſhed in the quarrel of the two contending houſes.

The queen's army is much increaſed.

Habington.

Queen Margaret had acted with prudence, in not hazarding a battle at the gates of London, and in retiring among the northern people, who had hitherto appeared firmly attached to the houſe of Lancaſter. They even gave her, upon this occaſion, a ſenſible mark of their affection, by ſtrengthening her army with recruits, nay, whole bodies of freſh troops. This was done with ſuch expedition, that in a few days the queen ſaw herſelf at the head of ſixty thouſand men, in condition to expect her enemy, or even to march againſt him.

Edward reſolves to fight the queen.

Though Edward had been proclaimed at London, he was very ſenſible that ceremony made no great addition to his right, conſidering how irregularly it was performed. The nobles of his party, and the people of London, were not inveſted with power to give the kingdom a ſovereign: And therefore, he could not depend upon that extraordinary election, unleſs it was ſupported with force. Henry VI. had reigned thirty-eight years, acknowledged for lawful king by all the Engliſh, and yet this right, which ſeemed ſo well eſtabliſhed, had not been able to maintain itſelf againſt a ſuperior ſtrength. It was therefore eaſy to ſee, that Edward's right, which had not greater advantages, would ſubſiſt no longer than crowned with ſucceſs. Matters ſtanding thus, the two parties were once more to try the way of arms. Happy both, if one ſingle battle could have decided the bloody quarrel! Edward being young and lively, truſted to his courage and fortune. He was likewiſe excited to venture all, by the great men of his party, who having ſhown ſo little regard for Henry, ſaw no ſafety but in victory. He departed therefore from London a few days after being proclaimed [b], and heading his army, marched towards the north, with a reſolution to go in queſt of queen Margaret.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

He ſecures a paſs. Biondi. Habington. Hall.

As ſoon as he was come to Pontfract, he detached the lord Fitz-Walter [c] to ſecure the paſſage of Ferribridge, upon the

[b] Having with him John Mowbray duke of Norfolk, William Nevil lord Fauconbridge, Sir John and Henry Ratcliffe, Sir John Wenlock, John Stafford, Roger Wolferſtone, &c. Stow, p. 415.

[c] There was at this time no lord Fitz-Walter: For Walter Lord Fitz-Walter died in 1432; and Sir John Ratcliffe, ſon of Ann, daughter of the ſaid lord Fitz-Walter, had not ſummons to parliament till the 1ſt of Henry VII. This Sir John, or his ſon, is probably the ſame, whom Rapin, and other of our hiſtorians, call by anticipation lord Fitz-Walter. See Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. p. 223; and vol. ii. p. 285.

river

river Are, which was neceſſarily to be paſſed, in order to join his enemies. Fitz-Walter ſucceeded according to the king's deſires, and poſted himſelf on the other ſide of the river with his detachment. In the mean time Henry and his queen, who were at York, hearing that Edward was marching with all ſpeed, readily concluded, it was to give them battle. This was what they themſelves earneſtly wiſhed, ſince the gaining of a victory was the only means left for their reſtoration. They made therefore the duke of Somerſet general of their army, and waited at York the ſucceſs of a battle, which was to determine their fate. Edw. IV. 1461.

His men beat from thence.

The duke of Somerſet hearing Edward had ſecured the paſſage of Ferribridge, did not doubt that it was with intention to fight, and to oblige him to do it with diſadvantage, reſolved to diſlodge Fitz-Walter, in order to have the river between him and his enemies. Purſuant to this reſolution, the lord Clifford was detached to recover the poſt ſeized by Fitz-Walter. Whether Fitz-Walter was guilty of any neglect, or was not timely ſupported, he could not withſtand Clifford's attack, who drove his troops over the river with great ſlaughter. Fitz-Walter, and the baſtard of Saliſbury [d], were ſlain in the action.

The earl of Warwick is alarmed at it. Hall. Hollingſh.

The earl of Warwick, of whom I have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak towards the end of the late reign, was conſidered as the ſoul of Edward's army. The king was looked upon as a valiant young prince, without experience, and the earl of Warwick as the real general. Accordingly, all eyes were fixed upon him, to ſee by his countenance whether there was reaſon to hope or fear. The news of Fitz-Walter's defeat being brought to the earl, he ſeemed to be under great conſternation, dreading, this firſt check would diſcourage the army. He immediately haſted to inform the king, with an emotion, that plainly diſcovered how apprehenſive he was of the conſequences. But withal, to ſhew his fears were not perſonal, he ſtabbed his horſe, and kiſſing the hilt of his ſword, made like a croſs, ſwore that though the whole army ſhould take to flight, he would alone defend the king's cauſe.

The king's ſteadineſs. Hall. Hollingſh.

Edward perceiving the earl's concern, judged it neceſſary to prevent the ill effects it might produce among the troops. Inſtead therefore of being alarmed at the news, he made proclamation, that all who deſired it, might depart: That he would reward thoſe that ſhould do their duty; but there was

[d] Son of Richard Nevill, earl of Saliſbury. Hall, fol. 186.

Edw. IV. 1461. no favour to be expected for thoſe that ſhould fly during the battle. At the ſame time, he detached William Nevil, lord Fauconbridge, to paſs the Are at Caſtleford, about three miles from Ferribridge, with orders to attack thoſe who guarded the poſt lately loſt. Fauconbridge executed his orders with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition, that he paſſed the river at Caſtleford, before the enemies had the leaſt notice. Then marching along the river, he met Clifford at the head of a body of horſe, ſuddenly attacked him, and put him to rout. Clifford was ſlain with an arrow in the beginning of the fight, too light a puniſhment for his inhumanity to the young earl of Rutland, brother of Edward, at the battle of Wakefield. With him was killed likewiſe, the earl of Weſtmoreland's brother. The poſt of Ferribridge being thus fortunately recovered, Edward, who held himſelf ready, paſſed his army over the river, and immediately marched in queſt of his enemies.

He recovers the paſſage. Hall.

The two armies met on Palm-Sunday [e], between Saxton and Towton [f], where they drew up. Henry's army was ſixty thouſand ſtrong, and Edward's about forty thouſand [g]. The air was darkened by the ſnow, which fell very thick, and was blown by the wind in the faces of the Lancaſtrians. Theſe began the fight with a volley of arrows, which being diſcharged too far off, did no execution [h]. Fauconbridge, who commanded the van of Edward's army [i], diſdaining to fight at ſuch a diſtance, ordered his men to lay by their bows and take to their ſwords. Whereupon, the armies approaching one another, began a furious fight, wherein both ſides ſeemed equally brave and reſolute, to exert their utmoſt to gain the victory. It would be very difficult to deſcribe this terrible battle at large; moſt of thoſe that have mentioned it, not underſtanding the art of war, have, inſtead of repreſenting the ſeveral circumſtances, given only a confuſed idea thereof. Beſides, the two armies are to be conſidered, as truſting more to their courage than the experience of their

The battle of Towton. Hall. Hollingſh.

e Which was March 29. Ibid. Stow, p. 415.

f A ſmall village in Yorkſhire.

g Forty eight thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty. Hall, fol. 186.

h The reaſon of this was, Fauconbridge finding the enemy was blinded by the ſnow, ordered his men to ſhoot a volley of flight arrows, (provided on purpoſe) and then draw back. The Lancaſtrians feeling the arrows, and thinking their enemies were nearer than they were, ſhot all their arrows, which fell ſhort ſixty yards, and ſticking in the ground, did them hurt when they came to cloſe fight. Ibid.

i Becauſe John Mowbray, earl of Norfolk, was fallen ſick. The rereward was commanded by Sir John Wenlock, and Sir John Dynham. Ibid. Hollingſhead, p. 1297.

generals. It will ſuffice to obſerve, that the battle laſted from morning to night, and from thence it may be judged, how obſtinately it was fought on both ſides. Edward ſignalized himſelf by an uncommon valour, which did not a little contribute to maintain his troops in their reſolution of conquering or dying for his ſake. At length, the Lancaſtrians began towards the evening to give ground, not flying, but retreating as they fought, and making a ſtand now and then, ſo that their enemies could not be entirely ſure of the victory. However, this advantage encouraging Edward's ſoldiers to make freſh efforts, they ſo preſſed their enemies, that at laſt they forced them to fly. Then it was that a dreadful ſlaughter enſued. Edward had before the battle, made proclamation in his army, that no quarter ſhould be given, well knowing, the taking of priſoners would but weaken his army. The flying troops ſhaped their courſe towards Tadcaſter bridge, but deſpairing to reach it, becauſe they were ſo hotly purſued by their enemies, they turned aſide in order to paſs the Cock, which runs into the Wherf. This was done with ſuch confuſion and hurry, that the river was immediately full of thoſe that were drowned, and who, in their misfortune, ſerved for a bridge to their companions. The ſlaughter is ſaid to have been ſo great in this place, that the waters of the Wherf were all dyed with the blood. And indeed, it is not to be thought ſtrange, ſince the hiſtorians affirm, no leſs than thirty-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy ſix were killed in the battle. Among the dead, were found the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland [k], the lords Dacres and Wells, Sir John Nevill, and Andrew Trollop. The dukes of Somerſet and Exeter had the happineſs to eſcape. Thomas Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, was taken. He was at firſt ſpared, notwithſtanding the king's orders, but it was only to put him to a more inglorious death on the ſcaffold.

Edw. IV. 1461.

Edward wins the victory.

Hall. Hollingſh.

Number of ſlain. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The earl of Devonſhire taken and beheaded.

An Italian author [l] who wrote the hiſtory of theſe civil wars, makes this remark on the battle of Towton; that if France or Scotland had then invaded England, the kingdom would, doubtleſs, have been ſubdued in its weak condition, after ſo violent a bleeding. This might have been the caſe,

Biondi. P. 6.

[k] Henry Percy, and John Nevill.

[l] Sir Francis Biondi, of the bedchamber to king Charles I. writ a hiſtory of our old civil wars, which was tranſlated into Engliſh by the earl of Monmouth. Folio, two volumes, London, 1641, 1646. It is taken almoſt word for word from Hollingſhead and Stow; and extremely full of faults, eſpecially in the names of perſons and places.

Edw. IV. 1461.

and the example of France, which in much the ſame circumſtances was almoſt entirely conquered by Henry V. gives weight to the reflection. But however, the battles fought before the quarrel between the two houſes was decided, ſhow there was ſtill much Engliſh blood to be ſhed before it was poſſible to give England a mortal wound.

Edward takes down his father's head from the walls of York, Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

After this ſignal victory, Edward marched directly to York, perhaps in expectation of finding Henry and Margaret. But as after the loſs of the battle they could not hope for ſafety at York, they choſe to retire to Berwick, and from thence fled for refuge to Edinburgh. Upon his arrival at York, Edward ordered the heads of the duke his father, and the earl of Saliſbury to be taken down, and thoſe of the earl of Devonſhire, and ſome others, beheaded at Pontfract [m], to be ſet up in their room. He ſtayed ſome time at York, to take meaſures for the defence of the borders, in caſe the Scots ſhould think of making an incurſion. But as he perceived, though they ſhould have ſuch a deſign, they were not yet ready to execute it, he believed there would be no great danger in returning to London, where he arrived the 8th of June.

and returns to London,

and prepares for his coronation. Hall. Stow.

All appearing quiet in England ſince the victory of Towton, Edward would no longer defer his coronation, which was fixed to the 26th of June [n]. Whilſt the preparations were making, he conſidered how to guard againſt Scotland, from whence he foreſaw, the fugitive king and queen might have aſſiſtance. For that purpoſe, he ſought means to find the Scots employment, that ſhould hinder them from meddling with their neighbours affairs. To this he was likewiſe induced by the ſollicitations of the earl of Douglaſs, who had taken refuge in England ſeveral years ſince. But for the better underſtanding how matters then ſtood between England and Scotland, it will be neceſſary briefly to relate the ſituation of that kingdom.

He guards againſt Scotland. Ibid.

Affairs of Scot and. Buchanan.

Scotland had been for ſome time rent with dangerous factions, which began with the reign of James II. That prince not being above ſeven years old when the king his father was murdered, Archibald Douglas pretended to the regency, but the ſtates not thinking proper to truſt ſo powerful a perſon with the adminiſtration of affairs, made Alexander Levingſton regent, and William Creighton chancellor. Theſe two barons immediately formed two parties,

m Or rather the earl of Kyme, Stow, p. 416. and Sir William Hall, whom he cauſed to be beheaded at York. Hall, fol. 187. Hall. Stow. Hollingſhead.

n He was crowned on the 29th.

which

which would have divided all Scotland, if the earl of Douglas had not had a third, which balanced the two firſt. The earl dying about two years after, William his ſon ſucceeded him, who, ſtill more haughty and impetuous than his father, raiſed great diſturbances in the kingdom. Sworn enemy of the regent and chancellor, he ſhowed in all his proceedings that he was labouring the deſtruction of both, in order to eſtabliſh himſelf upon their ruins. This obliged them for their intereſt to unite againſt their common enemy. Some time after they found means to draw him to the aſſembly of the ſtates, upon the aſſurance of a ſafe conduct, notwithſtanding which they cauſed his head to be ſtruck off. Beatrix his daughter inherited his eſtate, and James his brother his title. But James died two years after, leaving William his ſon head of that powerful family. Edw. IV. 1461.

William was no leſs proud and ambitious than his predeceſſors. He ſo gained the young king's confidence, who began to look into his affairs, that he became his prime miniſter and favourite. When he ſaw his credit ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he attacked the two heads of the oppoſite factions, and forced Levingſton to retire from court. He met with ſtronger oppoſition from Creighton. But however, he ſo abuſed his power, and acted ſo arbitrarily, that he put people to death, not only by his own authority, but even contrary to the king's will. In ſhort, James II. blinded by his affection for the earl, was not content with forgiving all his exceſſes, but moreover made him his lieutenant-general of the whole kingdom. Probably this high promotion inſpired the earl of Douglas with two ambitious projects. Without ſaying any thing to the king, he took a journey into England, where it was known he privately conferred with Henry VI's miniſters. This proceeding gave his enemies, what they had long ſought, an opportunity to ruin him in the king's favour. They inſtilled into him ſo many ſuſpicions and fears, that in order to hinder the earl from executing his pretended deſigns, he removed him from all his poſts, not daring perhaps to attempt to puniſh him more rigorouſly. At the ſame time he gave the adminiſtration of affairs to the earl of the Orcades*, mortal enemy of Douglas, and reſtored the ſeals to William Creighton.

The earl enraged to ſee his enemies triumph, formed a league againſt them, and brought the kingdom to the brink of deſtruction. In a word, he committed ſo many outrages

* William Sinclare.

Edw. IV. 1461. and violences, that the king, juſtly provoked with him, reſolved to be freed from a ſubject who created him ſo much uneaſineſs. But as he was ſenſible he could not openly execute that deſign, he had recourſe to policy. By means of ſome of his friends, he put him in hopes of being reſtored to favour upon the ſame foot as before: then ſending for him to court, upon a ſafe-conduct ſigned with his own hand, he carried him alone into his cloſet, and ſtabbed him with a dagger. This deed, though violent and irregular, was approved by the ſtates, who at the ſame time declared James, brother and heir of the deceaſed, with the reſt of his brothers, enemies of their country.

James, the new earl of Douglas, thinking only of revenging his brother's death, and ſupporting the credit of his family, raiſed a civil war in the kingdom. During which, the king beſieging one of his places, Douglas was preparing to relieve it, but was ſuddenly forſaken by all his friends, and forced to fly for refuge into England. Some time after he entered the county of Anandale with ſome troops, and being defeated, was once more forced to fly his country. George earl of Ormond [p], one of his brothers, was taken and beheaded.

Theſe misfortunes were not capable of diſcouraging the rebellious earl. He gained the earl of Roſs lord of the Iſles, Donald his brother [q], and the reſt of that family, and perſuaded them to take up arms againſt the king. Then they entered together the county of Merch, and ravaged it from one end to the other. But when Douglas was preparing to purſue his progreſs, the earl of Roſs repenting of his fault, deſerted him, and went and caſt himſelf upon the king's mercy. The king gave him hopes of a pardon, on condition he would merit it by his ſervices. Douglas, unwilling to follow his example, once more retired into England.

Act. Publ. tom. ix. P. 474.

The commotions being appeaſed by the earl of Roſs's ſubmiſſion and Douglas's retreat, James II. at the duke of York's ſollicitation, beſieged Roxburgh. The earl of Roſs, willing to render himſelf worthy of the king's pardon, offered him his ſervice with a body of choſen troops. James was unfortunately killed at this ſiege, and left James III. his ſon, about ſeven years old, for his ſucceſſor.

[p] Buchanan gives him no title, and ſays, Archibald earl of Murray, another brother, was ſlain on the ſpot. George Dunbar was earl of Ormond. Buchanan. lib. xi.

[q] Donald Ballagh. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xi. p. 474.

The

The death of James II. and the tender years of the new king, revived the earl of Douglas's hopes; but as he could not expect any aſſiſtance from England, by reaſon of the civil war which raged in that kingdom, he was obliged to wait till affairs were in another ſituation. He believed the favorable juncture, he expected, was at length come, after Edward's victory at Towton: wherefore, applying himſelf to that prince, who ſeemed firmly ſettled in the throne, he intimated to him, that by means of his friends in Scotland, it would be very eaſy for the Engliſh to conquer that kingdom. Edward had no inclination in his preſent circumſtances to undertake ſo difficult a taſk: however, to find the Scots employment, and hinder them from aſſiſting Henry, he embraced the opportunity offered him by the earl of Douglas, in hopes of kindling a civil war in Scotland. So, Douglas aſſuring him the earl of Roſs, Donald his brother, and Donald's ſon, were diſpoſed to riſe againſt the king of Scotland, he gave him a full power to treat with them. Edw. IV. 1461. Act. Publ. tom. ix. p. 474.

Whilſt Douglas was negociating this affair with the earl of Roſs, Edward was crowned at Weſtminſter with the uſual ſolemnities[r]. Edward crowned. Hall.

Though queen Margaret was out of the kingdom, ſhe gave the new king great uneaſineſs. He was juſtly apprehenſive the ſuccours of the Scots would enable her to make a freſh attempt upon his crown: ſo, in order to obſtruct her deſigns, he propoſed a truce to the regents of Scotland. That kingdom was then divided into two parties, formed on the account of the regency: Mary de Gelders the king's mother was at the head of the firſt, and the earl of Angus of the ſecond. They both claimed the regency; but the ſtates, to diſoblige neither, nominated two regents of each party, and petitioned the queen to be contented with the care of her children's education. Thus the two factions ſtill ſubſiſted, becauſe it was not poſſible to ſatisfy both. The affairs of Scotland being in this ſituation when Edward propoſed the truce, the regents reſolved to conſent to it, and even ſent ambaſſadors to treat with him. But queen Margaret who was then at Edinburgh, perceiving how prejudicial the truce would be to her, found means to break Edward's meaſures by ſurrendering Berwick to the Scots, and concluding a marriage between prince Edward her ſon and Margaret ſiſter of king James: whereupon the negotiation of the truce was entirely broke off. He propoſes a truce with Scotland. Ib. p. 475, 477. Margaret prevents it. Hall. Stow.

[r] On June 29, as is ſaid above. See Hall, fol. 189.

Whilſt

Edw. IV. 1461.

Whilſt Margaret was employed in gaining the Scots to her intereſt, Edward called a parliament at Weſtminſter[s], to confirm the revolution which had placed him on the throne. It is eaſy to conceive that in ſuch a juncture the parliament did not want much ſollicitation to confirm whatever had been done in favour of Edward. How irregular ſoever his election might be, he was victorious, and that was ſufficient to hinder any perſon from diſputing his right. Several foregoing inſtances demonſtrate that the parliaments of England never attempted to ſwerve from that wholeſome principle of declaring for the ſtrongeſt, and what we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this very reign will ſtill farther confirm it. Purſuant to this maxim, the parliament approved of Edward's coronation, confirmed his title, and repealed all the acts made in the late reign againſt the houſe of York. Henry VI. after a thirty years reign, was deemed an uſurper, and all he had done whilſt on the throne annulled, as wanting a lawful authority, and as being of no force till confirmed by the new parliament[t]. Thus the people's credulity was abuſed, and they were made to believe that what had been juſt for ſixty years was become un-

The parliament confirms Edward's election. Cotton's Abridg. Hall.

All the acts againſt the houſe of York are repealed. Cotton's Abridg. Statutes.

[s] Which met there November 4. Cotton's Abridg. p. 669.

[t] At the cloſe of the ſeſſions, the king made a ſpeech to the commons, who were ſent for, with James Strangeways their ſpeaker: as it is the firſt that appears of the kind, it is inſerted in the old Engliſh language of thoſe days:

"James Strangways, and ye that "be commyn for the commons of this "my lond, for the true hertes and "tender conſiderations that ye have "had to my right and title, that y and "my aunceſtres have had unto the "coronne of this reame, the which from "us have been long withholde. And "nowe thanked be almighty God, of "whos grace groweth all victory, by "youre true hertes and grate aſſiſtens, "y am reſtored unto that is my right "and title; wherefore y thanke you "as hertely as y can. Alſo for the "tender and true hertes that ye have "ſhewed unto me, in that ye have ten-"derly had in remembrance the cor-"rection of the horrible murder and "cruel deth of my lord my fader, my "brother Rutland, and my coſyn of "Salyſbury, and other, y thanke you "right hertely: and y ſhall be unto "you, with the grace of almighty "God, as good and gracious ſovereign "lord as ever was of my noble proge-"nitours to their ſubgettes and liege-"men. And for the faithfull and lov-"yng hertes, and alſo the grate la-"bours that ye have born and ſuſteyn-"ed towards me, in the recovering of "my ſaid right and title which y now "poſſeſſe, y thanke you with all my "herte; and yf y had any better good "to reward you with all then my body "ye ſhold have it, the which ſhall al-"way be redy for your defence, never "ſparing nor letting for noo jeopardie. "Praying you all of your herty aſſiſtens "and good contynuance, as y ſhall be "unto you youre veray rightwiſſe and "lovyng liege lord."

In this parliament the following perſons were attainted: king Henry VI. queen Margaret, Edward prince of Wales, Henry duke of Somerſet, Henry earl of Northumberland, Thomas Courtney earl of Devonſhire, Thomas lord Roos, Henry duke of Exeter, William viſcount Beaumont, Jaſper earl of Pembroke, James Butler earl of Wiltſhire, Robert lord Hungerford, John Forteſcue eſq. and many others. Cotton's Abridg. p. 670, 671.

juſt

juſt by a contingent event, I mean by Edward's victory at Towton. Edw. IV. 1461.

During this ſeſſion of parliament the king created George, his eldeſt brother, duke of Clarence, and Richard, his younger brother, duke of Gloceſter; the lord Fauconbridge was made earl of Kent; Henry Bourchier, the king's uncle by the mother's ſide [u], was honoured with the title of earl of Eſſex; and John Nevil, the earl of Warwick's brother, was made lord Montague. Creating of divers peers. Act. Publ. tom. xi. p. 476. Hall. Stow.

Though the earl of Devonſhire and ſome others had been beheaded at York, theſe victims ſeemed not ſufficient to atone for the blood of the friends of the houſe of York, ſhed by the queen on the ſcaffold. To the king's policy, fear, or reſentment were likewiſe to be ſacrificed John de Vere earl of Oxford, and Aubery his eldeſt ſon, who were publicly beheaded [w]. The earl of Oxford and his ſon beheaded. Hall.

After Edward had thus ſettled his domeſtic, he ſeriouſly thought of the foreign affairs. The kingdom was actually in war with France, Scotland, Bretagne, and the Low Countries. There was equal danger from all theſe quarters. If theſe ſtates had all joined againſt him, it would have been very difficult for Edward to withſtand their forces, conſidering his preſent ſituation and little dependence upon the aſſiſtance of his ſubjects. Happily for him, France had a new king, who never thought of conquering England: I mean Lewis XI, who was wholly intent upon the project of rendering himſelf abſolute in his own kingdom, and humbling the great men, among whom the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne were the principal. It is true his deſigns had not yet been diſcloſed: but what he was meditating was more than ſufficient to hinder him from renewing the war with the Engliſh. The duke of Bretagne took care not to ſtir alone in a war againſt Edward, which could not but be to him upon all accounts very prejudicial. As for the duke of Burgundy, the ſame reaſons that made him deſirous of a truce with England, ſtill ſubſiſted: beſides, he ſaw plainly it was againſt his intereſt to unite with France and Bretagne in order to weaken England, and much more to maintain alone a war, which would be very Diſpoſitions of foreign princes with regard to England. Of the king of France. Of the duke of Bretagne, and Burgundy.

[u] He married Iſabella, the king's aunt, ſiſter to the late duke of York, the king's father. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 129.

[w] And alſo ſir Thomas Tudenham knight, William Tyrrel and Walter Montgomery eſquires. The dukes of Exeter and Somerſet, with a hundred and forty more, were attainted. This John de Vere is ſaid to have diſputed in a former parliament the queſtion about the precedency of temporal and ſpiritual barons (a bold attempt in thoſe days) and by his arguments carried it for the lords temporal. Stow, p. 416. Hollingſh. p. 1313.

deſtructive

Edw. IV. 1461. deſtructive to the trade of his ſubjects. Indeed his inclination led him to ſupport the houſe of Lancaſter rather than that of York, becauſe of his marriage with Iſabella of Portugal, a near relation of Henry VI. But reaſons taken from the inclinations of princes do not always prevail above thoſe of politics. The duke of Burgundy was well acquainted with the character of Lewis XI. and conſequently ſaw he ought to guard againſt him, inſtead of endeavouring to render him more powerful by the weakening of England: ſo, contenting himſelf with wiſhing well to the houſe of Lancaſter, without giving it any aſſiſtance, he judged it for his intereſt to live in a good underſtanding with Edward IV. whom he perceived to be firmly eſtabliſhed, without any likelihood of being dethroned. To that end he ſent ambaſſadors to congratulate him upon his acceſſion to the crown, and withal to demand ſatisfaction for certain outrages committed by the Engliſh contrary to the truce. Edward gladly received the duke of Burgundy's advances, and immediately appointed commiſſioners to examine the breaches of the truce complained of by that prince. His affairs would not allow him to be haughty to any of the princes his neighbours, and ſtill leſs to the duke of Burgundy, who was very powerful, and allied to the houſe of Lancaſter.

Act. Publ. tom. xi. p. 478.

Diſpoſition of Scotland.

There was only Scotland left which could create the king any uneaſineſs. He knew Margaret had delivered Berwick to the Scots, and contracted the prince her ſon to king James's ſiſter. He could not therefore queſtion but that ſhe expected the aſſiſtance of that kingdom. Mean while, the queen having ſettled her affairs in Scotland, had left there the king her huſband with the prince her ſon, and was gone to France. Her deſign was to deſire aid of Lewis XI. but he was not of a character to engage in an enterprize which he did not perceive to be very advantageous: he gave however the fugitive princeſs, as being his near relation, hopes of aſſiſtance. But being unwilling to break entirely with Edward, he contented himſelf with making proclamation, that all the friends of the houſe of Lancaſter ſhould be well received in his dominions, and the adherents of the houſe of York not admitted *.

Margaret goes and deſires aid of Lewis XI.

1462. Edward did not doubt that Margaret would contrive ſome freſh enterprize. Her voyage to France, and eſpecially the

* This year, in the harveſt-ſeaſon, king Edward took a progreſs through ſeveral parts of England; namely, to Canterbury, Sandwich, and ſo along the ſea-coaſt to Southampton, and from thence into the marches of Wales, and to Briſtol. Stow, p. 416.

late

late alliance with the king of Scotland, plainly ſhowed it. So, thinking it would be in vain to try to break her meaſures by a truce with Scotland, to which the Scots daily raiſed freſh obſtacles, he reſolved to renew his negociation with the earl of Roſs. In all appearance the earl of Douglas had already prepared that lord to take up arms, the terms only were to be ſettled. To conclude this affair, which Edward hoped would turn to his advantage, he impowered the biſhop of Durham, the earl of Worceſter, and others, to make in his name a treaty with the earl of Roſs, which was accordingly done. The ſubſtance of the treaty was, Edw. IV. 1462.

That John earl of Roſs lord of the iſles [y], Donald Balagh his brother, and John of the Iſles ſon of Donald, ſhould do homage to king Edward. Edward's treaty with the earl of Roſs.

That they ſhould never acknowledge any other king of England but Edward, or his ſucceſſors deſcended from Lionel duke of Clarence. Act. Publ. tom. xi. p. 483, 484.

That they ſhould be always ready to ſerve him in all his wars with Scotland, or with the Scots in Ireland.

That in time of peace the earl of Roſs ſhould have a yearly penſion of a hundred marks ſterling, Donald one of twenty pounds, and John his ſon one of ten pounds: and that theſe penſions ſhould be doubled in time of war [z], during actual ſervice.

That in caſe Scotland ſhould be conquered by the arms of Edward, and with their aſſiſtance, the king ſhould inveſt them with all the iſles beyond the ſea of Scotland, to be equally divided among them.

That James earl of Douglas ſhould likewiſe be inveſted with all the lands formerly held by him in the kingdom of Scotland, from the north ſea to England.

Laſtly, That Edward ſhould neither make peace nor truce with the king of Scotland, without including them, if they deſired it.

y The Weſtern Iſles, called by the inhabitants Inch Gall; by a writer of the laſt age, Hebrides; by the ancients, Beteorica, Inchades, Leucades, Hœbudes; commonly thought to be forty-four in number, but are really more. Among them is Jona, which Bede calls Hy or Hu, given to the Scotch monks by the Picts, for preaching the Goſpel amongſt them. Here ſtands a monaſtery, famous for the burial of the kings of Scotland. The inhabitants of theſe iſlands ſpeak the Iriſh language, and retain the cuſtoms, etc. of the ancient Scots, as the Highlanders do. They are enjoyed at preſent by the Mc Connells, who derive themſelves from this Donald, who took the title of King of the Iſles, and ravaged Scotland in a cruel manner.

z That of the earl of Roſs to be two hundred pounds. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xi. p. 485.

As

Edw. IV. 1462. As this treaty is mentioned by no Engliſh hiſtorian, pro-bably it lay concealed among the records of England ti[l] was inſerted in the Collection of the Public Acts: indee[d] was of little moment, ſince it was not executed. Ed[ward] had too many affairs upon his hands to think of the conqueſt of Scotland; his ſole view was to make uſe of the earls of Douglas and Roſs to raiſe diſturbances in that kingdom. But it is likely the earl of Douglas's meaſures were not very juſt, ſince the hiſtory of Scotland ſpeaks of no inſurrection at that time.

The reſt of the year 1462, was quiet enough, the ſtorm which was gathering not being yet ready to break.

Pius II. congratulates Edward. Act. Publ. tom. xi. p. 489.

Pope Pius II. believing Edward ſufficiently eſtabliſhed in the throne, writ him a congratulatory letter upon his acceſſion to the crown, in anſwer to one ſent him by the king to notify it. The pope expreſſed himſelf ſo that it appeared he reſerved the liberty of retracting, if there was occaſion, ſince his approbation was founded only upon the proofs Edward himſelf had given him of his title, whereby he made it conditional.

Exeter's lands given to his ducheſs, the king's ſiſter. Ib. p. 489, 490.

The duke of Exeter, who had married Edward's ſiſter, having followed Henry into Scotland, the king gave the confiſcation of his eſtate to his ducheſs, who choſe rather to remain with the king her brother than follow the fortune of her huſband.

Ib. p. 490.

The lord Fauconbridge, a zealous friend of the houſe of York, who was created in parliament earl of Kent, was made high-admiral of England, about the end of this year.

The duke of Somerſet ſubmits. Hall.

All being quiet in the kingdom, and no appearance of any attempt againſt Edward, the duke of Somerſet, and Ralph Percy the earl of Northumberland's brother, came and threw themſelves upon the king's mercy, who generouſly granted them a pardon.

Pretended expedition of the Engliſh into Bretagne and France. Hollingſh. Stow.

Hiſtorians affirm that in the courſe of this year the Engliſh fleet[a] made an expedition into Bretagne and the Iſle of Ree, mentioned neither by the French nor the Bretons. And indeed it is hard to conceive what could induce Edward wantonly to renew the war, at a juncture when he ſhould have thought himſelf very happy in being left unmoleſted. Nay it appears in the Collection of the Public Acts, that he was not without fear of an inſurrection of the Lancaſtrians: at leaſt it ſeems that to this only can be aſcribed his care to gain the

[a] In which were the lords Audley and Clinton, ſir John Howard, ſir Richard Walgrave, and others; to the number of ten thouſand. Hollingſh. p. 1313. Stow, p. 416.

clergy

clergy to his intereſts, by granting them a favour none of his predeceſſors had ever willingly granted; namely, that for the future all eccleſiaſtical perſons indicted for any crime, ſhould be tried in the eccleſiaſtical court, without the interpoſition of the king's judges upon any pretence whatſoever. By this ſame patent, he ſcreened the clergy from the penalties of the ſtatutes of Proviſors and Præmunire, paſſed in the 16th year of Richard II. He pretended, he was induced to this conceſſion from his great zeal for religion, his dread of the excommunications decreed by the holy canons, and his belief that all the calamities with which England had been for ſome time afflicted, were the juſt judgments of God for the diſregard ſhown to his miniſters. But, very probably he was led by quite another motive to break ſo many ſtatutes, which the parliaments had deemed neceſſary to check the growth of the clergy's power.

Edw. IV. 1462. The king's conceſſion to the clergy. Act. Pub. xi. p. 493.

About the end of this year, the truce of commerce between England and the duke of Burgundy's dominions, was prolonged for ſome time.

Ib. p. 493, 497.

Mean while, Edward hearing that preparations were privately making in Scotland, and probably againſt him, called upon the earl of Roſs to perform his promiſe; and for that purpoſe, appointed commiſſioners, who were ordered to receive the oath. But the earl, who had his ſpies in England, not ſeeing that Edward was really preparing to ſupport him, did not think proper to begin, for fear of being deſerted.

1463. Edward calls upon the earl of Roſs to perform his promiſe. P. 493.

It was not without reaſon, that Edward dreaded a ſtorm from the North. Preſently after, queen Margaret having obtained of the king of France an aid of five hundred men, with a promiſe of a greater, embarked to make a deſcent in England. As ſhe hoped the inhabitants of the northern counties would take up arms in her favour, ſhe landed at the mouth of the Tine: but ſhe found there a body of Engliſh troops, who forced her to re-embark with precipitation. A few hours after, her ſhip being ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet by a ſtorm, it was with great difficulty that, having entered the Tweed, ſhe at laſt landed at Berwick. The reſt of the ſhips were driven towards Bamburgh, where the French would have landed; but the baſtard Ogle [b], who was in thoſe parts, having hindred their deſcent, they retired to the little iſland of Lindisfarn; for the weather would not ſuffer them to put to ſea. Thither Ogle followed them, and attacking them ſlew part, and took four hundred priſoners. Their leader [c]

Queen Margaret arrives in the north of England; Biondi. Habington. Hall. and is forced to fly to Berwick.

[b] And John Manners. Hall, fol. 190. [c] Peter de Breſé.

Edw. IV. 1463. was the only perſon that found means to eſcape in a fiſher-boat to Berwick.

Edward, upon receiving the news, eaſily perceived Margaret was ſecure of the aſſiſtance of the Scots, and would ſoon march into England. This fear cauſing him ſeriouſly to attend to his affairs, he diſpatched the lord Montague with what troops were ready, whilſt himſelf haſtened a great armament he was making by ſea and land, to oppoſe his enemy [d].

The king ſends Montague into the North. Act. Publ. xi. p. 500, 501. Stow.

Montague having begun his march, heard upon the road, that the queen was entered Northumberland at the head of an army, which daily increaſed, by reaſon of the great licence the ſoldiers were allowed [e]. He advanced however as far as Durham, where he ſtaid ſome days expecting a reinforcement ſent by the king. Theſe ſupplies being arrived, he continued his march, and meeting a detachment of the enemies [f], commanded by the lords Hungerford and Roſs, attacked and put them to flight. Ralph Percy, who ſerved Henry, though he had taken the oath to Edward, was ſlain in the action. The duke of Somerſet making no more ſcruple than Percy of breaking his oath, was likewiſe going to join the queen.

Henry and Margaret re-enter England. Hall.

Montague defeats a detachment of their army.

Montague, encouraged with this ſucceſs, marched immediately to Hexham, where Henry lay intrenched [g], and attacking him in his lines, without giving him time to recover himſelf, gained a compleat victory. The duke of Somerſet, the lords Roſs and Hungerford [h], were taken priſoners; but Henry, Margaret, and the prince their ſon, fled into Scotland. The priſoners were not long ſuffered to languiſh: ſome days after, the duke of Somerſet was beheaded at Hexham, Roſs and Hungerford, elſewhere; and twenty officers of diſtinction at York. Many others, who had concealed themſelves in ſeveral places, being diſcovered, or given up to the conqueror, were likewiſe ſacrificed to his vengeance.

He attacks Henry's camp, and puts him to rout. Habington. Hall. Henry eſcapes; Somerſet is beheaded.

After this victory, Edward, who was advanced to Durham, ſent the earl of Warwick farther northwards, to recover ſome places taken by the queen; after which, he returned to London. The earl of Warwick having nothing to fear after his brother's victory, divided his army into three bodies, and be-

Edward returns to London, and leaves the earl of Warwick in the North. Hall. Stow. Holingſh.

[d] See an account of the lords and knights that accompanied him in this expedition, in Stow, p. 416, 417.

[e] She took Bamborough caſtle, and garriſoned it with Scots, making Sir Ralph Gray governor. Hall, fol. 190.

[f] At Hedgley-Moor, in June.

[g] On Lyvel's-Plain, near the water of Dowl in Hexhamſhire. Hall, fol. 190.

[h] As alſo the lord Molyns, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Thomas Huſey, Sir John Fynderne, &c. Ibid. Holling. p. 1314.

sieged at once Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh, and Alnwick [i]. The two first of these places were easily taken, and the commanding officers punished. Alnwick, where a Frenchman commanded with some troops of his nation, held out till the earl of Angus came to its relief with a body of Scotch troops [k]. But the earl could do no more than draw out the garrison, probably by a treaty with the besiegers, though Buchanan says otherwise. 1 Edw. IV. 1463.

Edward being arrived at London, ordered two patents under the great seal, to reward the lord Montague and Sir William Herbert, with the dignity he conferred on them. The first had done him great service in his two late victories: the other had always distinguished himself by an extraordinary zeal for the house of York. So, being pleased to give them both marks of his gratitude, he created the former earl of Northumberland, and the latter earl of Pembroke; Henry Percy, and Jasper Tudor, who bore these titles, having forfeited them by adhering to king Henry. But Percy submitting afterwards to the king, and obtaining his pardon, Montague willingly resigned him the title of earl of Northumberland for that of marquis of Montague. As for the title of earl of Pembroke, care must be taken not to confound the two lords that bore it; namely, Jasper Tudor, half-brother of Henry VI. and William Herbert, who was in Edward's service. Montague is created marquis, and Herbert earl of Pembroke. Biondi. Hall. Stow.

Whilst Edward was enjoying the tranquillity procured by his late victory, he received advice that preparations were making in France, to support the interests of Henry and Margaret. Whereupon he resolved to send for the earl of Warwick, and leave the marquis of Montague in the North, with a patent of governor of the northern Marches, and a power to levy what troops he thought necessary. He did not doubt, that his enemies had resolved to make their greatest efforts from that quarter, by reason of the neighbourhood of Scotland. These precautions, joined to his late victory, probably cooled the ardour of the French and the Scots. Soon after the Scots demanded a safe-conduct for ambassadors they intended to send to him. At the same time, Lewis XI. negotiated a truce with him, by the duke of Burgundy's mediation. The truce was actually concluded at St. Omer, to the 1st of October 1464, on the condition, that neither of the two kings should assist the enemies of the other. The duke Preparations are making in France against Edward. He sends for the earl of Warwick. A truce with the French, Act. Pub. xi. p. 504, 508.

[i] Having with him the lords Montague, Fauconbridge, Scrope, &c. Hall, fol. 191. Hollingsh. p. 1315.

[k] Thirteen thousand. Ibid.

Edw. IV. 1463. of Burgundy agreed likewiſe to renew, for one year, the truce of commerce between England and the Low Countries.

and duke of Burgundy, p. 507. and with Scotland. p. 510.

After Edward had thus ſecured himſelf againſt France, he concluded with Scotland a truce for a year, negotiated by the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's at London, in the name of the regents. Thus having nothing to fear from his neighbours, at leaſt for one year, he ſaw himſelf at leiſure to ſtrengthen himſelf in the throne, in caſe of another attack.

Henry and Margaret in great perplexity.

Mean while, the unfortunate Henry, deſerted by the king of France, the king of Scotland, and the duke of Burgundy, who alone were able to aſſiſt him, ſaw himſelf entirely without reſource. He was ſtill at Edinburgh, but not without uneaſineſs. Beſides, that the late truce between the Engliſh and Scots did not allow theſe to give him any aſſiſtance, very likely, in concluding the truce with Scotland, Edward had ſtipulated, that his enemy ſhould not be ſuffered to remain any longer in that kingdom. It even appears in the Collection of the Public Acts, that before the truce was ſigned, the two kings of England and Scotland agreed upon certain ſecret articles, which could only concern the unfortunate fugitive king. Be this as it will, Henry not knowing where to retire, prepoſterouſly imagined he might be concealed in England. Perhaps, he flattered himſelf that the inhabitants of the northern counties would riſe in his favour: but unhappy princes ſeldom meet with faithful friends: at leaſt, it may be preſumed, that fearing to be delivered up by the Scots, and having no conveniency to eſcape by ſea, he hoped to find a ſafe retreat with ſome friends in England, till an opportunity offered of paſſing into France. Whatever his deſign might be, he had no ſooner ſet foot in England but he was known, ſeized [l], ignominiouſly conducted to London [m], and confined in the Tower. Some affirm, he was taken the laſt year at the battle of Hexham, or at leaſt a few days after. But it appears in ſome Public Acts, that in October, that year, he was not yet in Edward's power. It is therefore more probable he was taken, as I ſaid, in endeavouring, after ſome ſtay in Scotland, to conceal himſelf in England. An adventure which befel Margaret, and is related by Monſtrelet, makes it thought, ſhe had likewiſe reſolved to hide herſelf in England, in expectation of an opportunity to embark, not daring to truſt the Scots any longer; and, the better to accompliſh her deſign, had parted from the king her huſband. Monſtrelet ſays, Margaret be-

p. 508.

Henry fancies he could lie concealed in England. Hall.

He is taken and carried to London.

Adventure of queen Margaret. Monſtrelet.

[l] By Sir James Haryngton, at Woddington-hall in Lancaſhire, whilſt he was at dinner. Rymer's Fœd. tom. ii. p. 548.

[m] With his legs tied to the ſtirrups. Stow, p. 419.

ing

ing in England with the prince her ſon, attended with La Verenne a French lord, fell into the hands of robbers who would have killed her, if a ſudden quarrel amongſt them had not afforded her an opportunity to eſcape into a wood with the prince. He adds, that afterwards ſhe found means to embark for Sluice in Flanders, where the duke of Burgundy gave her an honorable reception. If this adventure be true, it muſt have happened at the time I am now ſpeaking of. However that be, after her departure from Scotland, ſhe retired to René of Anjou her father, with the prince her ſon. Edmund, the new duke of Somerſet, brother of him beheaded at Hexham, with the duke of Exeter, fled for refuge into the Low-Countries, where however they durſt not make themſelves known, for fear of being delivered to Edward. They endured in Flanders all that a wretched exile, attended with extreme want, was capable of bringing upon perſons of their character. Philip de Commines ſays, he ſaw the duke of Exeter, before he was known, following barefoot the duke of Burgundy's equipage, and ſerving probably as footman for his livelihood. But theſe two lords being at length known, the duke gave them a mean penſion for their ſubſiſtence, not daring doubtleſs to carry his generoſity any farther, for fear of offending Edward. Theſe are ſtrange turns for a king who had ſat thirty-eight years on a throne, for a queen who had for many years governed England with an abſolute ſway, for a prince deſtined by his birth to wear a crown, for lords related or allied to the royal family, who had always enjoyed the higheſt offices. Such inſtances of the viciſſitude of worldly grandeur often make but little impreſſion at the time they are ſeen, becauſe thoſe who are concerned, are generally induced to aſcribe their misfortunes to the malice of their enemies. But they who read them impartially in hiſtory, can they help obſerving, and acknowledging the direction of providence [n]?

Edw. IV. 1463.

She retires to her father. The dukes of Somerſet and Exeter withdraw to Flanders, where they live wretchedly. Commines. Hall. Hollingſh.

Edward having king Henry in his power, and queen Margaret being retired to the duke her father, there was no perſon capable of raiſing commotions in the kingdom. Then it was, that after offering in vain a pardon to all the Lancaſtrians, that would make their ſubmiſſion and ſwear allegiance

1464. Edward gives his friends the eſtates of the rebels. Hall. Hollingſh.

[n] This year a parliament met at Weſtminſter, on April 29, and was prorogued to November 4, and thence to February 20, at York. This parliament granted the king an aid of thirty-ſeven thouſand pounds, to be levied in the counties, cities, and towns. Cotton's Abridg. p. 675.—In this parliament the importation of woollen-cloths, laces, ribbands, all ſorts of iron-wares, and moſt other things manufactured in England, was ſtrictly forbidden. See Statut. 3 Edw. IV. c. 4. Stow, p. 417.

Edw. IV. 1464. by ſuch a time, he confiſcated their eſtates, and liberally beſtowed them upon thoſe that had ſerved him. Then, willing to gain the affection of his ſubjects, after giving them convincing proofs of his ſeverity, he made himſelf extremely popular, even to ſuch a degree, that the Italian author before-mentioned, taxes him with running into exceſs on that account.

He makes himſelf very popular. Biondi.

He demands in marriage Bona of Savoy, Lewis's ſiſter. Hall. Hollingſh.

During this calm, which ſeemed to be laſting, the king's chief counſellors preſſed him to think of marrying, in order to leave the crown to his poſterity. He took their advice, and three matches were propoſed. The firſt was Margaret ſiſter of the king of Scotland. But beſides that this princeſs was already affianced to Henry's ſon, ſhe was ſo young, the marriage could not have been conſummated many years. The ſecond was Iſabella of Caſtile, afterwards married to Ferdinand of Arragon. The Engliſh writers ſay, ſhe was rejected by reaſon of her being too young: and yet, it is certain ſhe was then thirteen years old °. Bona of Savoy, ſiſter of the queen of France, was the third. Edward reſolved upon Bona, and ſhortly after, ſent the earl of Warwick to demand her in marriage. She was then at the court of France with the queen her ſiſter. It is time now to ſpeak of the affairs of France by reaſon of their connection with thoſe of England; otherwiſe, the reader would underſtand but imperfectly what paſſed in England in the reign of Edward IV.

Hall. Biondi.

The earl of Warwick ſent upon that account to France.

State of affairs in France. Mezerai.

Lewis XI. a prince of a turbulent and reſtleſs ſpirit, was no ſooner on the throne of France, but he formed the deſign of rendering himſelf abſolute. This is what ſome flatterers have called rendering himſelf free, but what a famous hiſtorian ſays ought rather to be termed, running mad. To execute this grand deſign, the overgrown power of the peers was firſt to be humbled, among whom the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne were the moſt conſiderable. They not only upheld one another, but were moreover a ſupport to the reſt. The firſt held Burgundy and Flanders, the only two ancient lay-peerdoms which ſtill remained to be united to the crown. This prince, who was moreover ſovereign of almoſt all the Low-Countries, was ſo powerful, that to attack him firſt would have been very imprudent: ſo it was with the duke of Bretagne that Lewis reſolved to begin with the execution of his projects. An old quarrel about homage, afforded him a pretence. Ever ſince Peter, ſirnamed Mauclerc, had done

Conteſt. between the kings of France and the dukes of Bretagne. Argentré.

° Hall proves, ſhe was then but between ſix and ſeven years old, fol. 193. But Biondi affirms, ſhe was thirteen, p. 1

homage

homage to St. Lewis, the nature of that homage had been a continual ſubject of diſputes between the kings of France and the dukes of Bretagne. The kings pretended it was liege or full, and the dukes affirmed, it was not. This was a very important queſtion, becauſe of the great difference between bare homage, and homage liege. The firſt was paid by thoſe, who without being naturally dependent on a prince, did him homage however for other reaſons, as for his protection, for his aſſiſtance when wanted, or even for a penſion. The Collection of the Public Acts contain ſundry homages of this kind, paid to the kings of England by ſovereign princes of Germany and the Low-Countries, and by earls of Savoy. But homage-liege was paid by thoſe that held lands diſmembred from the dominions of the prince to whom it was paid; ſuch were the dukedoms and peerdoms of France. As theſe two ſorts of homage were of a different nature, they were likewiſe performed in a different manner. The perſon that did homage-liege was uncovered, on his knees, ungirded, without ſword or ſpurs; he held his hands joined within thoſe of the ſovereign, and ſwore fealty to him. But ſimple-homage was paid ſtanding, with the ſword and ſpurs on, and without oath. Thus liege-homage was for lands diſmembered from a ſtate, and denoted their being liable to confiſcation and re-union. But ſimple-homage was perſonal, upon certain conditions advantagious to the vaſſal: ſo that the default of homage deprived him only of the benefit of theſe conditions. And therefore, the obliging the duke of Bretagne to do liege-homage, would have put him under a neceſſity to own his dukedom liable to confiſcation, and to be re-annexed to the crown of France. To avoid this inconvenience, the dukes of Bretagne had found the expedient of doing their homage, like their predeceſſors, in general terms. Whether the right of the kings of France, with regard to the nature of the homage, could not be well proved, or the circumſtances of affairs obliged them to manage the dukes of Bretagne, it is certain they long received their homage in that manner. It is true, after homage done, the chancellor or high-chamberlain ſaid aloud, the homage was liege, to which the duke anſwered it was not; and thus the pretenſions of each remained entire. Charles V. plainly ſhowed he ſuppoſed the homage to be liege, ſince he cauſed the dukedom of Bretagne to be confiſcated and annexed to his crown by a decree of the court of peers. A peace being concluded between France and Bretagne in the beginning of the reign of Charles VI. the duke of Bretagne was reſtored to his dukedom, and, as nothing

Edw. IV. 1464.

Edw. IV. 1464. was ſettled concerning the nature of the homage, the pretenſion of both parties ſtill ſubſiſted. Arthur III. who had been conſtable of France, when he became duke of Bretagne, ſolemnly declared in doing his homage to Charles VII. that he meant not to do liege-homage, and was allowed to pay it in general terms, like his predeceſſors. Francis II. his ſucceſſor, made the ſame declaration, and Charles VII. received his homage, though without approving his proteſtation.

Lewis XI. attacks the duke of Bretagne, who forms a league againſt him. Argentré. P. Daniel.

The affairs between France and Bretagne were in this ſituation when Lewis XI. came to the crown Probably, this prince would have been no harder to pleaſe than Charles his father, in reſpect of the duke of Bretagne's homage, had he not, as I ſaid, reſolved to begin with him his grand project of humbling all thoſe that could hinder his arriving at arbitrary power. He had taken this reſolution the moment he was ſeated in the throne, and perhaps, before the death of the king his father [p], but it was not till 1464, that he began to execute it. To that end, having firſt ordered ſome troops into Anjou, he ſent the chancellor de Morvilliers to the duke of Bretagne, to forbid him in his name to aſſume any right of ſovereignty in his dukedom. Francis II. finding himſelf unprepared for his defence, had recourſe to artifice, and demanded three months delay to conſult his ſtates. That term being granted him, he made uſe of it to cabal in France among the great men, and to form againſt Lewis a powerful league, called the great League of the Public Good, which will be preſently mentioned.

Negotiations between Edward and Lewis XI. Hall. Stow.

At the very time Lewis thought of attacking the duke of Bretagne, Edward ſent the earl of Warwick to demand Bona of Savoy his ſiſter-in-law in marriage. The propoſal could not but be very agreeable to him, ſince he deſired nothing more ardently than to make an alliance with the king of England, in order to prevent his interpoſing in his future quarrels with the great men of his kingdom. But before the concluſion of the marriage, he was willing to be ſure of reaping that benefit by it. To that end, he cauſed the affair of the marriage to be a little prolonged, whilſt he negotiated at London, and with the earl of Warwick at Paris, a treaty of perſonal amity between him and Edward. This appears in the Act. Pub. T. V. P. 513, 515, 518. Collection of the Public Acts, where are ſeveral papers concerning that negotiation. We ſee there a full power given by Edward to the earl of Warwick, to treat of a final peace, an

[p] Charles VII. his father died July 22, 1461.

alliance,

alliance, or truce with Lewis XI. and another to conclude a treaty of amity and friendſhip between the two kings. Lewis's deſigns were ſtill more extenſive. In order to deprive the duke of Bretagne of all protection, he would have drawn the duke of Burgundy into his intended alliance with England, and for that purpoſe agreed with Edward and Philip upon a congreſs of ambaſſadors at Heſdin, which was afterwards removed to St. Omer. He managed his affairs at London by the lord Launoy governor of Amiens, ſent thither towards the end of the laſt year. But all theſe negotiations ended only in the concluſion of a ſea-truce, to laſt as long as that before made for the land [q].

Edw. IV. 1464.

p. 521.

p. 513, 520, 526.

p. 523. Monſtrelet.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation at London and Paris, Edward concluded with Scotland a fifteen years truce. John Kennedy [r], a lord of great abilities, and very zealous for his king and country, thought he could not, during his regency, do a greater ſervice to both, than to preſerve a good underſtanding with the Engliſh: otherwiſe it was almoſt impoſſible to maintain tranquillity in Scotland; becauſe, during the war, the male-contents always relied upon the protection of England.

Edward makes a truce with Scotland. Act. Pub. xi. p. 514, 515, 517, 524, 525. Stow. Hollingſh.

This affair being ended, Edward offered to all that had taken up arms againſt him an abſolute pardon, excepting only Ralph Grey and Humphrey Nevill. Grey having been taken in Banborough, where he commanded for Henry, had been degraded [s]. Probably, he had done ſomething ſince, which cauſed him to be excluded from the pardon granted to the reſt. Shortly after, the king iſſued out a proclamation, commanding all his ſubjects from ſixteen to ſixty years of age to take up arms. But the hiſtorians mention not this armament, nor the occaſion.

He grants a pardon to Henry's friends. Act. Pub. xi. p. 527. Hall. Stow. Act. Pub. xi. p. 523.

In Auguſt this year, Edward received ambaſſadors from the duke of Bretagne, who came to negotiate a truce. As the duke then found himſelf preſſed by the king of France, and was labouring to form the League of the Public Good, he was glad to ſecure himſelf againſt England. He obtained from Edward a truce for one year, beginning the 1ſt of October.

He concludes a peace with Bretagne. Act. Pub. xi. p. 531, 532, 536.

About the ſame time the ſee of York becoming vacant,

[q] From May 20, till October 1. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xi. p. 523.

[r] Rapin calls him Kennet. He was anceſtor of the earls of Caſſiles, but was not the ſole regent at that time.

[s] This was done by cutting off his ſpurs, reverſing and rending his coat of arms, and breaking his ſword over his head. Hall, fol. 191. Stow, p. 418.

George

Edw. IV. George Nevill, brother of the earl of Warwick, was promoted to it by the king's recommendation [t].

1465. The earl of Warwick concludes the king's marriage with Bona of Savoy. Hall.

Mean while, the earl of Warwick, who was ſtill at the court of France, having preſſed Lewis upon the principal occaſion of his embaſſy, Edward's marriage with Bona of Savoy was at length concluded and agreed. Preſently after, Lewis appointed the earl of Dammartin for his ambaſſador to Edward, to ſettle with him what ſtill remained to be done in the affair; but all theſe projects were demoliſhed by love. What I am going to relate is not a romance, but a true ſtory, which ſhews how far that paſſion is ſometimes concerned in the moſt important revolutions; for this affair was attended with great conſequences.

Edward falls in love with Elizabeth Woodville, Hall. Stow. Habington. Biondi.

Whilſt the earl of Warwick was haſtening in France, with all his power, the concluſion of his negotiation, Edward, by mere accident, rendered it uſeleſs in England. The prince being in Northamptonſhire near the manor of Grafton [u], had a mind to viſit Jaquelina of Luxemburg, ducheſs of Bedford, who had married Sir Richard Woodville. By him ſhe had, among other children, a daughter called Elizabeth, who had been wife to Sir John Grey of Groby, and upon his death was retired to her father. She had the affliction to ſee her huſband's eſtate confiſcated, on account of his attachment to the intereſt of the houſe of Lancaſter, in whoſe ſervice he had loſt his life. The king's viſit appearing to the young lady to be a favorable opportunity, ſhe came and threw herſelf at his feet, imploring the reſtitution of her deceaſed huſband's lands, and his pity upon their children. Edward, who was young and very amorous, no ſooner ſaw the charming widow at his feet, but he fell deſperately in love with her. He immediately gave her hopes, as he raiſed her from the ground, that he would grant her requeſt, and even intimated, it was not in his power to refuſe her any thing. Afterwards, in his

[t] The parliament that had been held April 29, laſt year, after ſeveral prorogations, met again this year at Weſtminſter on January 21, and granted the king, for life, tunnage and poundage; and of every Engliſh merchant for every ſack of wool, thirty-three ſhillings and four-pence; of every two hundred and forty wool-fells, the ſame; and of every laſt of hides, three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence. Of every merchant ſtranger, as well denizen as otherwiſe, for every ſack of wool, three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence; of every laſt of hides, three pounds thirteen ſhillings and four-pence; of every two hundred and forty wool-fells, three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence. Cotton's Ab. p. 675, 676. In this parliament, the importation of foreign woollen-cloths was prohibited, under pain of forfeiture: and ſeveral other regulations were made about the length and breadth of Engliſh cloths, too long to be inſerted. See Statut. 4 Edw. IV.

[u] He came there accidentally, as he was hunting in the foreſt of Wychwood. Hall, fol. 194.

private converſations with her, he would fain have perſuaded her to purchaſe the favour at a very high rate. All the hiſtorians agree, he was the handſomeſt man in England, and the moſt proper to make conqueſts on the fair ſex. As he knew this, he did not queſtion to gain the lady's heart, with the ſame eaſe he had done many others. But ſhe plainly told him, that though ſhe thought herſelf unworthy to be a queen, ſhe was above being a concubine. This declaration, which ſhewed ſo great a virtue in Elizabeth, made ſuch impreſſion on the king, that deſpairing to attain his ends any other way, he offered her marriage. A heart like Edward's, with a crown, could hardly be refuſed. The young lady, agreeably ſurprized at ſo advantagious an offer, accepted it immediately in ſo reſpectful and grateful a manner, as compleated the conqueſt of the monarch's heart. However, as he was unwilling to diſoblige the ducheſs of York his mother, he could not think of proceeding any farther without acquainting her with his intention. The ducheſs, ſurprized at the haſty reſolution, uſed all her endeavours to diſſuade him from it. She repreſented to him the injury he would do the earl of Warwick, to whom he was ſo much obliged, and who, it was to be feared, would highly reſent it: that by the affront he was going to put upon the king of France, he would make him his mortal enemy, and render a peace impracticable: that the nobles of England would behold with envy, the Woodville family raiſed ſo high above them, and their diſcontent might be attended with fatal conſequences. In a word, he was going to marry a woman with nothing, his ſubject, who had children by another huſband. Edward briefly replied, it was uncertain whether the earl of Warwick would conſider his change as an affront; but, as for him, he was ſure of his affection: that the king of France was like to have affairs upon his hands, that would probably divert him from thinking of revenge: that a king's marrying a ſubject, inſtead of offending the great men, would rather be agreeable to them, ſince for the future all the noble families might aſpire to the ſame honour. Laſtly, that a dower ought to be of no conſideration in a king's marriage; and whatever elſe he could expect, would be ſupplied by his love, and her virtue, whom he choſe for his wife. The ducheſs, perceiving the king was not perſuaded by her arguments, added another, and, as ſhe thought, a much ſtronger reaſon. She remonſtrated to him, that he was contracted to the lady Elizabeth Lucy, and could not in conſcience take another wife. Edward poſitively denied he was engaged to that lady: nevertheleſs, for his

Edw. IV. 1465.

Hall. Hollingſh.

mother's

Edw. IV. 1465. mother's ſatisfaction, or for fear the pretended contract might one day furniſh a pretence to diſpute the validity of his marriage, he conſented that Elizabeth Lucy ſhould be examined by ſome biſhops. Upon her examination, ſhe confeſſed, the king had not made her a poſitive promiſe: but ſhe ſaid however, ſhe ſhould never have yielded to his deſires, had ſhe not been perſuaded of his intention to marry her. This anſwer ſhewing, there was no abſolute promiſe on the king's part, the biſhops were of opinion the king might with a ſafe conſcience marry another. Accordingly, Edward eſpouſed Elizabeth Woodville in the preſence of a few perſons [w], ſo that his marriage was divulged only by the orders given to prepare for the new queen's coronation [x].

and marries her. February. Hall. Hollingſh.

The nobles jealous of the Woodvilles.

The nobles and people were extremely ſurprized to ſee the king married to one of his ſubjects, when he was negotiating a marriage at the court of France with the princeſs of Savoy; nay, when that marriage was already concluded. Sir Richard Woodville, the queen's father, was immediately raiſed to the dignity of earl Rivers, and his ſon Anthony Woodville, married to the only daughter of the lord Scales, the greateſt heireſs in the kingdom [y]. This created great envy in the nobles, particularly in the duke of Clarence, who could not forbear being angry, that the king his brother ſhould not think of procuring him ſo rich a match. But this was nothing in compariſon of the earl of Warwick's indignation for being thus mocked. He thought the king ſhould have had more reſpect for him, than to uſe him ſo diſhonorably. He expreſſed his reſentment to the king of France, who did not fail to inflame it to the utmoſt of his power. Lewis himſelf could not but look upon Edward's proceedings as a deadly affront: but his affairs not permitting him to demand immediate ſatisfaction, he concealed his reſentment, till he had a favorable opportunity to ſhew it. As for the earl of Warwick, he left the court of France and returned into England, with a heart full of hatred and revenge againſt Edward, whoſe ingratitude he abhorred. He took care however to conceal his ſentiments, becauſe it was not yet time to diſcover them; but his very diſſimulation ſhewed the king, he was extremely diſguſted: wherefore, Edward himſelf began to conſider him as a ſecret enemy, though he ſtill gave him ſome ſlight marks of his confidence. Thus amidſt the diſguiſes of the king and

The queen's father made earl Rivers, and her brother marries a rich heireſs. Hall.

The king and Warwick begin to hate one another. Hall. Hollingſh.

[w] At Grafton. Hall, fol. 195.

[x] She was crowned May 26. Stow, p. 419.

[y] And alſo Sir Thomas Grey, ſon of Sir John Grey, the queen's firſt huſband, was created marqueſs of Dorſet, and married to [illegible] heireſs of the lord Bonville. Hall, fol. 195.

the

the earl, a mutual hatred was nouriſhed, which induced the king to give him ſeveral mortifications, as well to gratify his paſſion, as to leſſen the earl's credit with the people. As he could not believe, that he who had by his intereſt raiſed him to the throne, might likewiſe have it in his power to pull him down, he was not careful to ſhow him any regard. Warwick plainly perceived the king's aim, but wiſely diſſembled, for fear an unſeaſonable reſentment might oblige Edward to diſable him to be revenged. All the hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, that preſently after his return from France, he retired into the country on pretence of his health. But we find in the Collection of the Public Acts, that during the years 1465 and 1466, he was at court, and even employed in negotiations of importance with ambaſſadors of foreign princes. So, it was two years after his return that he withdrew, when he could no longer bear to be entirely removed from affairs, whilſt the new earl Rivers had all the king's confidence. Edw. IV. 1465. Act. Pub. xi p. 540, —578.

The reſt of the year 1465 was ſpent in ſundry negotiations with the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Charolois, and the duke of Bretagne. As theſe ſeveral negotiations concerned the affairs of France, and as upon theſe depends, in great meaſure, the knowledge of the hiſtory of England, it will be neceſſary briefly to relate their ſituation at that time.

Lewis XI. was one of the ſubtleſt and leaſt ſcrupulous princes then in Europe. His deſign was, as I obſerved, to ruin the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, the former by artifice, and the latter by force. With regard to the duke of Bretagne, he had begun to execute his project, by aſſembling an army in Anjou, ready to fall upon Bretagne, and which only waited till the delay granted the duke was expired. As for the duke of Burgundy, Lewis had not thought proper to proceed ſo haughtily with him. He was too powerful a prince to hope to ſucceed by attacking him openly; but he made uſe of a ſecret expedient, which partly procured him what would have been with great difficulty obtained by way of arms. He bribed the lords of Croy and Chimay, brothers, prime miniſters and confidents of the duke, who perſuaded their maſter to deliver to the crown of France the towns on the Somme [z], for four hundred thouſand crowns, purſuant to the treaty of Arras. Charles earl of Charolois, only ſon to the duke of Burgundy, conſidered that reſtitution as a mortal wound to Affairs of France. Monſtrelet. P. Daniel. Monſtrelet. Commin.

z Amiens, Abbeville, Saint-Quentin, Peronne, Dourlens, &c. Commines, l. i. c. 1, 12. Monſtrelet, fol. 98.

him

Edw. IV. 1465. him and his houſe. He believed, the duke his father ſhould at any rate have kept thoſe places, which rendered him more formidable to France than all the reſt of his dominions. He was ſo angry with the miniſters, that he openly threatned to puniſh them one day for their pernicious advice to his father. This affair created between the father and ſon a quarrel, which the favorites took care to foment; ſo that the earl at laſt in great diſcontent retired into Holland. He pretended, it was not ſafe for him to be any longer at court; that the favorites had counſelled his father to apprehend him, and even bribed people to poiſon him.

Memoirs of Commines. Whilſt the earl of Charolois was in Holland, Lewis XI. ſent thither privately the baſtard of Rubempré, in a veſſel fitted out at Dieppe, with ſome choſen ſoldiers, who, without knowing where they were going, had orders to obey Rubempré's commands. The baſtard landing with four of theſe ſoldiers, was known and diſcovered to the earl of Charolois, who immediately cauſed him to be ſeized. Some ſay, there was found upon him an order under the king's own hand to apprehend the earl, and bring him away dead or alive. In the mean time, Lewis was upon the Somme, with a conſiderable army drawn together upon ſome pretence. He had appointed the duke of Burgundy to meet him, on purpoſe, as it was afterwards reported, to ſeize his perſon as ſoon as he knew the ſucceſs of Rubempré's plot. But the earl of Charolois ſending ſpeedy notice to his father of what he had diſcovered, the duke immediately rode away from Heſdin, where he was now come. Thus, if it be true, that Lewis intended to ſeize at once the father and ſon, his project miſcarried. This attempt, whether it was only ſuſpected, or there was ſome proof of it, greatly increaſed the earl of Charolois's hatred to Lewis. He every where proclaimed, that the king of France deſigned to aſſaſſinate or carry him away by force, and the report immediately flew all over Flanders.

Lewis eaſily perceived, his honour could not but be concerned in the affair, eſpecially if the baſtard of Rubempré, whoſe trial was preparing in Holland, ſhould be convicted of the fact laid to his charge. So, to prevent that trial, he ſent the chancellor de Morvilliers with ſome other ambaſſadors to the duke of Burgundy, to require him to deliver the priſoners into his hands. The earl of Charolois being preſent at the audience, the chancellor ſpoke very haughtily to the duke, and even dropt ſome offenſive expreſſions againſt the earl his ſon. The earl would have frequently replied; but the chancellor ſtill interrupted him, with ſaying, he was ſent to his father,

father, and not to him. The duke of Burgundy's anſwer was, that being ſovereign in Holland, without any dependance on France, he would cauſe the priſoner to be tried, and either puniſhed or acquitted, according as he was found guilty or innocent. When the ambaſſadors of France took their leave of the duke, the earl of Charolois taking one of them aſide, ſaid to him, "The king your maſter has been very ſevere "upon me by his chancellor, but he ſhall repent it before "a year is at an end." And indeed, he was as good as his word. Edw. IV. 1465.

This paſſed in the year 1464, whilſt the duke of Bretagne, to defend himſelf againſt Lewis, was labouring to form the League of the Public Good above-mentioned. The earl of Charolois was one of the firſt to come into it, and had obtained his father's permiſſion to raiſe troops and join the duke of Bretagne, with almoſt all the great men of France, who were to be near Paris in June 1465. When the duke of Bretagne ſaw himſelf ſecure of a powerful aſſiſtance, he ſent ambaſſadors to the king, under colour of deſiring a longer delay, but in reality to corrupt the duke of Berry his brother. They ſucceeded ſo well, that they brought the duke with them into Bretagne. As ſoon as he was out of the king's power, the confederates declared him head of the league, and every one went and prepared to be at the rendezvous. The duke of Bourbon was the firſt that ventured to take up arms, with a deſign to draw the king into his country at a diſtance from Paris. Lewis, who had yet no intelligence of the league, marched immediately towards Bourbonnois. But quickly after he received advice, that the earl of Charolois, at the head of a powerful army, was approaching Paris, and the duke of Bretagne with the reſt of the confederates, were preparing to join him. Upon the news, he ſpeedily left Bourbonnois to ſave his metropolis. In the mean time, the earl of Charolois attempted to become maſter of it; but as he ſaw no appearance of ſucceſs, went and encamped at Montlhery, expecting the dukes of Berry and Bretagne. Mean while the king, who was advancing with great marches, being come near Montlhery, the two armies met and joined battle. The ſucceſs was ſo doubtful, that both ſides claimed the advantage. But as the king decamped in the night, to throw himſelf into Paris, he gave occaſion to his enemies to ſay, he owned his defeat. Some days after, the dukes of Berry and Bretagny joined the Burgundians. But the king had now ſo well provided for the defence of his capital, that it was impoſſible for the confederates to take it. At length, the

War of the Public Good againſt Lewis XI. Commin. Argentré. Mezerai. Monſtrelet.

Monſtrelet. Commin.

Edw. IV. 1465. the war ended in a treaty ſigned at Conflans the 30th of October. Lewis reſtored to the duke of Burgundy the towns upon the Somme, for which he had paid four hundred thouſand crowns, and gave Normandy in appennage to the duke his brother [a]. After the ſigning of the treaty, the earl of Charolois retired into the Low Countries, and the duke of Berry, accompanied with the duke of Bretagne, went and took poſſeſſion of Normandy. But a few days after, the duke of Bretagne quarrelling with the duke of Berry, returned into his own dominions. Then Lewis taking advantage of this diſſention, marched without loſs of time into Normandy, expelled his brother, and forced him once more to take refuge in Bretagne, where, notwithſtanding their former quarrel, he was civilly received by the duke. Theſe are all the moſt material tranſactions in France, in the year 1465.

It ends in a treaty. Monſtrelet. Commin.

Lewis ſeizes again upon Normandy. Monſtrelet. Commin.

Negotiations of the duke of Bretagne, and earl of Charolois, with Edward. Act. Pub. xi. p. 540, 542, p. 547.

Whilſt the French princes were employed in preparations for the war of the Public Good, they had not neglected the king of England. We find in the Collection of the Public Acts, that from March to their taking the field, the duke of Bretagne and the earl of Charolois had their ambaſſadors at London, and the earl offered to make with Edward a treaty of alliance and friendſhip. Lewis XI. himſelf, though very angry with him, did not fail to court him. But Edward willing, no doubt, to be better informed of his affairs, avoided, on divers pretences, to come to any agreement.

Truce prolonged with Scotland. p. 546—558.

He proceeded otherwiſe with regard to the king of Scotland, with whom, after a long negotiation, he concluded at Newcaſtle a treaty, whereby the late truce was prolonged for forty years [b] till 1519.

1466. Birth of the princeſs Elizabeth. Hall.

In the beginning of the year 1466, the queen was delivered of a princeſs, called Elizabeth [c], who afterwards became the happy inſtrument to bring peace to England, after a long civil war.

Edward keeps fair with the king of France, and with his enemies.

Edward having greatly affronted Lewis XI. conſidered him as a ſecret enemy, who would not miſs an opportunity to be revenged. He behaved however with great caution during the war of the Public Good, for fear of affording him a freſh cauſe to ſupport the houſe of Lancaſter, in caſe he ſubdued the confederate princes. The ſame reaſon induced him to hearken to the propoſals of the duke of Berry and Bretagne;

[a] Charles duke of Berry. Commin. l. 1. c. 5.

[b] From Octob. 31. 1472, when the fifteen years truce, concluded before, was to end, to Octob. 31. 1519. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xi. p. 558.

[c] She was born Feb. 11. Stow, p. 419.

but

but he had taken care to conclude nothing, either with them or the king of France. Afterwards, Lewis's diſadvantage at the treaty of Conflans, might have cauſed Edward to pay him leſs regard, had not the revolution immediately after in Normandy, made him act with deliberation. Mean time he was equally preſſed on both ſides. The king of France, feigning to forget the affront he had received, urged him to enter into treaty with him for a final peace between the two crowns, or at leaſt for a long truce. On the other hand, the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Charolois, and the duke of Bretagne, repreſented to him, that if he ſuffered the French princes to be oppreſſed, the king of France would become ſo powerful, as could not but prove fatal to England. The courſe he took upon this occaſion, was to manage them all, and keep both ſides in hopes. Indeed, it was by no means his intereſt to concern himſelf in their quarrels, and create new enemies, when the Lancaſtrian party, though humbled, were ſtill very numerous in England. This was the real motive of his conduct, and of all his negotiations, as well with the king of France, as with the other princes, who preſſed him to declare himſelf. Mean while, to keep affairs upon the ſame foot, he concluded a ſhort truce with France, and the like with the duke of Bretagne. In managing the king of France he had a farther aim, to haſten the concluſion of a marriage propoſed to him between Margaret his ſiſter, and the earl of Charolois. He was ſenſible, the leſs inclined he appeared to break with Lewis XI. the more eager would the duke of Burgundy and his ſon be for the marriage. And indeed, his policy had all the ſucceſs he expected. Theſe two princes perceiving how difficult it was to engage him in their party, imagined there was no ſhorter way to attain their ends than to effect the marriage propoſed. As ſoon as Edward ſaw them in that diſpoſition, he delayed not to enter into engagements with them. He loved not the king of France, as knowing he was not beloved by him. Beſides, he conſidered there was no reliance upon that prince's word, that his proceedings were inſincere, and at one time or other he would ſhow his reſentment. Moreover, it was not for the intereſt of England to ſuffer the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne to be ruined, which, as it evidently appeared, was Lewis's grand deſign. Wherefore, October the 23d, he ſigned a treaty of perſonal alliance, amity, and friendſhip with the earl of Charolois. A few days after, he ſent a ſafe-conduct to Lewis of Bruges lord of Gruthuyſe, appointed by the duke of Burgundy to treat with him of a perpetual peace, and to ſettle the

Edw. IV. 1466.

He makes a truce with France, June 7, and with Bretagne, April 30. Act. Pub. xi. p. 565, 567, 568. Project of the marriage of the earl of Charolois with Edward's ſiſter. P. 564. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Treaty with the earl of Charolois. Act. Pub. xi. p. 580. P. 574.

Edw. IV. 1466. articles of the marriage of the earl of Charolois with the princeſs Margaret.

All this ſeemed to tend to a league between Edward and the duke of Burgundy for the duke of Bretagne's defence, who was vigorouſly preſſed. Since the duke of Berry had been expelled out of Normandy, the duke of Bretagne had undertaken to ſupport him, and cauſe the treaty of Conflans to be executed. This was projected by him and the earl of Charolois, who promiſed to make a powerful diverſion in Picardy. But unhappily for the duke of Bretagne, the duke of Burgundy was engaged in a war with the Liegeois, which hindered the earl of Charolois from performing his promiſe. Mean while, Lewis XI. improving the juncture, preſſed the duke of Bretagne extremely, who being unable to withſtand him alone, gave him hopes he would comply with his will. But this was only to gain time, till the duke of Burgundy was ready. At length the war with Liege being ſuſpended by a truce, the earl of Charolois prepared to march into Picardy. But, when leaſt expected, Lewis by his ſecret practices cauſed the Liegeois to take up arms again. Thus the duke of Bretagne was ſtill greatly diſtreſſed. He defended himſelf however as well as he could, in expectation of being quickly aſſiſted.

The duke of Bretagne is hard preſſed. Commin. Argentré.

The earl of Charolois cannot aſſiſt him.

Commin.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in France, Edward concluded a treaty of perpetual alliance with the king of Caſtile. He had done the ſame with the king of Denmark the beginning of the year. Though theſe alliances were inconſiderable with reſpect to his principal affairs, they gained him reputation, and rendered him more formidable to his enemies.

Edward's alliances with Caſtile and Denmark. Act. Pub. xi. p. 537. 551, 560, 569, 580, 583.

The firſt part of the year 1467 was wholly ſpent in negotiations with France and the duke of Burgundy. The duke only waited the end of the war with Liege, to give all his forces to his ſon, and prevent, by a powerful diverſion, the duke of Bretagne's ruin, who having already loſt his towns in Lower-Normandy, ſaw himſelf upon the point of being attacked in his own country. On the other ſide, Lewis, who ſpared no coſt to have good ſpies, was informed of what paſſed between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, and eaſily perceived, their union tended to the duke of Bretagne's defence. As he ſtill intended to ruin that prince, he omitted nothing to divert Edward from the engagements he was entering into with his enemies. For that purpoſe, in February 1467, he ſent the baſtard of Bourbon to England, and in June, the archbiſhop of Narbonne. Edward pretending to be

1467. Negotiations with Lewis and the duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub. xi. p. 576 ——600.

be entirely disengaged, appointed commissioners [d] to treat with these ambassadors. But as it is easy to gain time in these negotiations, nothing was concluded. Mean while, Lewis was afraid to distress the duke of Bretagne, for fear of obliging Edward to declare for him. Edw. IV. 1467.

Such was the state of affairs between these two princes, when the duke of Burgundy died the 15th of June, in the 72d year of his age. Charles earl of Charolois his only son, whom for the future I shall call duke of Burgundy, succeeded him in all his dominions. He would immediately have posted to the duke of Bretagne's assistance, had he not been detained by the war with Liege. Mean while, Lewis, fearing his prey would escape out of his hands, sent and offered the new duke of Burgundy to desert the Liegeois whom he had hitherto assisted, provided he would, in return, abandon the duke of Bretagne. If Charles had closed with that proposal, the duke of Bretagne would have been irrecoverably lost, since there was now a French army of thirty thousand men in the heart of his country. But he bravely rejected it, declaring, let what would be the consequence, he would assist the duke of Bretagne to the utmost of his power. He only waited the end of the war with Liege, to throw himself into Picardy, and did not question that Edward would declare against France, when he saw himself secure of being so strongly supported. The very day of his father's death, he ratified his alliance with Edward, and the new bond whereby they were going to be farther united, namely, his marriage then upon the point of conclusion, seemed to promise him, he should never want the assistance of England. Mean while, the duke of Bretagne, fearing to be oppressed before the succours arrived, put Lewis in hopes of all the satisfaction he desired, and by that means obtained a truce which gave him some respite.

Death of the duke of Burgundy. The earl of Charolois succeeds him. Monstrelet. Mezerai. He refuses to leave the duke of Bretagne. He ratifies his treaty with Edward. Act. Pub. xi. p. 580. The duke of Bretagne obtains a truce.

Whilst these things passed in France, considerable alterations were made in the court of England, which in the end occasioned great troubles. The queen's relations daily encreased in favour with the king; and the earl of Warwick with his brothers, who had been so powerful, were little regarded. The archbishop of York [e] was still chancellor, but at length was removed to make room for the bishop of Bath

The queen's relations in great credit at court. Biondi. Habington.

[d] Richard Neville earl of Warwick, Sir John Wenlock chief-butler of England, Sir Robert Harcourt, Thomas Kent doctor of laws, and Thomas Colt. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xi. p. 578.

[e] George Neville.

Edw. IV. 1467. and Wells [f], one of the queen's moſt zealous adherents. The earl of Warwick was no longer employed as before in affairs of importance. This manifeſtly appears in the Collection of Public Acts, where his name is not found after the middle of this year. As for the marquiſs of Montague his brother, governor of the northern counties, that poſt being of no great conſequence, ſince there was no danger from Scotland, he was not diſplaced. Beſides, Edward had leſs inclination to diſpleaſe him, becauſe in the decline of his family's credit he behaved with more circumſpection than his brothers. On the other hand, the earl Rivers, the queen's father, was raiſed to the higheſt degree of favour. Beſides the office of lord-treaſurer, he was likewiſe made high-conſtable, upon the voluntary or forced reſignation of the earl of Worceſter [g], whom the king requited, by making him lieutenant in Ireland, under the duke of Clarence. Thus the earl Rivers held at once two of the greateſt offices of the crown, and moreover, his ſon Anthony Woodville had a grant of the reverſion of the high conſtableſhip. Probably it was about this time, that the earl of Warwick retired from court, and the archbiſhop of York went and reſided upon his dioceſe.

Warwick and his brothers neglected.

The earl of Rivers is treaſurer and high-conſtable. Act. Pub. xi. p. 581.

The earl of Warwick withdraws from court. He is extremely incenſed againſt the king. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

It was very difficult for a man of the earl of Warwick's character, to ſuffer ſuch a diſgrace without reſentment. He was the proudeſt lord that had ever been in England, and his natural pride was ſtill encreaſed by the great ſervices he had done the king. The affront put upon him by the king, in marrying in England without his knowledge, at the very time he was employed by him at Paris to negotiate another marriage, which too was concluded, had extremely incenſed him. The contempt ſhown him by the king at his return from France, in not making him ſome civil excuſe, had very much increaſed his diſguſt. To this was added, an extreme indignation to ſee his credit entirely ſunk. In fine, the favours heaped by the king upon the queen's relations, racked him with envy, and threw him upon the moſt violent reſolutions [h]. If we may believe certain hiſtorians, he had a ſtronger reaſon to hate Edward than thoſe I have mentioned. And that is, Edward attempted the chaſtity of one of his

Hall, fol. 195.

[f] Robert de Stillington.
[g] John Tiptoft.
[h] He could not fail of drawing ſoon a large army together, if, as Stow relates, whenever he came to London, ſix oxen were eaten in his houſe at breakfaſt, and every tavern was full of his meat. Stow, p. 421.

daugh-

daughters [i]; and this prince's character, who was not very ſcrupulous in that reſpect, makes the thing credible. Be this as it will, the earl mortally hated Edward, though he concealed his averſion in order to ſhew it effectually. It is certain the king, to whom he was not unknown, committed a great error in not giving him ſome ſatisfaction, or in not ruining him entirely. With perſons of this character, policy requires that one or other of theſe two courſes be taken. The continuator of Monſtrelet ſays, that in June 1467, the earl of Warwick met Lewis XI. at Roan, and ſtaid with him twelve days. If ſo, it may be preſumed, that being ſent to France upon the king's affairs, he took that opportunity to ſecure Lewis's protection, and concert meaſures with him concerning the execution of his project to dethrone Edward [k].

Edw. IV. 1467.

He hides his reſentment.

He goes and makes Lewis his friend. fol. 153.

Mean while, the negotiation of the marriage of Edward's ſiſter with the duke of Burgundy ſtill continued, whilſt Edward kept Lewis in hopes of concluding a perpetual peace with him. But it was only to amuſe him, and haſten withal the marriage of the princeſs his ſiſter. However, for fear his embaſſy to Paris might give ſome ſuſpicion to the duke of Burgundy, he iſſued out a proclamation, expreſsly ordering the coaſts to be well-guarded, as ſoon as the truce with France, which was to end in March, ſhould be expired. Shortly after, the marriage was at laſt concluded, and Margaret ſent to Bruges with a ſplendid retinue, being attended by the ducheſſes of Exeter and Suffolk [l]. There the nuptials were ſolemnized with a magnificence worthy the two princes who were allied by the marriage. The ſame day the truce of commerce between England and the duke of Burgundy's dominions was prolonged for thirty years.

1468.

The duke of Burgundy's marriage ſolemnized. Hall. Stow. Act. Pub. xi. p. 602.

A truce of trade prolonged for thirty years. Ib. p. 591. 605, 624.

The reſt of the winter was ſpent in negotiating an alliance between Edward and the duke of Bretagne: The duke of Burgundy ſtrongly ſollicited the concluſion of that affair, becauſe he was ſo incumbered with the war of Liege, that it was not poſſible for him to aſſiſt his ally. The thing was not

Negotiations with the duke of Bretagne. p. 602, 603.

[i] Or his niece. The certainty was not, for both their honors, openly known, ſays Hall, fol. 195.

[k] This year, on June 3, or, according to others, July 3, a parliament met at Weſtminſter, wherein the king reſumed into his hands all the crown lands granted away during his reign. This parliament was prorogued to November 6, at Reading, and from thence adjourned to May 12, 1468, at Weſtminſter, when it met again, and granted the king two tenths, and two fifteenths. Cotton's Abridg. p. 680---- 684. Stow, p. 420, 421.

[l] And, the dukes their huſbands, John Holland, and John de la Pole. They ſet out June 18. The marriage was ſolemnized on July 8. Hall, fol. 193. Hollingſhead, p. 1318. Stow, p. 421.

Edw. IV. 1468. without difficulties, since it was to pass from a long war between England and Bretagne, to a strict alliance. So, all that could be done at first, was to prolong the truce till July.

Ib. p. 615, 624. After that, Edward and the duke of Bretagne sent one another letters patent, promising mutual assistance to the utmost

p. 615. of their power. The duke of Burgundy sent the like to the king, to induce him the sooner to declare against France. Indeed, it was of the utmost consequence to him to prevent the duke of Bretagne's ruin, and procure the duke of Berry a settlement, which might enable him to keep the king his brother in awe. He was almost certain, that after Lewis had put it out of the power of these two princes to hurt him, he would not fail to attack him with all his forces. On the other hand, Edward saw but too plainly how prejudicial

Edward resolves to aid the duke of Bretagne.

p. 624, 625. Lewis's growth of power might be to him. Wherefore by his orders his commissioners signed, the 2d of July, a treaty of commerce with Bretagne, and the next day a levy of troops was ordered for the assistance of that duchy. In the beginning of August, he sent ambassadors [m] to France, on pretence to treat with Lewis of a perpetual peace, and yet two days after he signed a treaty, whereby he ingaged to send the duke of Bretagne an aid of three thousand archers. As the duke saw himself pressed by the king of France, it was necessary to hasten that affair, as well on his own as on the part of Edward, without standing too much upon

p. 626, 628. p. 630. terms. The fleet and troops designed for Bretagne being ready in the beginning of October, the king gave the command to Anthony Woodville, lord Scales, his brother-in-law.

The dukes of Berry and Bretagne are put to straits. Argentré. Mezerai. Commin.

Whilst these affairs were negotiating at London, the dukes of Berry and Bretagne were not a little embarrassed. The truce granted them by Lewis being about to expire, they saw the duke of Burgundy too remote and too busy elsewhere, to hope to be delivered by his means. As for the succours expected from England, they were neither speedy nor strong enough to free them from their danger. Mean

The duke of Burgundy beats the Liegeois.

while, the duke of Burgundy made all possible haste to end the war with the Liegeois, knowing how the duke of Bretagne was pressed. At last he found means to force his enemies to a battle, wherein he obtained a complete victory, which obliged them to sue for peace. As soon as the treaty

He hears the dukes had made a peace with Lewis.

was signed, he marched for Picardy. He was now come upon the Somme, ready to enter upon action, when he heard

[m] Thomas bishop of Rochester. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xi. p. 634.

thn

the dukes of Berry and Bretagne had made a peace with the king of France, and after renouncing all foreign alliance, the duke of Berry was contented with an appennage of six thousand livres a year in land, and an annual pension of sixty thousand in lieu of Normandy, granted him by the treaty of Conflans. This news, which Lewis sent him by an express, was the most unwelcome. However, without being discouraged with this unexpected accident, he resolved to remain encamped where he was. He hoped, as the duke of Bretagne had been compelled to a peace, he would repent what he had done, when he saw himself supported, and easily find an excuse to break it. This is what he plainly told those who advised him to sue to the king of France for peace. Edw. IV. 1468.

He resolves to go to war without them.

The duke of Burgundy's steddiness inspired Lewis with fear. He was apprehensive, the dukes of Berry and Bretagne would recede, when they saw assistance so near. In that case, he might depend upon having to deal with the king of England, the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, and many of the most potent lords of the kingdom, who were dissatisfied with him. In this uneasiness, which was not ill grounded, he departed from Paris, where he then was, into Picardy, to treat with the duke of Burgundy. The design succeeded to his wish. The duke, uncertain of the resolution the Duke of Bretagne might take, agreed to retire, for four hundred thousand crowns, which Lewis gave him to defray his expences.

He gets advantagious terms of Lewis.

Hitherto Lewis had reason to be satisfied with his advantages. He had dispersed the league made against him, and reduced the duke his brother to a very moderate appennage. However, he could not think of abandoning his first project. He was resolved to ruin the duke of Bretagne, that he might afterwards attack the other peers, and the duke of Burgundy himself with more safety. His extreme desire to execute that project, made him commit the grossest fault that so politic a prince could be guilty of. After signing his treaty with the duke of Burgundy, he would go and confer with him. He had such a conceit of himself, that he fancied he should persuade that prince to relinquish the interests of the duke of Bretagne. At least, he hoped to sow jealousies between them, from which he could not fail to reap great advantages. To that end, he demanded of the duke a safe-conduct to meet him at Peronne. As soon as it was received, he repaired to that town with a slender retinue, the better to gain the duke by that extreme confidence. But

Lewis puts himself imprudently in the power of the duke of Burgundy. Commin.

Edw. IV. 1468. before his departure, he forgot to recall the ambaſſadors ſent to the Liegeois to perſuade them to break the peace with the duke of Burgundy, upon his aſſurance of a powerful aid. This was ſufficient to induce that people to take up arms again, and the news of it was brought to the duke of Burgundy at Peronne, the ſame or the next day after the king's arrival. A proceeding ſo contrary to good faith convincing the duke that Lewis thought only to deceive him, he even impriſoned him in the caſtle of Peronne, where he was lodged, and detained him ſeveral days, uncertain what to reſolve. Lewis, judging of his enemy by himſelf, was in mortal agonies: ſo, not knowing how to eſcape, he ſaw no other remedy but to ſubmit to what terms the duke ſhould pleaſe to impoſe upon him. He met with more generoſity in that prince than he could have expected. After a very ſhort negociation, it was agreed between them, that the king ſhould give Champagne and Brie to his brother, inſtead of Normandy, which he was to have had by the treaty of Conflans; and ſhould accompany the duke in the war with Liege. A few days after, they departed together towards the territories of Liege, and Lewis had the mortification to be himſelf witneſs of the deſtruction of the capital, which he had prepoſterouſly thrown into that misfortune. At laſt he got out of the duke of Burgundy's hands, after having been in continual fears either of loſing his life, or undergoing a grievous captivity during the reſidue of his days. Mean while, he had no inclination to execute the treaty made at Peronne. He found means afterwards to evade it.

The duke diſcovers the inſincerity of Lewis, and makes him priſoner Commin.

Lewis ſubmits to hard terms. Commin.

Deſtruction of the city of Liege. Commin.

It is time now to leave the affairs of which it was neceſſary to give a general knowledge, and reſume thoſe of England, where a more affecting ſcene is going to open, by the variety of the events, which render this part of Edward's reign very remarkable. On the 20th of October, Edward renewed the ancient alliance between England and Arragon. The Engliſh hiſtorians place this treaty in the year 1466, but in the Collection of the Public Acts, it is dated October 20, 1468. Probably they have confounded the alliance with Caſtile, in 1466, with that which was renewed two years after with Arragon. Edward is ſaid, upon this occaſion, to ſend the king of Arragon a preſent of ſome ewes and rams[n], which ſo

Edward's alliance with Arragon. Act. Publ. tom. xi. p. 631—635

[n] He gave licence and liberty for ſome Coteſwold ſheep to be tranſported into Spain. But the reader muſt not from hence infer, that there were no ſheep in that country before; for the contrary is evident from a patent of king Henry II. granted in the thirty-firſt of his reign, to the weavers of London.

so multiplied in Spain, that it proved very detrimental to the wool-trade of England. Edw. IV.

It was about the end of the year 1468, or the beginning of 1469, that the earl of Warwick believed himself in condition to begin the execution of his project against Edward. Since he had quitted the court, he was so forgot that he was not thought of, unless it was necessary to send him orders concerning his government of Calais. If he went to France the last year, as Monstrelet's continuator affirms, it is hardly to be doubted that he communicated his designs to Lewis XI. and took measures with him accordingly. But supposing he left not England, it was not difficult to treat with that prince by secret emissaries. However this be, the earl passionately desiring to show that he was not to be offended with impunity, believed it proper to begin with gaining his two brothers, the archbishop of York and the marquis of Montague, whose interest was the same with his. To that end he represented to them the services they had all three done the king, and the little account made thereof, since their rewards bore no proportion to what they had done for him: that not content with being ungrateful to all their family, he had put upon him in particular a grievous affront in the affair of his marriage: that moreover, he had attempted to disgrace their family in a manner insupportable to men of honour. In fine, after many other things tending to convince them of the king's ingratitude, he told them he was determined to use his utmost endeavours to shew him that he who had raised him to the throne, was powerful enough to pull him down; and for the execution of that design, desired their advice and assistance. The archbishop of York was very easily led to follow his brother's passion, but the marquis of Montague was not so forward to resolve: he alledged arguments and objections, which the earl of Warwick answered with great vehemence. At last he was prevailed with, but intimated it was more out of complaisance to his brother than inclination. 1469. The earl of Warwick draws his brothers into the plot to dethrone the king. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

This step being made, the earl of Warwick addressed himself to the duke of Clarence, the eldest of the king's brothers. He knew the duke was dissatisfied that the king his brother had done nothing for him but given him an empty title, which he did not want: that moreover, he had seen with extreme jealousy the lord Scales, the queen's brother, married He engages the duke of Clarence in the same design. Hall.

London, importing, that if any cloth were found to be made of Spanish wool, mixed with English wool, the mayor of London should see it burnt. Stow, p. 419.

to

Edw IV. 1469. to the richeſt heireſs in the kingdom, without any thought of procuring him ſo advantageous a match. Theſe conſiderations cauſing the earl of Warwick to believe the duke would gladly embrace an opportunity of being revenged, he imparted to him his deſign. The duke was really inclined as the earl wiſhed him, and, as he burned with deſire to be revenged for the little affection ſhown him by the king, readily entered into the plot. The better to confirm him in this reſolution, the earl of Warwick promiſed him his eldeſt daughter [o] in marriage with a conſiderable fortune. All the hiſtorians affirm, that preſently after this conference they went together to Calais [p], where the nuptials were ſolemnized, but do not ſay whether it was privately or with the king's conſent: what they add, that the duke and the earl ſtaid at Calais till the inſurrection, mentioned hereafter, cannot be true. It appears, on the contrary, by ſeveral papers in the Collection of the Public Acts, that they were in England moſt part of the year before the inſurrection, and even in the king's favour, who had no intelligence of their plot: nay, it ſeems he began to repent his great neglect of the earl of Warwick, ſince on the 17th of Auguſt he made him juſticiary of South Wales, and ſome time after ſeneſchal of the whole country [q].

He marries his daughter to him. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Act. Publ. tom. xi. p. 647.

Notwithſtanding theſe favours, the earl of Warwick's projects began to be executed. In the beginning of October there was a ſedition in Yorkſhire, which all the hiſtorians unanimouſly aſcribe to the ſecret practices of the marquis of Montague [r] and his brother the archbiſhop of York. The occaſion or pretence was this: there was at York an hoſpital [s], to the maintenance whereof the whole county had always contributed, without however being obliged. In time, theſe voluntary contributions were changed into a kind of right, wholly founded upon cuſtom, and for which there were collectors appointed. They who had been bribed to ſtir up the people, artfully ſpread a report that the contributions were miſapplied, and ſerved only to enrich the directors of the hoſpital: that beſides, the hoſpital being ſufficiently endowed, theſe collections were needleſs. Whereupon the country people took fire, as if it had been an affair of the utmoſt im-

An inſurrection in Yorkſhire, raiſed by Warwick's friend. Hall Hollingſh.

[o] Iſabella. Hall, fol. 206.

[p] Of which the earl of Warwick was governor. Hollingſh. p. 1330.

[q] — capitalem juſticiarium Suthwalliæ, — Camerarium Suthwalliæ, — et ſeneſchallum curiarum et commotorum, in comitatibus de Kermerdyn et Cardigan, etc. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xi. p. 647.

[r] John Nevill.

[s] Dedicated to St Leonard. Hall, fol. 201.

portance.

portance. They assembled to the number of fifteen thousand, and killing some of the collectors, marched towards York, under the command of Robert Huldern. Upon this news the marquis of Montague, who resided at York, assembling a body of the citizens, sallied out upon the rebels, slew a great number, and taking their leader, ordered his head to be struck off. This conduct would give occasion to presume the sedition was not raised by himself, had not his after-proceedings been less ambiguous. Edw. IV. 1469.

Montague defeats the mutineers, and beheads their leader.

The first rumour of the commotion made the king apprehensive of the consequences. Indeed the cause was not very important, but knowing how numerous the Lancastrian party still were, he did not doubt that it was raised by some lord, friend to that house: however he was very far from mistrusting his brother and the earl of Warwick to be the chief authors. Whatever the event might be, he dispatched orders to the earl of Pembroke, governor of Wales, to assemble all the forces of those parts, and keep himself ready to march [t]. Mean time, the Yorkshire malecontents, rather animated than discouraged at the ill success of their first attempt, took up arms again, and set at their head Henry son of the lord Fitz-Hugh, and Henry Neville, son of the lord Latimer. These two young leaders had not much experience, but were directed by sir John Conyers, a person of great conduct and valour, and well versed in the art of war. Their first project was to make themselves masters of York; but suddenly altering their resolution and rout, they marched towards London, not at all doubting that their army would increase by the way, as it really happened. Then it was that the affair of York hospital appeared to have been only a pretence to draw the people together; for the hospital afforded the seditious no manner of pretence to take the rout to London.

Pembroke ordered to raise an army in Wales. Stow. Habington. Hall.

Mean while, the earl of Pembroke having assembled about ten thousand men [u], began his march in quest of the malecontents: he was joined on the road by the lord Stafford with eight hundred archers. The two armies approaching one another, the earl of Pembroke sent sir Richard Herbert, his

The earl of Pembroke goes out to meet them. He is joined by the lord Stafford. Hall. Habington.

[t] He also issued out orders, November 16, to John Mowbray duke of Norfolk, John de la Pole duke of Suffolk, and Anthony earl Ryvers, to array and assemble all persons able to bear arms, in Norfolk and other parts; and made Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, and the prior of St. John's of Jerusalem renew their oaths of fealty to him. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xi. p. 648, 649, 650.

[u] Hall, fol. 201. Hollingsh. p. 1319. and others say, he had only six or seven thousand men. But Stow affirms, he had with him eighteen thousand men, and Humphrey lord Stafford of Southwick, with six thousand archers, p. 421.

brother,

Edw. IV. 1469.

brother, with a detachment [w] to view the enemy as near as poſſible. Sir Richard, who was a very good officer, executed his orders with great conduct, without expoſing himſelf however to be attacked: but his men, who had not his experience, prepoſterouſly imagining he would loſe a fair opportunity to defeat the enemies, fell againſt his will upon their rear: but Conyers, who foreſaw it, was ſo well prepared, that the detachment was routed with great loſs.

The earl receives a loſs. Hall. Hollingſh.

Edward hearing the news, writ to the earl of Pembroke not to be diſcouraged for ſo inconſiderable a loſs, aſſuring him he would come in perſon and join him, or ſend a ſtrong reinforcement. Mean while, the ſeditious, finding they had near them an enemy which might daily increaſe, and fearing to meet the king in the way, reſolved to retire to Warwick, where very likely the leaders knew they ſhould be well received: but the earl of Pembroke, impatient to have his revenge, marched directly towards them, and forced them to halt near Banbury, where the two armies encamped at a ſmall diſtance one from another [x]. Mean time, the earl of Pembroke and the lord Stafford quarrelling about an inn [y], Stafford withdrew in the night with his eight hundred archers. On the morrow at break of day the malecontents marched in good order to attack the king's army: they had heard by deſerters of the lord Stafford's retreat, and were reſolved to improve it. Henry Neville [z], one of their generals, advancing in order to engage, for fear the royaliſts ſhould retire, was fiercely repulſed, made priſoner, and ſlain in cold blood. This barbarous action inſpiring the northern men with a ſort of fury, they ruſhed upon their enemies, and notwithſtanding the valour of ſir Richard Herbert, who performed that day actions extolled by all the hiſtorians [a], the king's army was put to flight [b]. The earl of Pembroke and his brothers fell into the hands of the conquerors, who carrying them to Banbury, ordered their heads to be ſtruck off, in revenge for the death of ſir Henry Neville. After the victory, the malecontents continued their march to Warwick. Hi-

The mutineers reſolve to retire to Warwick.

The earl purſues them.

Stafford deſerts him. Hall. Hollingſh.

The king's army is worſted, and the earl of Pembroke beheaded. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

[w] Of two thouſand horſe. Hall, fol. 201.

[x] Upon Danes-Moor, near Hedgecot, within three miles of Banbury. Idem, fol. 202. Stow, p. 422.

[y] Where it ſeems a woman lived, who was a miſtreſs of the lord Stafford's. They had agreed too before hand, that whoever took poſſeſſion of an inn, ſhould keep it, and not be liable to be turned out. Hall, ibid.

[z] Son of lord Latimer.

[a] With his pole-ax in his hand, he made his way twice through the main body of his enemies. Hall, fol. 202.

[b] This battle was fought July 26, and there were above five thouſand Welſhmen ſlain. Hall, fol. 202. Stow, p. 422.

therto

therto the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence had not declared themſelves. It may be they were gone ſome time before to Calais, to avoid the ſuſpicion of being concerned in the inſurrection, in caſe it miſcarried, and to improve it in caſe of ſucceſs. Edw. IV. 1469. Biondi.

A few days after the battle of Banbury, the people of Northamptonſhire, following the example of the Yorkſhiremen, aſſembled in great numbers, under the conduct of one Robert of Riddiſdale [c]. This multitude, which continually increaſed, tumultuouſly aſſaulting Grafton, a ſeat belonging to the earl Rivers the queen's father, ſeized the earl and brought him to Northampton; where he was beheaded without any form of law. The Northamptonſhire mutineers behead the earl Rivers. Hollingſh. Hall.

On the other hand, the king, juſtly incenſed with the lord Stafford for abandoning the earl of Pembroke upon a frivolous quarrel, and by his retreat occaſioning the loſs of the battle of Banbury, commanded him to be publicly beheaded [d]. The king beheads the lord Stafford Hall.

The death of the earl Rivers ſhould, one would think, have convinced the king that the earl of Warwick, though abſent, was the real author of theſe troubles, ſuppoſing the march of the malecontents towards London, and the battle of Banbury had not been ſufficient to make him ſuſpect it. Warwick was ſworn enemy of the earl Rivers, he was angry with the king, and the malecontents had been received without oppoſition into Warwick: in a word, theſe people had no reaſon to take up arms againſt Edward on account of York-hoſpital, if they had not been privately encouraged by ſome powerful enemy of the king, who could be no other than the earl of Warwick: for there was not then in the kingdom any prince of the houſe of Lancaſter, or any lord of that party, of ſufficient power to cauſe theſe inſurrections. As therefore Edward could not be ignorant of the diſcontent and great credit of the earl of Warwick and his brothers, he ought to have naturally concluded they were the ſecret authors. And yet, though it appears in the Collection of the Public Acts, that the earl Rivers was put to death before the 16th of November, the king did not clearly ſee till the following March, that he had to deal with the earl of Warwick! ſtrange and inconceivable blindneſs! The king's blindneſs in regard to the earl of Warwick. Act. Publ. tom xi. p. 649.

The ſharpneſs of the ſeaſon interrupted for ſome time the civil war lately kindled. Beſides, the king, to whom it was 1470. The war ceaſes during the winter.

[c] Robert Hilliard, whom they nicknamed Robin of Riddeſdale. Hollingſh. He was beheaded on Auguſt 17, at Bridgewater, and buried at Glaſtonbury. Dugd. Baron. vol. i. p. 173.

very

Edw. IV. 1470. very unexpected, wanted time to prepare. On the other hand, the malecontents having yet no declared head, remained quiet, in expectation of more particular directions.

Ambaſſy from France Act. Publ. tom. xi. p. 650, 651.

During the winter Lewis XI. ſent ambaſſadors to England, under colour of renewing the truce. Probably his ſole aim was to be perfectly informed of the ſituation of affairs in that kingdom. At the ſame time Edward, deſirous of ſtrengthening his alliance with the duke of Burgundy, ſent him the order of the Garter, which that prince received at Bruges, the 4th of February, with great ſolemnity.

If the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick were at Calais during the late troubles, it is likely they returned not to England till about February 1470; for they are not mentioned in the Collection of the Public Acts ſince Auguſt the laſt year. After their return, Edward was ſo far from ſuſpecting them, that on the 7th of March he ſent them jointly a commiſſion to levy troops againſt the rebels in the north. Seven days after, he conferred on the earl of Worceſter the office of high conſtable, vacant by the death of the earl Rivers.

p. 652. p. 654.

Warwick and Clarence declare for the rebels. Hall.

But ſhortly after the king's eyes were fully opened with regard to the duke his brother and the earl of Warwick. They levied troops by virtue of his commiſſion, but not for his ſervice. Beſides, the rebels made no ſcruple to own them for their heads. Thus both ſides were preparing more than ever to renew the war. Mean time, Edward was ſo poſſeſſed that his brother and the earl of Warwick durſt not appear before him, that he imagined their deſign was to retire into Ireland, of which the duke of Clarence was lieutenant. In this belief he iſſued out a proclamation, dated March 23, forbiding the Iriſh to obey the duke his brother, and ordering to apprehend him as well as the earl of Warwick, in caſe they came there. Moreover, he promiſed any perſon that ſhould take them, a penſion of a thouſand pounds ſterling, or the ſum of ten thouſand pounds in money, at his option. By the ſame proclamation he conferred the government of Ireland upon the earl of Worceſter. Three days after, he gave orders to levy troops in all the counties under his obedience, which was very diligently performed [c].

The king's ſecurity ill-grounded. Act. Publ. tom. xi.

p. 655.

The duke and earl levy troops and join.

But the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick were very far from thinking of retiring to Ireland. On the contrary,

[c] And appointed, on Auguſt 26, his brother Richard, duke of York, guardian of the Weſt Marches, towards Scotland. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xi. p. 638.

trary, they were very intent upon raiſing troops, each in different quarters. At laſt, having advice the king was preparing to march againſt them, they thought proper to join, leaſt by remaining ſeparate, they ſhould give him too great an advantage. So, Edward when he marched to attack them, found them ready to expect him, and bent to decide the quarrel by a battle. However, the uncertainty of the ſucceſs keeping both ſides equally in ſuſpence, ſome of the moſt prudent lords interpoſed, to procure an agreement before it came to a deciſion by arms. The king paſſionately deſired it, becauſe he conſidered he was going to hazard his crown by the loſs of a battle, whereas the victory could procure him no great advantage. On the other hand, he flattered himſelf that the earl of Warwick ſeeing him in ſo good poſture, would be glad, by an honourable compoſition, to get clear of his preſent ill ſtate. So, thinking the negotiation could not fail of ſucceſs, he neglected to take the uſual precautions for the defence of his camp, contrary to the moſt conſtant maxim of war, that a man ought never to be more upon his guard, than whilſt he is in treaty.

Edw. IV. 1470.

The king marches againſt them. Hall. Biondi. Habington.

Talk of an accommodation.

The king deſires it.

He is negligent during the negotiation. Hall.

Mean time, the earl of Warwick being informed of the king's negligence, failed not to take the advantage. After uſing all poſſible care to hinder his deſign from being diſcovered, he marched in the night directly into the king's camp, and ſuddenly attacking it, put it in the utmoſt confuſion. Edward himſelf ſurprized, like all the reſt of his army, ſaw himſelf in the hands of his enemies, before he could take any meaſures for his defence or eſcape [e]. The victorious earl no ſooner had him in his power, but he cauſed him to be conducted to Warwick. After that, he ordered him to be removed to Middleham caſtle [f], under cuſtody of his brother the archbiſhop of York, who was no leſs concerned than he, carefully to guard ſuch a priſoner.

The earl of Warwick attacks the king unawares,

and takes him priſoner. Hall. Hollingſh.

This accident ſeemed to have ended the war. Indeed Edward being a captive, nothing more appeared that could oppoſe the two victorious lords. Wherefore, they ſo relied on their good fortune, that they diſbanded moſt of their troops, as not wanting them after this deciſion. They had only to reſolve, in what manner the government ſhould be ſettled; for it does not appear, they had any deſire to reſtore Henry to the throne. But an unexpected event, no leſs ſur-

Warwick diſmiſſes his troops.

[e] This happened at a place called Wolney, four miles from Warwick. Hall, fol. 202. Hollingſh. p. 1321.

[f] In Yorkſhire.

prizing

Edw. IV. 1470.

prizing than what had juſt happened, broke all their meaſures. Edward being confined in Middleham caſtle, in the cuſtody of the archbiſhop of York, behaved ſo obligingly to that prelate, that he had leave with a ſmall guard to hunt now and then in the park. This firſt ſtep being taken, he prevailed with one of his guards to deliver a letter to two gentlemen of the neighbourhood, wherein he pointed out to them, what courſe they ſhould take to free him. The gentlemen [g], overjoyed at the opportunity to do the king ſo great ſervice, privately aſſembled their friends, and lying in ambuſh near the park, eaſily carried him away. Edward being at liberty, contrary to all expectation, immediately repaired to York. But he did not long remain there, whether he miſtruſted the inhabitants, or thought it more convenient to be nearer London. Be this as it will, he made haſte into Lancaſhire, where he found the lord Haſtings his chamberlain, who had aſſembled ſome troops. After that, taking a compaſs to deceive the vigilance of the earl of Warwick, he went directly to London, where he was received without any difficulty. The earl of Warwick ſo little expected ſuch a turn, that he had neglected to ſecure the metropolis, not imagining it to be in any danger.

Edward makes his eſcape, and comes to London. Hall. Hollingſh.

It is eaſy to conceive the earl of Warwick's ſurprize, when he received this fatal news. The indiſcretion of his brother the archbiſhop, was ſo very great, that he could not help ſuſpecting him of being bribed. But as it was not then proper to examine his conduct, he thought only of re-aſſembling his diſperſed troops, which could not be done in a few days. Edward was likewiſe in the ſame confuſion, ſince he was without an army. So, however deſirous both were to end their quarrel by a battle, they were obliged to ſtay till their forces were aſſembled. In the mean time, ſome peaceable lords propoſed to renew the negotiation begun before the king's impriſonment. The propoſal being accepted, the mediators judged an interview of the king, and the two chiefs of the oppoſite party, might conduce to a peace. In this belief they ſo ordered it, that the chiefs came to Weſtminſter upon the king's ſafe conduct. But the conference had not the deſired effect. It was wholly ſpent in mutual reproaches, by which men are not very apt to be ſoftened.

Warwick draws his troops together again. Hall. Hollingſh.

Edward does the ſame.

Conference at Weſtminſter of no effect. Hall. Hollingſh.

Preſently after the interview, every one prepared for war [h]. The earl of Warwick commiſſioned Sir Robert Wells, ſon

[g] Sir William Stanly, and Sir Thomas Burgh. Hall, fol. 203.

[h] The king retired to Canterbury, and the duke of Clarence and earl of Warwick, [illegible]

of the lord Wells, to levy troops in Lincolnſhire, which he performed with great eaſe, by reaſon of his family's intereſt in thoſe parts. Edward having notice of it, ſent an expreſs order to the lord Wells, to come immediately to court. His deſign was to oblige him to uſe his authority to perſuade his ſon to forſake the rebels. The lord Wells being come to London, and hearing how much the king was incenſed againſt his ſon, in a dread of feeling himſelf the effects of his reſentment, took ſanctuary in Weſtminſter-abby. But the king ſending him a ſafe conduct, he immediately came to court. He even writ to his ſon, enjoining him to quit the earl of Warwick's party, and diſmiſs his troops; but the ſon refuſed to obey. Then Edward, inraged at not being able to ſucceed, ordered the lord Wells to be beheaded, with Sir Thomas Dymock his brother-in-law, who had accompanied him. Probably, he imagined them guilty of connivance. Edw. IV. 1470.

The lord Wells is beheaded. Hall.

This violent action was very injurious to Edward's reputation, and inſpired young Wells with a deſire of revenge, which occaſioned his own ruin, and proved extremely prejudicial to the earl of Warwick's affairs. The king perceiving that Wells's troops viſibly increaſed, thought proper to fight him, before he was joined by the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, who were raiſing men in other counties. Wells was encamped near Stamford, where he might eaſily have retired; but the deſire of reveng ing his father's death, made him reſolve to expect the king. He fought with an undaunted courage as long as he was ſupported by his troops. At laſt, finding victory declared for the king, he would have provoked his enemies to kill him, but they refuſed him that favour, and ſpared his life only to make him loſe it a few days after on the ſcaffold. In this battle Edward obtained a compleat victory over his enemies, of whom ten thouſand were ſlain [i].

The king defeats young Wells, and beheads him Hall. Hollingſh. Stow.

Sir Robert Wells's defeat, broke all the meaſures of the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick. They were not yet ready [k], and the king was now marching to attack them. In this extremity they found no other remedy than to imbark, in order to ſcreen themſelves from the impending

Clarence and Warwick retire into France. Commin. Hall.

i This battle was fought near Stamford, not Strafford, as Rapin ſays by miſtake, and from the Lincolnſhire men throwing off their coats, in order to run away the lighter, was called, The Battle of Loſe Coat Field. Hall, fol. 304. Hollingſh. p. 1322.

k They intended to march the next day. Hall, ibid. Hollingſh. p. 1322.

Edw. IV. 1470.

danger [1]. The earl of Warwick took his two daughters with him, the eldeſt of whom, wife of the duke of Clarence, was ready to lye in. His intent was to retire to his government of Calais, where he had left for his lieutenant Vauclair, a Gaſcon captain, in whoſe fidelity he entirely confided. But how great was his ſurprize, when approaching Calais he ſaw the cannon fired at him! He thought to move Vauclair by the conſideration of the ducheſs of Clarence's caſe, who was juſt delivered in the ſhip of a prince, named Edward. But all he could obtain, was a preſent of two bottles of wine for the ducheſs. Mean while, Vauclair took care to ſend the ſmall preſent by a truſty meſſenger, who told the earl of Warwick from him, that he was ſtill devoted to him, though forced to behave in that manner, the better to ſerve him, becauſe if he entered the town, he would not be ſafe; but he might depend upon his fidelity. Edward, who knew not the motive of Vauclair's proceedings, was ſo well pleaſed with his conduct, that he gave him the government of Calais, to which the duke of Burgundy, of his own accord, added a yearly penſion of a thouſand crowns.

Vauclair refuſes them entrance into Calais. Commin. Hollingſh. Hall.

He is made governor of Calais.

Warwick ſeeing himſelf thus repulſed, ſteered his courſe to Dieppe, where he ſafely landed with the duke of Clarence, and his two daughters. A few days after, they departed from thence to wait upon the king of France, then at Amboiſe, who received them very civilly. Lewis, as I before obſerved, would not concern himſelf with the affairs of England, when Edward and Henry were contending for the crown. But when he ſaw the ſtrict alliance between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, he found it equally his intereſt to labour the ruin of both. To this reaſon of ſtate was added, the deſire of revenging the affront put upon him by Edward, on account of his marriage. In ſhort, the aſſiſtance Edward would have given the duke of Bretagne, evidently ſhowed, that ſo long as he was on the throne, the French princes would ever find in him a protector. All theſe reaſons together moved Lewis, not only to receive the fugitive Engliſh, but moreover to promiſe them a powerful aid. For, nothing could be to him more agreeable, and withal, more advantagious, than to ſee the civil war re-kindled in England. Nay, very probably, he had already taken for that purpoſe, private meaſures with the earl of Warwick, and

The duke and earl go to Lewis XI. Commin. Biondi. Hollingſh.

who promiſes them aid. Hall.

[1] They repaired to Exeter, and after a ſhort ſtay there, hired a ſhip at Dartmouth, and embarked for France. Hall, fol. 204. This was done in May. The continuator of Monſtrelet ſays, they went away with fourſcore veſſels, and landed in Normandy, at Harfleur, fol. 168.

the

the earl would never have ventured to declare againſt Edward, had he not been ſecure of that aſſiſtance. However that be, an opportunity naturally offering to create Edward in his own country, troubles which would prevent his interpoſing in the affairs of his neighbours, he ſent for queen Margaret to court [m], who, ſome years ſince, was retired to the king of Sicily her father. It was the earl of Warwick that had been author of all that princeſs's misfortunes, and the earl, on his part, looked upon her as his mortal enemy. And yet, their common intereſt requiring them to ſtifle their animoſity, Lewis very eaſily reconciled them. At preſent, they could hardly proceed without each other. Warwick perceived, he wanted a pretence to dethrone the king, and could find none more plauſible than Henry's reſtoration, which he could not endeavour, without being united with the queen. On the other hand, the queen ſaw this to be the only way to reſtore the king her huſband, or rather herſelf to the throne. So, beholding a ray of hope from that quarter, ſhe readily received her old enemy for protector. Their reconciliation therefore was made by the king of France's mediation, upon theſe terms: That the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick ſhould endeavour to reſtore Henry to the throne: That the queen ſhould promiſe with an oath to leave the government of the kingdom in their hands during the king's life, and the prince his ſon's minority, in caſe he came to the crown before he was of age: Laſtly, to ſtrengthen their union, the prince of Wales ſhould marry the earl of Warwick's youngeſt daughter [n]. The laſt article was immediately executed. Thus the brother of king Edward [o] became brother-in-law of the young prince of Lancaſter, and the earl of Warwick was equally allied to both houſes.

Edw. IV. 1470.

Queen Margaret is reconciled with them. Hall. Contin. Monſtrelet.

The terms of reconciliation. Hall. fol. 207. Hollingſh.

The duke of Burgundy warns Edward of it. Commin.

The duke of Burgundy, who had good ſpies at the court of France, being informed of theſe tranſactions, gave Edward warning, who was very unconcerned. He could never believe, the earl of Warwick, who was forced to quit the kingdom for want of ſupport, would be powerful enough, in his abſence, to cauſe the people to riſe in his favour. As for the preparations in France, they gave him no uneaſineſs, being ſenſible how difficult it is for a foreign nation to conquer England, if the people themſelves do not aſſiſt. Thus,

[m] Hall ſays, ſhe came thither of her own accord, attended by Jaſper Tudor earl of Pembroke, and John de Vere earl of Oxford, who, after a long impriſonment in England, had eſcaped into France, fol. 206.

[n] Named Ann.

[o] George duke of Clarence, who had married Iſabella the eldeſt daughter.

Edw. IV. 1470. reaſoning upon very doubtful grounds, namely, the people's affection, and the earl of Warwick's little credit, he neglected his principal affair, to abandon himſelf to voluptuouſneſs and ſenſuality, to which he was extremely inclined.

Edward gains the duke of Clarence. Commin. Hall. Biondi. Habington.

What gave him moſt uneaſineſs was to ſee the duke of Clarence his brother ſtrictly united with his enemies. This union had already produced ill effects, and might in time produce worſe. He believed therefore, to make himſelf eaſy, he ought to endeavour to gain his brother to his intereſt. To that end he bribed one of the dutcheſs of Clarence's women, and inſtructing her in the part ſhe was to act, granted her a paſſport to go to her miſtreſs. This woman departing for Paris, paſſed through Calais, where ſhe ſaw the governor without telling him the ſecret. It was very happy for Edward that Vauclair, who was in the intereſts of the earl of Warwick, was not acquainted with the affair, for he would have diſcovered the whole. When the woman came to her miſtreſs ſhe very artfully and ſucceſsfully diſcharged her commiſſion. She repreſented to the duke of Clarence from the king his brother, "That the courſe he was taking muſt end "in his own ruin: That ſuppoſing the deſigns he had "formed with the earl of Warwick ſhould ſucceed to his "wiſh, he could not expect, the houſe of Lancaſter would "put any truſt in a prince of the houſe of York, when "there was no farther need of him: That his very life "would be in danger: That inſtead of relying on the queen's "oath, he ought rather to conſider it as a ſnare to ſurpriſe "him: That the earl of Warwick would be the firſt to op-"preſs him, as well to free himſelf from a collegue in the "government, as to be rid of a prince, who might one day "have it in his power to revenge the injuries done to his "houſe: That on the other hand, the king his brother "having only a young daughter, whom death might eaſily "ſnatch out of the world, he was next heir to the crown: "but if the houſe of Lancaſter was reſtored, he would loſe "all hopes of mounting the throne, ſince Henry's ſon very "poſſibly would have a numerous iſſue." To theſe reaſons, which were very ſtrong, ſhe added motives taken from the ties of blood, ſome excuſes from the king, with a poſitive promiſe to conſider him for the future as his real brother and the chief ſupport of their family. A man muſt have wanted common ſenſe not to yield to ſuch convincing arguments. The duke of Clarence ſeeing at laſt his true intereſts, charged the woman to tell his brother, he would not fail to declare for him, when he could do it with ſafety and probability of ſucceſs.

Hall. Hollingſh.

rendering him a conſiderable ſervice. Edward being informed how the duke of Clarence ſtood affected, grew perfectly eaſy, believing the earl of Warwick's future attempts would be fruitleſs, when no longer ſeconded by the duke his ſon-in-law. It muſt be confeſſed, the earl of Warwick's policy was very extraordinary, in making the duke of Clarence an inſtrument to ruin the king his brother. He muſt have ſuppoſed, the duke would openly act againſt his own intereſt, which was not to be expected from the moſt ſtupid of men. And indeed, he was afterwards very ſenſible, when it was too late, that he had taken falſe meaſures. Edw. IV. 1470.

Whilſt Edward lived in a deceitful ſecurity, the earl of Warwick was preparing to return into England. He was ſure of finding a powerful party, to which were joined all the friends of the houſe of Lancaſter, whom he had taken care to acquaint with his deſign. Lewis XI furniſhed him, though ſparingly, with money and troops. As far as can be judged, that monarch's ſole aim was to foment diſcord among the Engliſh, to prevent their interpoſing in his affairs. He ſtill perſiſted in his deſign of ſubduing the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, in which he thought he could not ſucceed, ſo long as theſe two princes might expect the protection of England. Mean while, to facilitate the earl of Warwick's deſcent, he ordered the baſtard of Bourbon to convoy him with ſome ſhips of war, but it was not eaſy to paſs into England. The duke of Burgundy's fleet, much ſtronger than that of France, waited in the mouth of the Seine to ingage the French if they ſailed, and it was not likely, the baſtard of Bourbon would venture upon ſo unequal a fight. Notwithſtanding this, the earl of Warwick repaired to Havre de Grace, to be ready to embrace any opportunity that ſhould offer. This precaution was not in vain. Some days after his arrival, a violent ſtorm ſo diſperſed the Flemiſh ſhips, that not being able to keep the ſea, they were forced to retire to their ports. The ſtorm being over, the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick ſet ſail and arrived at Dartmouth, from whence they had paſſed into France four or five months before. The earl of Warwick comes into England. Commin. Mezerai. Hall. Con. Mon. Commin.

The news of their landing was ſo far from alarming Edward, that he rejoiced at it. Poſſeſſed with the notion that it was impoſſible for the earl of Warwick to accompliſh his deſigns, he fancied he could wiſh for nothing more advantagious, than to ſee his enemy come and deliver himſelf into his hands. Thus prepoſſeſſed, he deſired the duke of Burgundy to continue his fleet at ſea, to hinder the earl of Edward's ill-grounded ſecurity. Commin. Hall.

Edw. IV. 1470. Warwick's eſcape. But the duke of Burgundy thought otherwiſe of that expedition. He could not believe ſo prudent a perſon as the earl of Warwick would have thus ventured, if he had not been ſure of a party in England capable of ſupporting him. And indeed Warwick had no ſooner landed his men, but he ſaw himſelf at the head of an army, which in a few days increaſed to ſixty thouſand. Immediately he cauſed Henry IV. to be proclaimed, publiſhing an order in his name, for all his ſubjects from ſixteen to ſixty, to take up arms and expel the tyrant and uſurper.

Warwick has an army of ſixty thouſand men. Hall.

So unexpected an event opened Edward's eyes, and ſhowed him the folly of his expectations. Mean time, he gave orders to levy troops, and appointed the rendezvous about Nottingham [p]. Some affirm, his army was more numerous than the earl of Warwick's. Others again ſay, it was much inferior, and this indeed, is moſt probable [q]. For, had Edward been ſuperior in number of troops, he would moſt certainly have marched to his enemies; whereas upon their approach he retired towards the ſea. The news he received, that the marquis of Montague, who commanded in the north, had declared againſt him, troubled him exceedingly, apprehenſive as he was, that this defection would be followed by many others. He wanted to avoid a battle, but knew not where to retire, becauſe he was ignorant who were his real friends. At length, he encamped near Lynn, a little maritime town in Norfolk, and lodged in the caſtle. This precaution, though perhaps taken without deſign, proved of great ſervice. The earl of Warwick being come within three miles of his army, cauſed the cry of King Henry! King Henry! to be every where reſounded. And the ſame cry, by ſome unknown practices, began likewiſe to be heard in Edward's camp. Whereupon he commanded the caſtle gates to be ſhut, and the bridge to be ſtrongly guarded, whilſt a council was held to conſider of what was to be done. But the ſhoutings, which grew louder in his army, not affording him time to deliberate, he ſaw no other remedy than to imbark with four or five hundred of the moſt truſty men [r], on board three ſmall veſſels which had ſerved to bring pro-

Edward raiſes troops likewiſe, Ibid.

Montague deſerts him. Stow. Commin.

Edw 4th retires into Lincolnſhire. Hall.

He is purſued. Hall.

He imbarks and goes for Holland. Commin. Hall. Hollingſh.

[p] And marched towards that place, attended by his brother the duke of York, the lord Haſtings his chamberlain, the lord Scales, &c. Hall, fol. 208.

[q] Hall obſerves, that of them who were ſent for, few in effect came, and yet more came than were willing, and more came willingly than were truſted, fol. 208.

[r] About ſeven or eight hundred; among whom was the duke of Glouceſter, the lord Scales, &c. Commines, l. 11. c. 5. Hall, fol. 209. Hollingſh. p. 1324.

tions.

viſions for his army. The lord Haſtings placed himſelf in the rear, to withſtand the efforts of the ſoldiers, in caſe they attempted to oppoſe the king's flight, and when all were embarked, went himſelf on board one of the ſhips [s]. Edw. IV. 1470.

Edward being reduced to this ſad condition, ordered his ſhips to ſteer for Holland, not knowing where to retire, except into the dominions of the duke of Burgundy his brother-in-law. Whilſt he was beating the ſeas, his ſhips were deſcryed by eight corſairs of the Low-Countries or Germany, whom the Engliſh called Eaſterlings, from their country lying eaſtward of England. Immediately theſe corſairs gave chace to the three ſhips; but as theſe were the more light, they had time to get into Alcmar road at low-water, which hindred the corſairs from purſuing them any farther, becauſe they durſt not come ſo near the ſhore. Mean while they anchored in ſight, deſigning to attack them at high-water. In this extremity, Edward had no other reſource than to make ſignals to implore the protection of the country. Happily for him, the lord Gruthuyſe, of whom I have before ſpoken, being then governor of Holland, chanced to be at Alcmar. When he was told, theſe ſhips deſired aſſiſtance, he ſent a ſloop to know what they were. As ſoon as he heard the king of England was there, he ſent an order to the corſairs not to approach, on pain of incurring the duke his maſter's indignation. Theſe people, though ſo near their prey, durſt not diſobey. They too often wanted the governor's protection, to diſpleaſe him. So, Gruthuyſe went in a ſloop himſelf to wait on the king, and paid him all the reſpect due to him. Edward not having money to reward the maſter of the veſſel that brought him over, made him a preſent of a rich robe lined with ſables. After that he was conducted to the Hague, where Gruthuyſe bore his expences, till he had received the duke of Burgundy's orders.

He is in danger of being taken by pyrates, but is delivered by the lord Gruthuyſe. Commin. Hall.

Commin.

Mean while, the queen, who was at London, hearing of the king's flight, took ſanctuary in Weſtminſter Abbey [t], where ſhe was followed by a great number of Yorkiſts. There ſhe was delivered [u] of a prince called Edward, born heir of a noble kingdom, at the very time it was loſt by his father [w]. Whilſt Edward's friends were in the utmoſt con-

The queen flies for ſanctuary. Hall. Stow.

[s] Thus, as Hall obſerves, king Edward embarked (on October 3.) without bag or baggage, without cloth, ſack, or mail, and perchance with a great purſe, and little treaſure, fol. 208. Stow, p. 422.

[t] On October 1. She went thither privately from the Tower, by water. Stow, p. 422.

[u] November 4. Sandford, p. 425.

[w] His godfathers were, the abbot and prior of Weſtminſter, and the lady Scrope ſtood godmother. Hall, fol. 210. Hollingſhead.

Edw. IV. 1470.

ſternation, the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, victorious without drawing their ſwords, were marching to London, where they entered in triumph the beginning of October. On the 6th of the ſame month * the earl of Warwick, attended by ſeveral lords and a great crowd of people, went to the Tower and freed king Henry, who had been priſoner ſix years.

Clarence and Warwick come to London and free king Henry. Hollingſh.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the populace of Kent flocking together marched directly to London, with deſign to enrich themſelves with the plunder of the city. But the earl of Warwick meeting them with part of his troops, eaſily repulſed the multitude, and ordered the moſt mutinous to be executed. He could not however prevent their plundering Southwark, parted from the city by the Thames.

Sedition in Kent. Hall. Hollingſh.

Henry is reſtored to the throne. Hall. Hollingſh.

The tumult being appeaſed, Henry was ſolemnly proclaimed, as remounting the throne. Next day there was a proceſſion, at which the new king aſſiſted with his crown on his head †, and followed by an innumerable crowd of people, who by their acclamations ſhowed their approbation of the late revolution. Thus the earl of Warwick had the honour of reſtoring Henry to the throne, after having depoſed him, and of pulling down Edward, who had been raiſed entirely by his means. Wherefore, he was commonly called, The King-Maker.

HENRY VI. Reſtored.

Montague is made preſident of the North. Act. Pub. xi. p. 665. Hall.

THE new king's firſt care, or rather the earl of Warwick's, who governed in his name, was to reſtore the marqueſs of Montague to the government of the northern counties, which Edward had taken from him, and given to the duke of Gloceſter his brother. Then, a parliament was called for the 26th of November, to confirm the new revolution. This was a neceſſary formality to ſatisfy the people, though the parliament's confirmation was of no great weight in an affair tranſacted without it, and in which it could make no alteration. The ſame thing happened when Edward mounted the throne. The contrary reſolutions of the parliaments, in regard to the quarrel between the houſes of Lan-

Remark upon the parliament.

* The 12th, according to Hall, fol. 210, and Hollingſhead, p. 1325. Stow ſays, it was the 6th, p. 422.

† On October 25. He came from the Tower, dreſſed in a long gown of blue velvet, to St. Paul's church, attended by the duke of Clarence, the earls of Warwick and Shrewſbury, the lord Stanley, &c. and from thence went to the biſhop of London's palace, where he kept his court. Hall, fol. 210. Hollingſhead, p. 1325.

caſter

caſter and York, clearly ſhews, theſe aſſemblies acted not with freedom, but were ſwayed by the events which happened before their deliberations. It is in vain therefore to urge the authority of the parliaments in ſupport of the rights of either houſe. Their determinations are properly of no force, ſince they had not the liberty to judge according to their underſtanding; unleſs it is ſaid, their underſtanding directed them always to ſide with the ſtrongeſt. Hen. VI. 1470.

Be this as it will, the parliament voted Edward a traitor and uſurper of the crown, confiſcated all his paternal eſtate, and annulled all the ſtatutes made in his reign, as wanting a lawful authority. Edward declared a traitor and uſurper.

By another act, the crown was confirmed upon Henry VI. and his male-heirs. But in default of ſuch heirs, the crown was to deſcend to the houſe of York, that is, to the duke of Clarence and his heirs; Edward, eldeſt ſon of the duke of York, being excluded for his rebellion. Here would be a large field to expatiate upon the unlimited authority of the parliaments, if the ſtatute had been made with freedom, and after mature deliberation. But it is eaſy to ſee the little freedom there was in this parliament, if it is conſidered, this act was only a bare confirmation of the earl of Warwick's engagements. Moreover, out of pure condeſcenſion for the earl, or rather by his direction, and contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of the realm, it was not ſcrupled to deprive the daughters of the houſe of Lancaſter of a right enjoyed by the princeſſes of the royal family ever ſince the Norman conqueſt. Thus, by a haſty reſolution, was eſtabliſhed in England a kind of Salic Law, which the Engliſh had ſo much cenſured and derided, when Edward III. and Philip de Valois were contending for the crown of France. This ſame parliament reſtored to all their honours and rights Jaſper Tudor earl of Pembroke, half-brother to Henry, and John earl of Oxford, who were attainted under Edward. An extraordinary act to ſettle the ſucceſſion. Hall. Hollingſh.

Moreover, in conſequence of queen Margaret's engagements at Amboiſe, the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick were declared and appointed governors of the kingdom. By this the parliament manifeſtly ſuppoſed Henry's inability, who indeed was conſidered only as the ſhadow of a king. A pardon was likewiſe granted to the marquis of Montague, for his crime in ſerving Edward, ſince by deſerting him at ſo critical a time, he was the principal cauſe of his flight. But this was not all. To give the earl of Warwick a plauſible pretence to be revenged on his private enemies, all that had born arms in defence of Edward's pretend- The duke and earl declared governors of the kingdom. Hollingſh. Hall.

ed

Hen. VI. ed right, were declared traytors and rebels [z]. By virtue of
1470. this act, John Tiptoft earl of Worceſter, governor of Ireland,
and high-conſtable of England, having been found hid in a hollow tree [a], was brought to London and beheaded [b]. By theſe acts of private revenge, the nobles of the oppoſite party were forced, as one may ſay, to ſeek for ſafety in arms. Perhaps this is one of the principal cauſes of the ſeveral revolutions which had already, and which afterwards happened [c].

The earl of Richmond preſented to the king. Henry's pretended prophecy. Hall. Hollingſh.

Shortly after the breaking up of the parliament, the earl of Pembroke went for Henry earl of Richmond his nephew, who had concealed himſelf in Wales [d], and brought him to the king. It is pretended, Henry ſtedfaſtly fixing his eyes upon that young prince, foretold, he ſhould one day mount the throne, and put an end to the quarrel of the two houſes. But I do not know whether this fact be ſo well proved, as ſome hiſtorians affirm. There ſeems to be reaſon to preſume, it was invented in the reign of Henry VII. whilſt the canonization of Henry VI. was ſolliciting at Rome. For the chief cauſe of the pope's oppoſition was, that though he was willing to own Henry VI. for a good man, he could not ſee in his life any proof of an eminent ſanctity. So this pretended prophecy, if it had been well atteſted, would have been very proper to remove the objection.

A grant to the archbiſhop of York. Act. Pub. xi. p. 669.

The earl of Warwick having forgiven the archbiſhop of York his brother, for letting Edward eſcape, procured him a grant of Woodſtock park, and many other manors [e], with the confiſcation of the eſtates of ſeveral perſons condemned for rebellion, that is, for having ſerved Edward.

The duke of Burgundy's troubles about Edward. Commin. Hall.

I left Edward at the Hague in a very melancholy ſtate, deprived of his kingdom, and living at the expence of the lord Gruthuyſe, till the duke of Burgundy was informed of his caſe. The news of the king his brother-in-law's arrival in his dominions, was by no means pleaſing to the duke. Philip de Commines affirms, he would have been leſs uneaſy at the

[z] And it was enacted, That extreme puniſhment ſhould be done without delay, on ſuch of king Edward's adherents as were apprehended, and were either in captivity, or went at large upon truſt of their ſureties. Hall, 210.

[a] In the foreſt of Waibridge in Huntingdonſhire. Stow, p. 423.

[b] On Tower-Hill, and buried at the Black-friers. Ibid.

[c] There is no mention at all of this parliament in the records, but only in the hiſtorians. If theſe proceedings were entered in the rolls, probably they were eraſed after Edward's reſtoration. Dugdale indeed has given us the ſummons dated 49th of Henry VI. but nothing is ſaid of it in Cotton's Abridgment.

[d] He went into Wales to viſit his county of Pembroke, where he found Henry, then between nine and ten years old, who was kept in a manner like a captive, but well and honourably educated by the lady Herbert, relict of William earl of Pembroke. Hall, fol. 211.

[e] Hanburgh, Wotton, and Stonesfield. Rymer's Fœd. tom xi p. 669.

news

news of his death: for, in that caſe, he would have had but one courſe to take; namely, to approve of Henry's reſtoration. But Edward being alive and in Holland, could not but throw him into great perplexity. He had made an alliance with him not out of affection, but ſolely for reaſons of ſtate. He had ſacrificed to his intereſt his averſion for the houſe of York; an averſion wherein he had been educated by his mother, daughter of a princeſs of the houſe of Lancaſter. Mean while, he was reduced to the ſad neceſſity either of deſerting his brother-in-law, who was come for refuge into his dominions, or of expoſing himſelf, in protecting him, to the danger of drawing upon him the united forces of France and England. On the other hand, the dukes of Exeter and Somerſet, who made a different figure at his court from what they had done before the revolution, earneſtly preſſed him to abandon Edward, and threatned him, in caſe of refuſal, with the indignation of England. Moreover, the earl of Warwick had now ſent to Calais a body of troops, which only waited for orders to join the French, and invade ſome province of the Low-Countries. Vauclair had not only received theſe troops into the town, but by many other ſteps had ſhown, that he was far from being unfaithful to the earl of Warwick. Philip de Commines relates, that the duke his maſter having ſent him to Calais, for a confirmation of the truce of commerce between that place and the Low-Countries, found the governor, garriſon, and townſmen entirely for Henry [f]. He adds, that he ſaw no other way to ſucceed in his negotiation than to tell the inhabitants of Calais, that the truce being made with England, and not with Edward's perſon [g], the change of king was not a ſufficient motive to break it. By that, he intimated his maſter diſliked not the revolution.

Hen. VI. 1470.

Lib. iii. c. 6.

It is certain, it greatly concerned that prince to keep fair with the Engliſh. But the better to underſtand his embaraſſment cauſed by Edward's retreat into his dominions, it will be neceſſary to know the ſituation of his affairs. By the treaty Lewis XI. ſigned at Peronne, he promiſed to give in appennage to the duke of Berry his brother, Champagne and Brie in lieu of Normandy, which he had taken from him. He was not a little embarraſſed by that engagement. He plainly perceived, the duke of Burgundy's aim was to have prince Charles for neighbour, to be able by his means to raiſe

Poſture of the duke of Burgundy's affairs.

[f] He found they all wore the earl of Warwick's badge, and on every door were ſet white croſſes and ragged ſtaves. Commines, lib. iii. c. 6. Hall, fol. 212.

[g] Whom he reported to be dead. See Commines, lib. iii. c. 6.

com-

Hen. VI. 1470. commotions in France whenever he pleaſed. But for the ſame reaſon he himſelf wanted to keep his brother at a diſtance from the duke. For that purpoſe, he tried to perſuade the duke of Berry to accept of Guienne and Rochelle inſtead of Champagne; and, to ſucceed in this project, bribed all thoſe who had any influence upon him. The duke of Burgundy being informed of the deſign, oppoſed it to the utmoſt of his power, by repreſenting to the duke of Berry, how much that exchange would be to his prejudice. But perceiving theſe reaſons to be ineffectual, he inſinuated to him, by private emiſſaries, that, if he demanded his only daughter in marriage, he would certainly obtain her, and might, to prevent his brother's oppoſition, retire into England till the marriage was concluded. The negotiation had been carried ſo far, that Edward, at the duke of Burgundy's inſtance, had ordered a ſafe-conduct to be diſpatched for that prince. But theſe meaſures were broken, becauſe the duke of Berry, perſuaded by his treacherous counſellors, determined at laſt to accept of the exchange offered by the king his brother.

Act. Pub. xi. p. 644.

Upon this the duke of Burgundy liſtened but coldly to the propoſal of the marriage, which could no longer be ſubſervient to his deſigns. Mean while, the duke of Bretagne and the conſtable de St. Pol, who were deeply concerned in the negotiation [h], were extremely deſirous of its ſucceſs. As they loved not the king, they conſidered the marriage would be an infalliable means to keep up, between the two brothers, a diſſention from which they hoped to reap great advantages. There was nothing wanting but the duke of Burgundy's conſent, and as they ſaw he had no inclination, they undertook to obtain it by an extraordinary method. They pretended to be diſſatisfied with the duke, and adviſed the king of France to make war upon him, promiſing to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power. Their aim was to offer the duke, when he ſhould come to be preſſed, to eſpouſe his quarrel, on condition he would give his daughter to the duke of Guienne. Lewis XI. deſired nothing more than to ſee the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne at variance. Beſides, he moſt paſſionately wiſhed to take from the duke of Burgundy the towns upon the Somme, delivered to him by the treaty of Conflans. He would not however have attempted to make war upon him, for fear the duke of Bretagne and the conſtable ſhould raiſe diſturbances in the kingdom, whilſt he was

Commin. Argentré.

[h] The earl of St. Pol had a yearly penſion of thirty thouſand livres from the king of France. P. Daniel, tom. vi. p. 460, 2d ed.

elſewhere

elſewhere employed. But when he thought himſelf ſafe from that quarter, he immediately reſolved upon the war, as having no intelligence of their plot. Before he declared himſelf, he ſent private emiſſaries to the towns he wanted to recover, to win the principal burghers to his intereſt. It muſt be obſerved, that the duke of Burgundy kept but ſlender garriſons in his towns, and upon the peace, diſbanded his troops to eaſe his ſubjects. Hen. VI. 1470. Commin.

Lewis having laid all his plots, aſſembled the eſtates at Tours in March 1470, where, upon frivolous complaints brought by the earl of Eu againſt the duke of Burgundy, he was ſummoned before the court of peers, and the citation was ſent by a ſummoner of the parliament. The duke not appearing, war was declared againſt him, and St. Quentin taken, where the conſtable de St. Pol entered without oppoſition. Amiens opened her gates to the king by the like practices, and the duke was alſo very near loſing Abbeville. Lewis XI. declares war againſt Burgundy. Mezerai.

Such was the ſituation of the duke of Burgundy's affairs, when Edward came for refuge into his country. He ſaw himſelf unexpectedly attacked by the king of France, and preſently after the earl of Warwick ſent[1] four thouſand men to Calais to join the French, to make a diverſion: ſo, the duke could do nothing more prejudicial to his intereſt, than exaſperate the earl of Warwick by protecting Edward. It is not therefore ſtrange, if Edward endured ſome mortification during his retreat. It was neceſſary for the duke of Burgundy's intereſt, that it ſhould be thought in England, he was ſorry to ſee him, and had no inclination to protect him. But in private, he promiſed to give him aſſiſtance as ſoon as he could do it with ſafety. The duke is afraid of inenſing the earl of Warwick. Commin.

This policy did not ſerve Edward's turn. He could have wiſhed, the duke of Burgundy would have openly declared for him, imagining ſuch a declaration would have greatly conduced to the ſupport of his party in England. At laſt, finding the duke remained firm to his reſolution, and his ducheſs's ſollicitations made no impreſſion upon him, he demanded a private audience. As the duke could not refuſe it, he repreſented to him, "That a longer delay was extremely "prejudicial to him: that he loſt his friends and creatures in "England, whilſt the earl of Warwick was daily ſtrengthning himſelf in his uſurped power: that therefore there "was no medium between aſſiſting him ſpeedily, and aban- Commin. Edward's diſcourſe with the duke of Burgundy.

[1] He intended to ſend them, but was diſſuaded from it by the merchants of the Staple, who were then perſons of great authority, and had a great influence upon the affairs of the nation. Commines, lib. iii. c. 6.

"doning

Hen. VI. 1470.

" doning him to his ill-fortune. Then he imparted to him " his brother the duke of Clarence's promiſes; adding, it " was abſolutely neceſſary to make haſte, leſt that prince, " who was naturally inconſtant, ſhould alter his mind, or " the earl of Warwick, diſcovering his deſigns, hinder him " from executing it, by removing him from the government. " To theſe reaſons, which concerned him in particular, he " added the conſideration of their mutual oath, whereby " they were bound to give each other proofs of a ſincere " friendſhip and a ready aſſiſtance, in caſe of neceſſity. " Moreover, he intreated him to reflect, that in acting for him " he was alſo labouring for his own family, which might one " day ſtand in need of aſſiſtance, not to reckon the honour " which would redound to him, by reſtoring a king his bro- " ther-in-law to the throne. Finally, he poſitively promiſ- " ed to enter into a ſtrict alliance with him againſt France, " the moment he was reſtored; adding, that ſuch a league " was the right way to reſiſt their common enemy. He " concluded with repreſenting, that diſſimulation would ne- " ver be able to produce the effect he intended, ſince it " would not hinder Lewis and the earl of Warwick from " jointly endeavouring to ruin him."

The duke of Burgundy reſolves to aſſiſt Edward. Commin. Hollingſh.

The duke of Burgundy was moved with this diſcourſe. He perceived, that in effect there was no medium in the alternative propoſed to him by Edward: above all, he ſeriouſly conſidered what that prince had ſaid in the laſt place, that he could not hope to repulſe the attacks of the king of France without the aſſiſtance of England, which could be expected only by Edward's reſtoration. That on the contrary, by deſerting him, he would run the riſque of ſeeing France and England unite all their forces againſt him. But on the other hand, he conſidered he could give Edward but a very ſmall aid, conſidering the preſent poſture of his own affairs: that it was to be feared this attempt happening to miſcarry, he ſhould furniſh the earl of Warwick with a plauſible pretence to attack him. In this perplexity he deviſed an expedient, whereby he imagined he could at once ſave appearances with Warwick, and give ſome ſmall aſſiſtance to the fugitive king. He equipped four large ſhips at Vere, a free port in Zealand, in other perſons names, who were furniſhed with money. Moreover he privately hired fourteen ſhips of the Eaſterlings to convoy the king into England, and to keep upon the coaſt a fortnight after his landing, to conduct him back in caſe of neceſſity. Then, giving Edward a good ſum of

Commin. Hall. Holl ngſh.

money [k], he left him in Holland, and went himſelf into Flanders. When all theſe ſhips were ready, Edward diſappearing, notice was ſent to the duke, who immediately ordered proclamation to be made, that none of his ſubjects ſhould aſſiſt him directly or indirectly upon pain of death. It is likely, if Edward's attempt had miſcarried, the earl of Warwick would not have been deceived by that artifice. Hen. VI. 1470. Commin.

Whatever care was take by Edward and the duke of Burgundy to conceal their deſigns, the earl of Warwick had received ſome intelligence of them: it was too much for his intereſt to have good ſpies in Holland, to neglect ſo neceſſary a precaution. It appears in the Collection of the Public Acts, that on the 21ſt of December, the marquis of Montague had orders to levy troops in the north, on pretence of a rebellion [l], not mentioned by the hiſtorians. Probably it was only a farther precaution taken by the earl of Warwick, upon ſome general advices of a plot forming in Holland. Warwick has ſome intimations of Edward's deſign. Act. Pub. tom. ix. p. 676.

The 2d of January, 1471, the earl of Warwick was made high-admiral. Doubtleſs, he did not dare to truſt others with the care of equipping a fleet, which he foreſaw would be wanted, if the duke of Burgundy attempted to aſſiſt Edward with open force. The advices from Holland being more certain than hitherto, the duke of Clarence, who was by no means ſuſpected of holding intelligence with his brother, was commiſſioned to raiſe an army to oppoſe his deſigns, in caſe he ſhould return into the kingdom. 1471. He is made high-admiral. p. 679. Clarence levies troops. p. 680.

Theſe meaſures being taken, the earl of Warwick made haſte to conclude with Lewis XI. an alliance, projected ſome time before. But as it was difficult to make an alliance with a prince actually in war with England, and as a peace could not be concluded by reaſon of Henry's pretenſions to the crown of France, a long truce was reſolved upon, almoſt equivalent to a peace. In the treaty upon this occaſion, it was agreed the truce ſhould laſt till one of the two parties deſired to break it, in which caſe he was to give the other five years notice, and the truce was to continue ten years without being revocable [m]. It was farther agreed that a place Truce between England and France. p. 667, 681, 683.

[k] Fifty thouſand florins. Commines, lib. iii. cap. 6.

[l] — Tam in reſiſtentiam adverſariorum et inimicorum noſtrorum exterorum, regnum noſtrum Angliæ in partibus borealibus ut accepimus invadere nitentium, quam in repreſſionem diverſorum rebellium noſtrorum.—Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xi. p. 676.

[m] Rapin has not plainly expreſſed the nature of this truce: by the treaty, as it ſtands in Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xi. p. 683—690, the truce was not to be revoked in five years; after which, if

Hen. VI. 1471. a place ſhould be appointed to treat of a final peace. Lewis XI. was pleaſed, I know not for what reaſon, that the duke of Guienne his brother ſhould be particularly included in the truce.

Act. Publ. tom. ix. p. 690. p. 693.

The ſame day the treaty was ſigned, the grand prior of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem ſet out for France, to bring home queen Margaret and the prince of Wales.

Grants to the duke of Clarence, etc. p. 693, 700. p. 699, 700.

Shortly after, the earl of Warwick, out of affection to the duke of Clarence his ſon-in-law, or to attach that prince the more to the king's ſide, reſtored him the government of Ireland, with ſeveral manors in England, forfeited by Edward's adherents. The marquis of Montague and Jaſpar Tudor earl of Pembroke had likewiſe a ſhare in the king's favours.

Edward ſets ſail. Commin. Habington. Hollingſh.

Mean while, Edward having finiſhed all his preparations, ſailed from the port of Vere about the middle of March, bringing with him two thouſand men. He diſembarked at Ravenſpur[n], where Henry IV. had formerly landed, when he came to wreſt the crown from Richard II. He expected to be received with acclamations, but, contrary to his expectation, found the inhabitants of thoſe parts extremely diſpleaſed with his coming. Some were well affected to the houſe of Lancaſter; others, ſeeing Edward ſo thinly attended, were afraid openly to eſpouſe his cauſe. However, as there were no regular troops, he met with no oppoſition. But that was not all he deſired: he would have been glad to be met by the people, and ſee his army increaſe. The diſappointment obliging him to march with circumſpection, he cauſed it to be rumoured, that he was come only as duke of York to claim the private inheritance of his family, which had been confiſcated[o]. Henry IV. had formerly uſed the ſame artifice, but more juſtly, ſince he was baniſhed without legal cauſe: but if Edward had no right to the crown, as he ſeemed to

He lands at Ravenſpur, and is coldly received. Hollingſh. Hall. Stow.

He takes only the title of Duke. Hollingſh. Hall.

if either party thought fit to revoke it, the revocation was not to take place till five years more, that is, not till ten years after the date.

n The 12th of March, Edward came before Cromer, in Norfolk, where he ſent on ſhore ſir Robert Chamberlaine, ſir Gilbert Debenham, and others, to underſtand how the people ſtood affected; they found, that by reaſon of the vigilance of John de Vere earl of Oxford, and the great preparations he had made, it was unſafe to land in thoſe parts: wherefore they ſteered to the northward, and, a ſtorm ariſing that night, they could not land till the 14th, which they did at Ravenſpur and places adjoining. The king lodged that night in a village two miles from the place of his landing. The next day, being the 15th of March, the king's forces met and joined in a body, whence they proceeded to Beverly, etc. Ibid.

o And ſhowed the earl of Northumberland's letters, under his ſeal, wherein he had invited him over. Stow, p. 423.

own,

own, he must have been guilty of usurpation, and consequently could not with justice complain that his estate was confiscated. The reason why he did not carry his pretensions any farther upon his arrival in the kingdom, seems to be this: he was strongly persuaded that the people in general were much more inclined to him than to his rival, but that the magistrates were against him. Indeed, as soon as the earl of Warwick had the government in his hands after Henry's restoration, his first care was to fill all the offices with his creatures. It was therefore convenient that Edward should furnish the people with a pretence to favour him, how slight soever it might be, thereby to oppose the authority of the magistrates, who would have had too great an advantage, could they have affirmed he was come in arms to dethrone the reigning king: whereas by demanding only his private patrimony, he moved the peoples compassion, and inspired them with hopes that the quarrel between the two houses might at length be ended by restoring his inheritance. Be this as it will, Edward, though little pleased with the people's coldness, marched towards York, giving Henry every where the title of King, and styling himself only Duke [p].

Hen. VI. 1471.

The reason of it.

He marches to York. Hall.

The news of Edward's landing having reached the court, the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick departed from London to levy troops: at the same time the magistrates of the towns were ordered to shut their gates upon the enemy, and the marquis of Montague, who kept at Pontefract with a body of troops [q], had orders to fight Edward before his arrival at York [r]. But the marquis, for what reason is unknown, remained in his post without making any motion to hinder his march [s]. Some ascribe this conduct to his ignorance of Edward's forces. But what likelihood was there of his wanting good intelligence upon so important an occasion? Others tax him with cowardice; but he was one of the bravest lords of the kingdom. Some believe there was a good understanding between him and Edward, but the sequel shewed the contrary. Those that reason with most probability, say, that Montague, imagining Edward would not return into England without a well-grounded hope of being restored, de-

Warwick prepares to beat him back. Act. Publ. tom. xi. p. 705. Hall. Hollingsh.

The doubtful behaviour of Montague.

The apparent reason of it.

[p] It is incredible, says Hall, what effect this new imagination (his claiming only the duchy of York) had upon the people: all men, moved with mercy and compassion, began out of hand either to favour him, or else not to resist him, fol. 215.

[q] Four thousand men, Stow, p. 423.

[r] Or else to hinder him from proceeding further, till he should come himself. Hall, fol. 215.

[s] Stow says, he had received letters from the duke of Clarence, that he should not fight until he came, p. 423.

Hen. VI. signed to reserve himself this way, in order to make his peace
1471. with him: and though his attempt should miscarry, Montague did not despair of appeasing the earl his brother.

Edward, upon his approach to York, is desired to take another rout

Mean while, Edward approaching York, two of the aldermen came and intreated him, in the name of the magistrates, to march another way; representing, that they could not receive into their city a prince that was come to take the crown from their lawful king. Edward, pursuant to the plan he had formed, replied, "That he was not come to take the "crown from the king: that since the people had declared "for Henry, he acknowledged him for his sovereign, and had "no intention to do him any prejudice: that he was come to "request the king for the restitution of his estate, not with "an army to use force, but only with a few followers to secure "him from the malice of his enemies: that the parliament "should be the judge of his cause, and desired only to have "means to pass his days quietly, in the allegiance becoming a "good subject: that however, the inhabitants of York should "of all others be the last to deny him admittance, since his "lands in the county, as well as his title of duke of York, "rendered him their countryman. In fine, he prayed them "to remember the favours, which, on several occasions, the "city had received from his family."

He answers with great moderation. Hall. Hollingsh.

The people oblige the magistrates to admit him. Hall. Hollingsh.

The aldermen returned with this answer, which was not sufficient to satisfy the magistrates, devoted as they were to the earl of Warwick; but Edward's adherents in the city, persuading the people that it would be very cruel to refuse the gates to a prince, who, submitting himself to the king and parliament, was only come to demand his inheritance, there was such a commotion that the magistrates were not able to appease it. All they could obtain of the people was, that deputies should be sent to Edward to make terms with him, in order to preserve, as far as possible, the rights of the king, and save the city from plunder. The deputies found Edward ready to promise whatever they desired: he protested he was sincere, and promised he would do no damage to the city, and always remain the king's faithful subject. Whereupon the gates were opened to him, and entering the city, he went to the cathedral, and confirmed his engagements with a solemn oath. Every thing being thus transacted on his part with great mildness and moderation, he borrowed some money of the citizens, and, leaving a garrison, departed in order for London. During his short stay at York, his army was greatly increased. he would not however have ventured to march towards London,

Deputies are sent to him.

He swears to be faithful to Henry. Hollingsh.

don, had he not expected it would continue to increaſe in his rout, and the duke of Clarence perform his promiſe [t]. Hen. VI. 1471.

In the mean time, the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick were parted, in order to aſſemble their forces. Their deſign was afterwards to join their troops in one body, and ſet at their head the prince of Wales, ſon of Henry, who was expected from France. The earl of Warwick thought he had ſufficient time to prepare and join the duke of Clarence, becauſe he did not doubt that his brother Montague would be ſtrong enough to ſtop Edward. But, contrary to his expectation, he heard that Montague had ſuffered him to paſs without oppoſition, and that his army continually increaſed upon his march with great numbers of officers and ſoldiers, that came to him from all parts of the kingdom. He was extremely ſurprized with the news, and could not tell what to think of Montague, who behaved ſo remiſsly in an affair of ſuch importance. He diſſembled however, and after ſending him expreſs orders to come and join him, and deſiring the duke of Clarence to advance with all poſſible diligence, reſolved to encamp near Coventry, and there expect Edward. His deſign was to follow him in caſe he had the boldneſs to come between him and the duke of Clarence, or amuſe him in thoſe parts till his two other bodies were arrived. Indeed, Montague began his march to join his brother, and the duke of Clarence likewiſe advancing kept within diſtance, as if he intended the ſame thing.

Clarence and Warwick command each an army. Act. Publ. tom. xi. p. 706.

Montague lets Edward paſs. Hall. Hollingſh.

Warwick encamps at Coventry. Hall.

The duke prepares to join him.

Mean while, Edward, who was now about Coventry [u], approached the earl of Warwick's intrenchments, with a ſhow of attacking them. The earl, finding himſelf weak, ſent frequent expreſſes to the duke of Clarence, to deſire him to advance with all poſſible expedition: but the duke ſtill found ſome excuſe to defer the junction. Whilſt the two armies were thus in ſight, and ready in all appearance to engage, the duke of Gloceſter, with a ſmall train, rode forth from the camp of Edward his brother, and, without demanding a ſafe-conduct, went directly to the duke of Clarence. At their firſt meeting the two brothers tenderly embraced one another;

Edward makes as if he would attack him. Hall. Hollingſh.

[t] In his march from York to London, inſtead of going through Pontefract, where the marquis of Montague lay encamped, he took a compaſs of about four miles, and came to Nottingham, where ſir Thomas Parre, ſir James Harrington, ſir William Stanley, ſir Thomas Burgh, ſir Thomas Montgomery, ſir William Norris, etc. repaired to him. Here they perſuaded him to iſſue out a proclamation as king, under the name of Edward IV. ſaying, they would ſerve no man but a king. Hall, fol. 215. Hollingſh. p. 1329. Stow, p. 423.

[u] Where he came March 29. Hollingſh. p. 1329.

Hen. VI. 1471. then, after a ſhort conference, the duke of Clarence having gained the principal officers, cauſed Edward to be proclaimed in his army. The ſame day Edward headed his own troops, and joined the duke of Clarence with all the marks of a mutual friendſhip.

The duke of Clarence joins Edward. Hall.

This was a ſtunning blow to the earl of Warwick, who little expected it: however, in ſpite of this misfortune, which would have diſcouraged any other man, he could not reſolve to hearken to any propoſals of agreement, though the duke of Clarence offered him his mediation; but ſuch a mediator, who had ſo openly betrayed him, could not but be ſuſpected by him. As his army would ſoon be reinforced by Montague's troops, and he was ſtrongly intrenched, he did not think proper too haſtily to treat of an accommodation, which muſt have been very diſadvantageous to him: beſides, he hoped that London, where he had left the duke of Somerſet [w] and the archbiſhop of York [x], would ſhut her gates againſt Edward, if he appeared before that city. In that caſe he was reſolved to follow him, immediately after Montague's arrival, and force him either to retire elſewhere, or join battle at the gates of the capital with a manifeſt diſadvantage. But theſe meaſures proved not very juſt.

The duke offers his mediation to the earl, who rejects it. Hall. Hollingſh.

Preſently after the junction of the two brothers, it was debated whether they ſhould attack the earl of Warwick in his intrenchments, or march directly for London; and the laſt was deemed moſt convenient: firſt, becauſe Edward having many friends in the city, it was likely that ſeeing him approach with a powerful army, they would uſe their endeavours to procure him admittance; and the earl of Warwick's diſtance would greatly facilitate their attempt: ſecondly, nothing could be more for Edward's advantage than to have London on his ſide; he wanted money, and could not eaſily find it elſewhere: moreover, he could not abſolutely rely upon his reſtoration, ſo long as he was not maſter of the metropolis: laſtly, it was of the utmoſt importance to have Henry in his power. He began therefore his march to London, leaving the earl of Warwick behind him, not without danger of being reduced to great ſtraits in caſe the Londoners refuſed to receive him.

Edward marches towards London. Hall. Hollingſh.

When the news reached London that the two brothers were joined and approaching the city, the earl of Warwick was given over for loſt. This belief inſpired the people with a terror, which Edward's friends carefully cheriſhed, by aggravating

The Londoners are determined to receive Edward. Hall. Hollingſh.

[w] Edmund Beaufort. [x] George Nevill.

gravating the city's danger of being expoſed to Edward's indignation, unleſs it was averted by a ſpeedy ſubmiſſion. At the ſame time, they, that after Edward's flight had taken ſanctuary in Weſtminſter-abbey, came out and ſupported that prince's intereſt. On the other hand, thoſe that were againſt him durſt hardly open their mouth, for fear their endeavours ſhould turn to their ruin. So, without waiting the reſolution of the magiſtrates, the people were ready to open the gates to Edward, and run out to meet him[y]. In vain did the duke of Somerſet and the archbiſhop of York oppoſe this reſolution; they were not heard. In vain did they promiſe the people, that the earl of Warwick would come to their relief in three days: Edward's army, which was now at the gates of the city, wrought a contrary effect. In fine, Edward's party prevailing, the people went out in crowds to receive him with acclamations, which, whether real or feigned, were to him of great ſervice. Whilſt Edward was thus received, Henry's friends withdrew from the city, without any one's thinking to help that unfortunate prince to make his eſcape. Hen. VI. 1471

Edward entered London on the 11th of April, and immediately thanked the people for their affection, and promiſed to have it in everlaſting remembrance. He ſeconded this promiſe with ſeveral acts of clemency, which entirely won him the hearts of the citizens. Mean while, Henry, who had not found means to eſcape, nor perhaps ſo much as thought of it[z], was again impriſoned in the Tower, from whence he had been taken ſeven months before to re-mount the throne. Edward enters the city. Hall. Hollingſh.

y Which they did upon theſe three accounts: 1. They were induced thereto by the many friends of his that had taken ſanctuary, and particularly the queen his wife. 2. Becauſe he owed ſeveral merchants great ſums, which would have otherwiſe been loſt. And, 3dly, Edward having been familiar with the wives of the chief citizens, they perſuaded their huſbands and relations to declare for him. Commines, lib. iii. c. 7.

z He was delivered to Edward by the archbiſhop of York, who had made his peace with him. Hollingſh. p. 1332.

Continuation of the Reign of EDWARD IV.

Edw. IV. 1471.

EDWARD had not time to make a long ſtay at London. Two days after his arrival, he departed to put himſelf at the head of his army, hearing the earl of Warwick was advanced to St. Albans. Undoubtedly the earl was extremely embarraſſed. He had decamped from Coventry, and marched with great diligence, in expectation that the city of London would keep Edward at leaſt a few days before the walls, and the news of his approach hinder the inhabitants from receiving him. But he ſaw the metropolis loſt, king Henry in priſon, and the whole kingdom, as it were, ready to declare for his enemy. In this extremity there was no other refuge, but to fight and vanquiſh Edward. A victory was the only means of reſtoring his affairs. But on the other hand, tho' he had a good army, it was far from being ſo ſtrong as Edward's, which too continually increaſed, ſince his being maſter of London. Beſides, the conduct of the marquiſs of Montague his brother was ſo myſterious, he could not tell what to think of it. He remembred he entered with reluctance into the project of dethroning Edward, and had lately twice neglected to fight him, upon occaſions where all hazards were to be run. It is true, he was come to join him, but this farther increaſed his ſuſpicions. The duke of Clarence his ſon-in-law's example, made him apprehenſive, his own brother was corrupted. In this ſtate of fear and uncertainty, he would willingly have diſmiſſed him, if he had not been afraid of diſcouraging his army. In ſhort, after many reflections upon the poſture of his affairs, flight being difficult and diſhonorable, and the ſucceſs of the battle yet uncertain, he concluded, his only way was to venture a battle, and die honorably, if victory declared for his enemy. But withal, he reſolved ſo to order it, that the marquiſs his brother ſhould run the ſame fortune with him, ſince it was the event only that could aſſure him of his fidelity. In this reſolution, he marched from St. Albans to Barnet, which is but ten miles from London, where he met Edward, who was likewiſe advancing to fight. There, upon the 14th of April, being Eaſter-day, a terrible battle was fought, which decided the fate of the two competitors. Edward had brought Henry with him, not daring to commit him to any one's cuſtody. Thus that unfortunate prince ſeemed born only to be the ſport

Edward goes out to meet Warwick. Warwick reſolves to fight. Hall.

He marches towards London. Hall.

ſport of fortune: happy in being, by his natural weakneſs of mind, leſs ſenſible of his misfortunes than any other would have been [a]. Edw. IV. 1471.

The battle began early in the morning, and laſted till noon. Never perhaps had two armies been ſeen to fight with more bravery and obſtinacy. Every one conſidering himſelf as a rebel in caſe the enemy was victorious, no favour was expected. The barbarity uſually practiſed in civil wars was well known, and more eſpecially in this, where ſundry revolutions in favour of both parties had carried animoſity to the higheſt degree. This probably was the true cauſe of the continuance of the battle. The earl of Warwick's troops, tho' inferior in number [b], fought deſperately, being determined, by the example of their general, either to conquer or die. They had even reaſon to hope, for ſome time, that victory was going to declare in their favour. Some ſquadrons detached by the earl of Warwick from the third line, gained ſo much ground upon their enemies, that ſeveral poſted to London with the news of their defeat. But Edward not loſing the preſence of mind ſo neceſſary to a general on ſuch perilous occaſions, ordered a body of reſerve to advance, who falling upon the victorious enemies in the flank, put them in extreme diſorder. The ſmall number of the earl of Warwick's troops, ſuffered him not to make a detachment to oppoſe to that body. At the ſame time, the earl of Oxford, who had beat back Edward's troops, conſidering he had left the line where he was poſted too much expoſed, wheeled about to return to his poſt. This precaution, though prudent, occaſioned the earl of Warwick's defeat. The earl of Oxford's badge upon his arms and colours was a ſtar with ſtreams, and Edward's device was a ſun. A ſmall miſt, which aroſe during the battle, hindering the earl of Warwick's troops from diſcerning the difference, they furiouſly charged theſe ſquadrons as they were returning to their poſt, and put them to rout before the earl of Oxford had time to remove their miſtake. This bred an extreme confuſion in the army. Some imagining they were betrayed, becauſe they were attacked by their own

The battle of Barnet. Warwick and Montague defeated and ſlain. Hall. Hollingſh. Stow.

Hall.

Cauſe of Edward's victory. Stow. Habington.

[a] In Edward's army, the front was led by Richard duke of Gloceſter; Edward himſelf, and George duke of Clarence commanded the main body; and William lord Haſtings the rear.——In the earl of Warwick's army, the right wing was commanded by John Neville marquiſs of Montague, and John de Vere earl of Oxford; the left by the earl of Warwick himſelf, and John Holland duke of Exeter; and a body of archers, which was in the middle, by Edmund Beaufort duke of Somerſet. Hall, fol. 21".

[b] The number of king Edward's troops did not exceed nine thouſand. Hollingſh. p. 1335.

Edw. IV. 1471. men, ran away to the enemies. Others seeing them fly that way, thought themselves attacked in the rear, and knew not what course to take. Mean while, Edward improving this mistake, cut in pieces the troops that were flying towards him. The earl of Warwick perceiving the disorder, did his utmost to remedy it, but it was to no purpose. At last, willing to animate his troops by his example, he rushed, tho' on foot, among the thickest of his enemies, where he quickly fell, covered with wounds. The marquis of Montague his brother, desirous to rescue him, perished in the attempt a few moments after him. Thus ended the battle about noon, by the entire defeat of Warwick's army, ten thousand where-of were slain on the spot [c]. It is said, Edward, who in all the other battles was wont to publish before the fight, that the common soldiers should be spared, and the officers put to the sword, had ordered now that no quarter should be given. The earl of Oxford and the duke of Somerset fled into Wales to the earl of Pembroke, who was levying troops for the earl of Warwick. The duke of Exeter was left for dead among the slain; but coming to life again, he crawled to the next house, from whence he found means to be carried to London, where he took sanctuary in Westminster-abbey.

Hall.

Commin.

Oxford and Somerset escape.

Exeter is wounded.

Hall. Hollingsh.

Such was the success of this bloody day, and such the end of the famous earl of Warwick, who since the beginning of the quarrel between the houses of Lancaster and York, had made in England the greatest figure any subject had ever done before him. In a word, he had made and unmade kings as he pleased. Nothing more glorious could be said of a private man, if true glory consisted in excess of power [d].

Edward returns to London.

Edward having thus obtained a complete victory, which seemed to secure him the crown, returned to London [e], where he was triumphantly received. The citizens could not sufficiently express their joy, to see themselves freed from the danger to which they would have been exposed, had the earl of Warwick been conqueror. The king's first care was to

Hall.

[c] Hall says, there were ten thousand slain on both sides; Fabian hath but about fifteen hundred; and Stow four thousand. They were buried in the field of battle, half a mile from Barnet, where a chapel was afterwards built in memory of them. The most considerable persons slain on Edward's side, were, the lords Cromwell and Say, the lord Montjoy's son, Sir Humphrey Bourchier son of the lord Berners, &c. Hall, fol. 218. Hollin. p. 1335. Stow, p. 423.

[d] His body, and that of his brother, John Neville marquis of Montague, after being exposed three days, to all comers, in St. Paul's cathedral, were conveyed to Bisham-abbey in Berkshire, and there buried. Hall, fol. 218. Stow, p. 423.

[e] On Easter day, in the afternoon; he went immediately to St. Paul's church, where he offered his standard. Hall, fol. 218.

return

return God thanks for the victory at St. Paul's church; after which, he ordered the unfortunate Henry to be ſent to his old priſon. A few days after, he granted a pardon to the archbiſhop of York, probably not to incenſe the clergy by the puniſhment of one of their principal members. Beſides, he remembered the great ſervice that prelate had done him, tho' perhaps more out of negligence than affection, in ſuffering him to eſcape from his confinement at Middleham. Edw. IV. 1471.

The archbiſhop of York is pardoned. Act. Publ. xi. p. 709.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, queen Margaret, who was juſt arrived from France in Dorſetſhire[f], ſaw herſelf in a ſtate worthy of pity. She had ſcarce time to refreſh herſelf two days, when ſhe received the fatal news of the defeat and death of the earl of Warwick. Though ſhe had hitherto bravely withſtood all the attacks of fortune, ſhe was ſo affected with this new diſgrace, that ſhe fell into a ſwoon, out of which ſhe recovered with great difficulty. She ſaw in an inſtant all the conſequences, and perceiving no refuge, ſhe gave way to her grief, and loſt upon this occaſion that wonderful firmneſs, by which ſhe had ever been ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſhed. Thus yielding to her unhappy lot, and thinking only of ſaving the prince her ſon, ſhe took ſanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu in Hampſhire. She was ſtill in the mortal agonies, cauſed by this fatal accident, when ſhe ſaw arrive the duke of Somerſet, John Beaufort his brother, the earls of Pembroke and Devonſhire, and the lord Wenlock. The two laſt had been for Edward, and unhappily for them had deſerted him. The queen had alſo with her the grand prior of St. John's, ſent into France to conduct her to England. All theſe lords, with ſeveral other officers of diſtinction, ſtrove to comfort her and revive her hopes. They repreſented to her, "That ſhe had not reaſon yet to deſpair: that indeed "Edward was victorious, but might be vanquiſhed again: "that the kingdom ſtill abounding with friends to king "Henry, it was not ſo difficult as ſhe imagined to form a "new army capable of ſtopping the uſurper's progreſs: that "as the gaining of one battle had reſtored him to the throne, "ſo the loſs of another might caſt him down: that the ſundry revolutions for and againſt the two houſes, ſince the "quarrel began, ought to teach her, that there was ſtill hope, "provided ſhe would not by any unſeaſonable fear relinquiſh "her own intereſts, with thoſe of the king her huſband and "the prince her ſon: that her armies had been frequently

Queen Margaret arrives with the prince. Hall. Hollingſh.

She ſwoons at the news of the defeat,

and takes ſanctuary. Hall. Hollingſh.

Her friends come to her, and exhort her to try her fortune once more,

[f] She embarked, march 24, and landed at Weymouth on April 13 or 14. Hollingſh. p. 1331, 1335.

"victorious

Edw. IV. 1471. "victorious under her conduct, and it was by no means impoſſible that victory ſhould once more incline to her ſide. "Laſtly, that all the world conſidered the prince of Wales "as undoubted heir of the crown, and by ſetting him at the "head of the army, there was ſtill room to expect a happy "revolution."

She would put her ſon out of danger. Hall. Hollingſh.

If Margaret was afraid to expoſe herſelf once more to the viciſſitude of fortune, it was not upon her own account. The prince her ſon was the cauſe of all her uneaſineſs. Her tenderneſs for him, made her ſee all the fatal conſequences of the undertaking propoſed to her, in caſe it was not crowned with ſucceſs. She plainly perceived, he could not attempt to recover the crown of his anceſtors, without hazarding at the ſame time his own life; and that conſideration was ſo grievous to her, as to hinder her coming to any reſolution. In this perplexity, ſhe propoſed ſending the prince into France, that in caſe the enterprize ſucceeded, he might reap the benefit, and if it miſcarried, might at leaſt be in ſafety. But the duke of Somerſet repreſented to her, that it was chiefly upon the preſence of the prince that her hopes could be founded, which alone would be capable of drawing multitudes into his ſervice, and induce the troops to fight valiantly for him. At length the queen, after enduring a violent conflict in her ſoul, between the fear of loſing her ſon, and the deſire of procuring him a crown which ſhe believed his lawful right, conſented to follow the advice of her friends.

The duke of Somerſet is againſt it.

She yields to him.

The ſpeed wherewith the Lancaſtrians levy a freſh army.

This reſolution being taken, it was agreed, that the queen and prince ſhould retire to Bath, and the reſt go and aſſemble their friends, with the remains of the earl of Warwick's army [g]. The earl of Pembroke undertook to levy an army in Wales, where his intereſt was great, and immediately departed; only deſiring the duke of Somerſet, who was to command in chief under the prince of Wales, to run no hazard till joined by the Welſh. The ſuddenneſs wherewith all theſe lords levied or aſſembled their troops, would be moſt ſurpriſing, if in the firſt place, the aſtoniſhing effects uſually produced by hatred and revenge, eſpecially in civil wars, were not conſidered. Secondly, it muſt be remembered, that the remains of the earl of Warwick's army having diſperſed themſelves after the battle of Barnet, wanted only a leader to head them. Laſtly, as it was but a few days ſince the battle, it was not yet known how the conqueror would behave to the

[g] And ſo, they ſoon drew together a large army out of the counties of Somerſet, Dorſet, Wilts, Devon, and Cornwal. Idem. p. 1336.

van-

vanquiſhed. So moſt having greater reaſon to expect ſeverity than mercy, choſe rather to venture again their lives in battle, than run the riſk of dying on the gibbet and ſcaffold. Be this as it will, it appears in the Collection of the Public Acts, that the 27th of April, thirteen days after the battle of Barnet, the Lancaſtrian lords had [illegible] re-aſſembled an army. Edw. IV 1471.

Upon the ſame day, as appears by the date, Edward iſſued out a proclamation, ſetting forth, that his title to the crown was unqueſtionable: firſt, by reaſon: ſecondly, by authority of parliament: thirdly, by his victories, and particularly the laſt, where the marquis of Montague and the earl of Warwick were ſlain. That notwithſtanding theſe three moſt firm foundations, namely, reaſon, parliamentary authority, and victory, ſundry perſons had taken up arms againſt him: but to avoid the effuſion of more blood, he had thought proper to give his people a liſt of the names of thoſe perſons who were pronounced traitors and rebels, that their encouragers might not complain if any miſchief befel them. The perſons proſcribed were, Margaret, ſtiling herſelf queen of England, Edward her ſon, the duke of Exeter, the duke of Somerſet, John earl of Oxford, John Courtney earl of Devonſhire, William viſcount de Beaumont, John Beaufort brother to the duke of Somerſet, Hugh Courtney, with eleven others. Proclamation againſt the queen. Act. Pub. xi. p. 709.

Mean while, Edward loſt not a moment. As the troops were ready to march, he put himſelf at their head [h] to give his enemies battle, before the earl of Pembroke joined them with the Welſhmen. How diligent ſoever the lords in league with the queen had been, they were far from being in ſo good poſture as the king, becauſe of their want of arms and ammunition. So, knowing that Edward was marching in queſt of them, they reſolved to retire into Wales, where the ſituation of the country would help them to avoid fighting as long as they pleaſed. Beſides, they expected to be joined very ſoon by the earl of Pembroke, and then ſhould be in condition to give battle. The point was to paſs the Severn before the king overtook them, and for that purpoſe they marched Edward marches againſt her. Hall. Hollingſh. She would retire into Wales.

[h] He ſet out, April 19, with ſuch forces as he had got together about London, and came to Windſor; from whence he departed on the 24th, and 27th came to Abingdon, where he waited the 28th for the coming of ſome troops. The 29th, he advanced towards Cirenceſter, and thence to Malmſbury, and afterwards to Sodbury, on May 1, where he was informed the enemies intended to meet him. Idem. p. 1336, 1337.

to

Edw. IV. 1471.

to Gloceſter [i]. But that city refuſing her gates [k], and there being no likelihood of taking it at the firſt aſſault, much leſs of beſieging it in form, they reſolved to paſs the Severn at Tewkſbury. Mean time, Edward ſo cloſely purſued them, that upon their arriving at Tewkſbury, they conſulted whether they ſhould paſs the river, at the peril of ſeeing their rear put to rout, or intrench themſelves in a park adjoining to the town, till the earl of Pembroke arrived. The queen, who thought only of ſaving the prince, was for paſſing. Some others, more out of complaiſance to her than for any good reaſon, ſeconded her opinion. But the duke of Somerſet ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it. He repreſented the enemy was ſo near, that before the army had all paſſed, he would certainly have it in his power to attack them, and cut in pieces thoſe who ſhould have the misfortune to be left behind: That ſuch an accident, which ſeemed unavoidable, could not but prove very fatal, and diſcourage ſuch as were ſtill friends to the houſe of Lancaſter: In fine, though their army was inferior in number to that of the enemy, that diſadvantage might be repaired by intrenching themſelves in the park, which would balance the ſuperiority of his troops. After mature deliberation, this opinion was thought moſt adviſeable, conſidering the circumſtances of time and place. Hiſtorians, of whom few underſtand the art of War, have taxed the duke of Somerſet with imprudence and raſhneſs, ſolely becauſe they conſidered not the difficulty of paſſing a River like the Severn, with the enemy in the rear. But if that general had been guilty of no other fault, perhaps the queen's affairs would have taken another turn. At leaſt ſhe might have waited the earl of Pembroke's arrival [l], and by fighting upon equal terms, cauſed her enemy to run an equal hazard. This the ſequel will demonſtrate.

He overtakes her at Tewkſbury.

The queen is for paſſing the Severn.

The duke of Somerſet is againſt it. Hall.

The reſolution being taken of expecting Edward, the whole night was ſpent in making intrenchments round the park, which were finiſhed before day; ſo ardently was it laboured to be ſecured from ſurprize. Edward approaching to view them, judged it abſolutely neceſſary to attack them, before they were rendered more impenetrable, and before the arrival of the earl of Pembroke, who was hourly expected.

He intrenches himſelf by Tewkſbury. Edward reſolves to attack him. Hall. Hollingſh.

[i] Queen Margaret removed from Bath (where ſhe was) in great haſte to Briſtol; from whence ſhe ſent a few horſemen to diſcover whether ſhe could ſafely paſs the Severn at Gloceſter; and ſoon after advanced towards that city, and thence went to Tewkſbury. Ibid.

[k] Richard, ſon of the lord Beauchamp of Powkey, was governor of this town, which was under the obedience of Richard the king's brother. Hall, fol. 220. Hollingſh. p. 1771.

[l] This was what ſeveral of the Officers adviſed her to do. Hall, fol. 220.

So

So without loſs of time, he drew up his army in two lines. Edw. IV.
He gave the command of the firſt to the duke of Gloceſter, 1471.
his younger brother, and headed the ſecond himſelf with the
duke of Clarence. The duke of Somerſet ranged his army
behind the intrenchments, in three bodies, of which he com-
manded the foremoſt himſelf [m], in order to ſuſtain the firſt
ſhock. Wenlock [n] conducted the ſecond, under prince Ed-
ward, who was conſidered as the commander in chief. The
earl of Devonſhire [o] was placed at the head of the third.
Edward taking a cloſer view of the intrenchments, perceived
an opening to be left to go out upon occaſion. This made
him think, the duke of Somerſet hoped to repel the firſt
charge, and if he obſerved any diſorder among the aſſailants,
had reſolved to ſally out and improve the advantage. So, Hollingſh.
the more eaſily to draw him out of his lines, he ordered the
duke of Gloceſter who was to begin the fight, to retreat with
ſome precipitation, in caſe he met with too ſtrong a reſiſtance;
and if he was purſued, to face about, and vigorouſly attack
his purſuers, in the aſſurance of being ſupported by all the
reſt of the army. This order was founded upon Edward's
knowlege of the duke of Somerſet's intrepidity, and good
opinion of himſelf.

Every thing being thus diſpoſed, the duke of Gloceſter The battle of Tewkſbury. Hall.
began the attack of the intrenchments with great vigour. But
finding the enemies ſtood their ground, and appeared every
where ready to ſuſtain his aſſaults, he retreated toward the
ſecond line, with a precipitation that made the duke of So-
merſet believe the whole body to be diſmayed. Then it was False ſtep of the duke of Somerſet. Hall. Hollingſh.
that the duke, not being able to curb the impetuoſity of his
courage, and thinking he ought to improve the advantage,
ſallied out of his intrenchments to preſs the enemy's army,
which he imagined to be now in confuſion. At the ſame
time, he ſent Wenlock word to come immediately to his ſup-
port. Mean while the duke of Gloceſter, who was again
drawn up at a great diſtance from the intrenchments, ſeeing
the duke of Somerſet advancing towards him in good order,
ſaved him ſome part of the way. As he was ſure of being
ſupported by the king his brother, who was not far off, he fu-
rioufly fell upon the troops that were marching againſt him,
and by that vigorous and unexpected attack, ſo aſtoniſhed
them, that they ſaw no other refuge than to fly in diſorder
to their camp. The duke of Somerſet was in a fury, when

[m] With his brother the lord John Beaufort. Hall, fol. 220.

[n] And the lord St. John. Idem.

[o] Thomas Courtney.

he

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he perceived himſelf unſupported. He had depended upon Wenlock, and inſtead of finding him without the intrenchments with the ſecond line, to oppoſe the duke of Gloceſter, he ſaw him motionleſs in the very place where he firſt drew up his men. Not being able at this fight, to bridle his rage, he furiouſly rode up to him, and clove his ſkull with a battle-axe.

Hall. Hollingſh. He kills Wenlock.

The duke of Gloceſter enters the enemy's camp. Hall. Hollingſh.

Mean time the duke of Gloceſter entering the enemy's camp together with the run-a-ways, made a terrible ſlaughter. Wenlock being dead, the young prince knew not what to do, and the duke of Somerſet tranſported with paſſion, was incapable of giving orders, and making himſelf obeyed. Thus confuſion inſtantly ſpreading in the army, and the king, who cloſely followed the duke his brother, entering likewiſe the camp, the queen's troops thought only of ſaving themſelves by flight, without making any farther reſiſtance. It is ſaid, the queen was found in a chariot, half dead with grief at the ſight of her forlorn affairs, without knowing what was become of the prince her ſon, and was brought in that condition to king Edward. A hiſtorian however affirms, it was not till a day or two after the battle, that ſhe was taken out of a nunnery where ſhe had fled for refuge, and conducted to the king then at Worceſter. In this battle, by which the crown was entirely ſecured to Edward, there fell on the queen's ſide but three thouſand, becauſe the two laſt lines ran away without fighting. Among the ſlain were found the earl of Devonſhire and Sir John Beaufort brother of the duke of Somerſet [p]. The prince of Wales, the duke of Somerſet [q], and the grand prior of St. John's [r], were made priſoners. But it would have been more happy for them to have died in the battle, ſince they ſaved their lives only to loſe them in a leſs honourable manner. The young prince being brought into the king's preſence, appeared before him with an undaunted countenance, without debaſing himſelf by ſubmiſſions unbecoming his birth. Edward was ſurpriſed, and ſtill more, when, aſking him how he came to be ſo raſh thus to enter his kingdom in arms; the prince replied, "That he was come to recover his own "inheritance, which had been unjuſtly uſurped." Edward, full of indignation at this boldneſs, ſtruck him on the mouth with his gantlet, and turned from him. This was, as it were, the ſignal to take away the life of that unfortunate

The queen is taken. Hall.

Hollingſh.

Hall. Hollingſh. Stow.

The prince murdered in cold blood. Hall. Stow.

[p] And alſo Sir John Delves, Sir Edward Humpden, Sir Robert Whytingham, Sir John Lewkenher, &c. Hall.

[q] Edmund Beaufort.

[r] John Langſtrother.

prince

prince. It is ſaid, immediately upon the king's withdrawing, the dukes of Clarence and Gloceſter his brothers, the earl of Dorſet [s], and the lord Haſtings, fell like wild beaſts upon the young prince, and ſtabbed him with their daggers. It is certain, he was murdered that inſtant, and probably, the king had given orders beforehand for that barbarous execution. But I do not know, whether the hiſtorians are to be credited, who affirm, theſe four lords killed him with their own hands. This might be an effect of the prejudice of thoſe that wrote the hiſtory after the reſtoration of the houſe of Lancaſter, ſince it is certain they have forgot nothing to render the houſe of York odious. It is likely, however, the murder was committed in the preſence of the afore-mentioned lords. Some ſay, the prince eſcaping out of the battle, the king offered a penſion of five hundred pounds ſterling to any perſon that ſhould bring him dead or alive, promiſing, if he was alive, not to put him to death: That upon this promiſe Sir Richard Crofts, in whoſe hands he was fallen, brought him to the king, who performed not his word. The prince loſt his life at eighteen years of age [t]. Next day the duke of Somerſet, and the grand prior of the order of St. John were beheaded [u]. Queen Margaret was confined in the Tower, where ſhe remained a priſoner till 1475, when Lewis XI. ranſomed her for fifty thouſand crowns [w]. Such was the ſaid cataſtrophe of this princeſs, who, for attempting to rule England with an abſolute ſway, cauſed a great effuſion of Engliſh blood, and wrought her own as well as the ruin of the king her ſpouſe, of the prince her ſon, and of all the houſe of Lancaſter, of which there remained but a ſingle branch in the perſon of the earl of Richmond. There was, it ſeems, a ſort of fatality with regard to the kings of England, that married the daughters of France. Edward II. Richard II. Henry VI. and Charles I. were the only kings that eſpouſed French princeſſes [x], and they all four underwent the ſame fate, three of them by the fault of their queens.

The battle of Tewkſbury, fought on the 4th of May [y], eighteen days after that of Barnet, was the twelfth ſince the

Edw. IV. 1471.

Remark upon it.

Hall. Hollingſh.

Somerſet beheaded. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Act. Pub. xii. p. 21, 22.

Hollingſh. Stow.

[s] Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorſet. Hall, fol. 221. Hollingſhead, p. 1340.

[t] He was buried without any ſolemnity, among ſome perſons, in the Black-Friers in Tewkſbury. Hall, fol. 221.

[u] They were beheaded, May 6. Hall. Hollingſhead ſays, it was the 7th, p. 1340.

[w] Her father ranſomed her for that ſum, which he borrowed of Lewis XI. and mortgaged to him for it the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and the county of Provence. Hall. fol. 221.

[x] Rapin forgot Henry V. But of this ſee more in the note on his reflections at the end of the reign of Richard III.

[y] Hall ſays it was the 3d, fol. 221.

be-

Edw. IV. 1471.

beginning of the quarrel between the two roſes. But it was not the laſt, though followed by no other in the reſt of this reign.

The baſtard of Faucon-bridge riſes againſt the king. Hall. Hollingſh.

Whilſt Edward was employed in purſuing the queen, there aroſe a freſh enemy againſt him. Thomas Nevil, known by the name of the baſtard of Fauconbridge, becauſe he was natural ſon to the lord of that name, had been made vice-admiral of the channel, during the earl of Warwick's adminiſtration, to whom he adhered. The earl being dead, and king Edward re-inthroned, the baſtard had loſt his place. As he was a man of ill morals and without means, he ſaw no other way to ſubſiſt than turning pirate. When he found the king employed in the weſt in purſuit of the queen, he aſſembled ſome ſhips, and many perſons of deſperate fortunes, with whom he came upon the coaſt of Kent, not imagining the war newly kindled, would ſo quickly end. His deſign was to ſurprize London, and inrich himſelf with the plunder of the city. Accordingly, he began his march towards London [z], giving out, that he only intended to free king Henry from captivity. On that pretence, drawing in many adherents of the houſe of Lancaſter, he formed an army of ſeventeen thouſand men. He preſently became maſter of Southwark. At the ſame time, he ordered part of his troops [a] to paſs the Thames, and aſſault two of the city gates [b], whilſt himſelf attempted to force the bridge. But the citizens having had notice of his march, were upon their guard, and repulſed him on all ſides. In the mean while, the baſtard hearing of the ſucceſs of the battle of Tewkſbury, and knowing the king was haſtily marching to London [c], retired in good order to Sandwich, where he fortified himſelf. Edward being come to London, paſſed through the city without ſtaying, and marched to Canterbury, where the baſtard ſent him word he was ready to ſubmit upon certain terms, which were immediately granted him. The king even knighted him, and made him vice-admiral of the channel as before. But he did not long enjoy theſe favours. Shortly after, he was beheaded, either for new or the old crimes.

He attempts to ſurprize London. Hollingſh. Stow.

He is repulſed, and retires to Sandwich.

The king pardons him; and afterwards cuts off his head.

Edward arriving at London the 21ſt of May, after two victories in leſs than three weeks, granted an abſolute pardon

The biſhop of Wincheſter is pardoned.

Act. Pub. xi, p. 711.

z May 12. Hollingſhead, p. 1341.

a Conſiſting of Eſſex men. Ibid.

b Aldgate and Biſhopsgate.

c He was at Worceſter, in his march againſt ſome rebels in the north, when he received the news of this inſurrection; whereupon he altered his courſe and came to Coventry, May 11. Hollingſhead, p. 1341.

to

to William Wainfleet biſhop of Wincheſter [d], a zealous Lancaſtrian. But he had not the ſame generoſity for king Henry, head of that houſe. The innocent life of that unhappy prince ſeemed to ſcreen him from the cruelty of his victorious enemy. It was doubtleſs upon that account, Edward had twice before ſpared his life. Nay, it is very probable, he would have ſuffered him to die a natural death, had he believed it conſiſtent with his ſafety. But he was afraid he ſhould never enjoy a ſettled repoſe, ſo long as that prince was alive; and this conſideration made him reſolve to diſpatch him. It was properly queen Margaret that haſtened her huſband's death by her laſt attempt to re-inthrone him. If ſhe had won the battle of Tewkſbury, and taken Edward priſoner, it is ſcarce to be doubted, that ſhe would have put him to death on the ſcaffold. She ought not therefore to think it very ſtrange, that the ill ſucceſs of her enterprize fell upon the heads of her huſband and ſon. It is even very probable, ſhe was herſelf indebted to her ſex for her own life. However this be, Edward reſolving to ſacrifice Henry to his ſafety, ordered the duke of Gloceſter, to whom all the hiſtorians unanimouſly give the character of a brutiſh and bloody prince, to put him to death in priſon. It is pretended, this prince would be the father's, as he had been the ſon's executioner, and that entering his room he himſelf ſtabbed him to the heart. But as I obſerved, it is neceſſary to receive with ſome caution what the hiſtorians ſay of the princes of the houſe of York [e].

Edw. IV. 1471.

Death of Henry VI. Hall. Hollingſh. Stow.

Thus died Henry VI. in the fiftieth year of his age, after a reign of thirty-eight years before he was dethroned, and of ſeven months only after his reſtoration. Never had prince been the occaſion, though innocently, of more bloody tragedies, or cauſed more blood to be ſpilt in his quarrel. Tho' his natural weakneſs rendered him unfit to govern his kingdom, and for that reaſon, he always gave himſelf up to the guidance of others, he had ſome good qualities, which after his death, were extolled for virtues of the firſt claſs, on purpoſe to render the more odious the perſon that deprived him of his crown and life. All that can truly be ſaid of this prince is, that conſidering him in his private capacity, his life was innocent, or at leaſt, free from the crimes but too

His character.

[d] The founder of Magdalen-College in Oxford.

[e] Some ſay, that when he heard what loſſes had happened to his friends, and how not only his ſon, but alſo his other chief adherents were dead, and diſpatched out of the way, he took it ſo to heart, that out of pure diſpleaſure, indignation, and melancholy, he died on May 23. Hollingſhead, p. 1343.

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common in the world. But if he is conſidered as a ſovereign, he will appear in his whole life, to have acted neither good nor bad. He founded Eaton College near Windſor, and King's College in Cambridge, for the benefit of Eaton ſcholars. Theſe two foundations are ſtill in being. After his death, his body was brought to St. Paul's, where it was ſome time expoſed to public view; after which it was interred without any pomp, in a village near London [f].

His foundation. Act. Pub. xi. p. 36. Hollingſh. Hall.

The remains of the houſe of Lancaſter.

The twelve battles, fought ſince the year 1455, and the conſequent barbarous executions, had reduced the houſe of Lancaſter to two perſons only, namely, Margaret (daughter of John duke of Somerſet, wife of Edmund Tudor earl of Richmond, half-brother of Henry VI.) and Henry earl of Richmond her ſon. Margaret had two other huſbands, Henry earl of Stafford, and Thomas Stanley, but had children by neither. I mention not Charles Somerſet, from whom the earls of Worceſter were derived, becauſe being only natural ſon of the Beaufort-Somerſet family [g], he could have no title to the crown.

The earls of Pembroke and Richmond retire into Wales. Hall.

Jaſper Tudor earl of Pembroke, uncle of the young earl of Richmond, not having been ſpeedy enough to be preſent at the battle of Tewkſbury, was not a little embarraſſed. As he found himſelf too weak to ſupport alone the intereſts of the houſe of Lancaſter, he diſmiſſed his troops, and remained with the earl of Richmond his nephew in Wales, where he had many friends, and great credit. Edward paſſionately deſired to have in his power theſe two lords, the only perſons that could give him any farther diſturbance. To accompliſh that deſign, it was by no means proper to march his troops againſt them. Beſides that this would warn them to leave the kingdom, it was not eaſy even to ſeize their perſons, in a country where they had as many friends as there were inhabitants. So believing policy to be more ſerviceable than force, he ſent into thoſe parts Roger Vaughan, with orders to uſe all methods to ſeize or kill them. Vaughan not having been ſo ſecret as he ought, the earl of Pembroke,

Edward tries to get rid of them, but cannot. Hall. Hollingſh.

They embark for France,

[f] His body was brought in an open coffin, on May 29, through Cornhill, with a great company of armed men, to St. Paul's Church, where it was expoſed for one whole day, to public view. The next day it was removed to the Black-Friers; and thence, without prieſt or clerk, torch or taper, ſinging or ſaying, conveyed to the monaſtery of Chertſey in Surry: but it was afterwards removed by Edward IV. or, according to others, by Richard III. in the ſecond year of his reign, to Windſor, and there buried. A monument was erected for him, of which there are at preſent, no remains. Hall, fol. 223. Stow, p. 421. Sandford, p. 306.

[g] He was ſon of Henry Beaufort duke of Somerſet, by Joan Hill. This Henry was eldeſt ſon of Edmund, who was third ſon of John, the eldeſt ſon of John of Gaunt, by Catharine Swinford. Sandford, p. 330.

who

who had notice of his design, pretending to fall into the villain's snare, slew him, and retired to Pembroke Castle [h], from whence he departed with Henry his nephew, and imbarked in a vessel which was to carry them to France. Mean while, the winds driving them upon the coast of Bretagne, they were forced to put into a port of that country. Their design was to go to Paris, but as they could not be excused waiting on the duke of Bretagne, when they would have taken their leave, they were told, they were not at liberty to pursue their voyage. The duke judging these two lords might be of some advantage to him, assigned them the town of Vannes for their habitation, with an honourable allowance. Mean while, though they outwardly received all the respect due to their birth and quality, they were, however, very narrowly watched. Edw. IV. 1471. and are detained in Bretagne.

Edward seeing himself perfectly restored, without any appearance of being again disturbed, in the possession of a crown acquired with so much pains, assembled the lords spiritual and temporal at Westminster [i]. There, in a studied speech, wherein he endeavoured to display the title of the house of York to the crown, and forgot not his victories, he expressed his desire, that they would take the oath to prince Edward his son, as to his apparent successor, to which he found them all inclined. The two archbishops, eight bishops, five dukes, with all the earls and lords there present, took the oath on the 3d of July. Many former examples had demonstrated the little use of such a precaution, and without going any farther, Edward might have remembred his father's oath to Henry VI. as well as his own at York. He was persuaded however, that people would be more scrupulous to him. But after his death, his children unhappily experienced how little such assurances are to be depended upon. Edward gets the lords to take the oath to his son. Act. Pub. xi. p. 714.

Shortly after, Edward granted a pardon to seven bishops [k], Pardon granted to seven bishops. p. 715, 716, 728, 729, 734, 736.

[h] He was besieged in it by Morgan Thomas, and relieved by David, brother of the said Morgan; he was, by the same David's means, conveyed to Tynby, where he embarked. Hall, fol. 222.

[i] This parliament met on the 6th of October, (so it is in Cotton; but by Rymer's Fœd. tom. xi. p. 714. it seems to have been sitting July 3.) The commons granted, that fourteen thousand archers should serve the king, at their own charge, to be levied out of all mens lands, according to a certain proportion: And the lords spiritual and temporal granted towards the furniture aforesaid, the tenth part of one whole year's revenue, of all and singular their possessions. On November 30, the parliament was prorogued to Feb. 8, 1472. when it met again; and April 8, the commons granted the king one tenth, and one fifteenth. Cotton's Abridg. p. 688—691.

[k] The bishops of London, Lichfield and Coventry, Hereford, St. Asaph, Landaff, Bath and Wells; that is, only to six. For there are no pardons for more. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xi. p. 715, 716, 728, 729, 734, 736.

Edw IV. 1471. who had declared againſt him in the late revolution. From the beginning of his reign to the end, he always endeavoured to carry it fair with the clergy. The reſt of the year was ſpent in ſundry negociations, which I ſhall briefly mention.

Negotiation with the king of Scotland. p. 716, 717, 733, 748.

The firſt was with the king of Scotland. During the troubles in England, the truce between the Engliſh and Scots had been frequently violated, contrary to the intention of the two kings. After Edward's reſtoration, the king of Scotland ſending ambaſſadors to him, it was agreed to hold a congreſs at Alnwick the 24th of September, for a mutual reparation of the outrages committed by the two nations upon one another. The two kings were equally deſirous to preſerve the truce, and even to conclude a final peace. This negociation however was not ended till 1473. It appears in the Collection of the Public Acts, that Edward empowered his ambaſſadors to propoſe a marriage between the king of Scotland and an Engliſh princeſs. I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere of the ſequel of this negociation.

The truce with Bretagne ratified. p. 722, 750.

On the 30th of September, the thirty years truce with Bretagne was confirmed. This confirmation was neceſſary, as the truce during the earl of Warwick's adminiſtration had been often violated.

Truce of eight months with France. p. 721, 722, 750.

Lewis XI. was very ſenſible Edward had no reaſon to be pleaſed with him; but however he offered him a truce, as that with Henry VI. was of no force now Edward was reſtored. In the preſent ſituation of the Engliſh affairs, it was by no means proper for Edward to renew the war with France: his kingdom was too much exhauſted to think ſo early of ſuch an undertaking; ſo, without much entreaty, he agreed to continue the truce from the 1ſt of September this year, to the 1ſt of May following. This was only whilſt he prepared to be revenged of Lewis for aſſiſting queen Margaret.

1472. The year 1472, abounded not with ſo many important and remarkable events as the laſt: it was almoſt wholly ſpent in divers negociations, tending to ſecure the tranquillity of the king and kingdom, by truces or alliances with foreign princes.

p. 733. The negociation with Scotland ſtill continued, though ſlowly, by reaſon of the obſtacles which occurred in the reparations demanded by each king.

Differences between the Engliſh and Flemings. p. 737, 738.

It appears in ſeveral papers of the Collection of the Public Acts, that ſome diſpute aroſe concerning the truce of commerce for thirty years between England and the duke of Burgundy's

gundy's dominions. Probably, during the earl of Warwick's administration, the Engliſh had injured the duke's trading ſubjects: theſe demanded reparation for ſundry damages ſuſtained, affirming the truce was to be conſidered as made with England, and not with the perſon of the reigning king. Edward on his part did not think himſelf obliged to repair the damages done to the Flemings during the earl of Warwick's miniſtry. But theſe differences properly concerned only the merchants of the two nations: as for the two princes, it was for both their intereſts to live in a good underſtanding. Wherefore, in treating of the outrages committed againſt the truce, they did not fail to negociate a final peace. Edw. IV. 1472.

An affair of much the ſame nature with the Hanſe towns[1] created the king likewiſe ſome trouble. Theſe towns, whereof Lubeck, Hamburgh, and Dantzick were the three principal, had obtained of the kings of England ſeveral privileges for their merchants, becauſe their commerce was very advantageous to the Engliſh. But under the frequent changes of the government during the civil war, the Engliſh had injured the merchants of theſe towns, and violated their privileges ſeveral ways. Whereupon they had obtained of their magiſtrates letters of mart, which had turned theſe differences into an open war, deſtructive to both ſides. At length, the troubles in England being ended, the Hanſe towns ſent ambaſſadors to the king to demand ſatisfaction for their loſſes, and to propoſe a renewal of alliance, to confirm their privileges, and ſecure the trade and navigation of the Engliſh in the northern ſeas. Edward received the ambaſſadors very civilly, and appointed commiſſioners, who after ſeveral conferences agreed with them that a congreſs ſhould be held at Utrecht, to ſettle all things to the ſatisfaction of both parties. But this affair was ſo full of difficulties, that it could not be ended till 1474. Negociations with the Hanſe towns. Act. Publ. tom. xi. p. 739.

Some time after, Edward, by his letters patent, confirmed the ancient alliance between Richard II. and John king of Portugal, for them and their ſucceſſors. Alphonſo, king Alliance with Portugal. p. 741.

[1] Theſe are certain towns in Germany, confederate for the benefit of trade. They are ſo called from the word Hanſe, ſignifying Alliance. Bremen, in Lower Saxony, is ſaid to have been the founder of this confederacy, about the year 1164. How many towns were aſſociated at firſt is not known: but the deſign ſo viſibly proſpered, that moſt of the chief trading places in Europe, to the number of ſeventy-two, entered into the confederacy. In the flouriſhing times of their alliance, theſe Hanſe towns had four general ſtaples, viz. London, Bruges in Flanders, Bergen in Norway, and Novogrod in Ruſſia. At preſent the Hanſe towns are in a manner reduced to theſe ſix, Lubeck, Hamburgh, Bremen, Roſtock, Dantzick, and Cologne.

Edw. IV. 1472. of that country, ſent him the like letters, dated the 30th of Auguſt.

The earl of Oxford taken and impriſoned at Hammes, Hall. Hollingſh. Biondi.

Whilſt Edward was endeavouring to ſecure his repoſe by renewing the truces or alliances with foreign princes, the return of the earl of Oxford into England gave him freſh cauſe of uneaſineſs. The earl, a great favourer of the houſe of Lancaſter, had retired into France after the battle of Tewkſbury: but as he was not very favourably received by Lewis XI. he was returned into England, with ſeventy-ſeven men, and had taken by ſurprize St. Michael's Mount in Cornwal. Edward, ever apprehenſive that the leaſt ſpark might re-kindle the flames ſo happily extinguiſhed, ordered ſome troops to march immediately into the weſt, and inveſt the earl of Oxford in the Mount. But as the earl had not time to provide againſt a ſiege, he ſurrendered before he was reduced to extremity [m]. All he could obtain was his life only; but he loſt his liberty and eſtate, which was all confiſcated, without any allowance to his counteſs, ſiſter of the earl of Warwick, for her ſubſiſtence. From St. Michael's Mount he was conducted to the caſtle of Hammes near Calais, where he remained priſoner twelve years.

and the archbiſhop of York at Guiſnes. Hall. Hollingſh. Stow.

The archbiſhop of York had much the ſame fate. Though the king had pardoned him, and received his oath at London the day before the battle of Barnet, he was brother of the earl of Warwick, and that was ſufficient to render him ſuſpected: ſo, notwithſtanding the pardon, he was confined in the caſtle of Guiſnes, where he died ſoon after [n].

Death of the duke of Exeter. Biondi. Stow.

The king had no conſiderable enemy left in the kingdom but Henry Holland duke of Exeter, who had taken ſanctuary at Weſtminſter after the battle of Barnet. Growing weary of his confinement, he employed his wife, Edward's ſiſter, to obtain his pardon. They had lived ſeparate ever ſince the beginning of the civil wars, becauſe the duke, whoſe grandmother was ſiſter of Henry IV. adhered to the Lancaſtrian party, and his ducheſs had continued with the king her brother. This princeſs, inſtead of ſuing for her huſband's pardon, deſired on the contrary to be legally divorced, and, though ſhe had no lawful reaſon, obtained her deſire. Probably, the king's ſolli-

[m] February 15, 1472. Stow ſays, he had ſo great plenty of proviſions, that he could have held out a good while longer, p. 426.

[n] One day, as he was hunting with the king at Windſor, the king told him he would come and hunt with him at his ſeat, called the More, in Hertfordſhire. Accordingly the archbiſhop made great preparations, and borrowed a good deal of plate from his friends: but the day before Edward was to come, the archbiſhop was apprehended, and all his goods and effects, valued at twenty thouſand pounds, ſeized to the king's uſe. Stow, p. 426.

citation

citation was very ſerviceable to her. Thus the duke of Exeter ſaw himſelf forced to remain in his ſanctuary without any hopes of pardon, or any thing to ſubſiſt upon but what was privately ſent him by his friends. At laſt, not bearing to live thus immured, he left the place, without its being known how or when: it is only known, that in 1474, he was found dead upon the ſea-ſhore in the county of Kent. Edw. IV. 1472.

Edward having nothing more to fear after the death, impriſonment, or exile of all the principal friends of the houſe of Lancaſter, gave too great a looſe to his revenge upon perſons of an inferior rank, whom he ought not to have dreaded. Some were put to death and others fined immoderately, as a puniſhment for taking up arms againſt him. But what troubled him moſt was the eſcape of the earls of Pembroke and Richmond: he ſeemed to foreſee the evil that was to befal his family from that quarter. The earl of Richmond was, as I ſaid, the only remaining branch of the houſe of Lancaſter, or rather the only perſon that could pretend to diſpute the crown with Edward, as being ſon of a princeſs of that houſe. He had with him the earl of Pembroke his uncle, who was a lord of great merit and very capable to direct him. Though they were both abſent, and as priſoners in Bretagne, they made the king very uneaſy, who wiſhed to ſee the quarrel between the two houſes entirely ended by the death of the young earl, to whom all the rights of the houſe of Lancaſter were fallen. For that purpoſe he ſent ambaſſadors to the duke of Bretagne, intreating him to deliver the two Engliſh lords he had in his power, but the duke very civilly deſired to be excuſed. He promiſed however to guard them ſo carefully, that they ſhould never be able to hurt him. Upon that conſideration Edward paid him yearly a large penſion, under colour of a maintenance for the two priſoners. Edward perſecutes the Lancaſtrians. He demands the earl of Richmond of the duke of Bretagne, who denies him. Hall.

All this while the negociation with Scotland was continued, and as great difficulties occurred, it was agreed between the plenipotentiaries of the two kings, that the truce ſhould ſubſiſt till July 1473. Truce with Scotland. Act. Publ. tom. xi. p. 768.

After Edward had ſettled his affairs to his mind, he remembered the honourable and hearty reception he had met with in Holland from Lewis de Bruges lord of Gruthuyſe, and reſolved to make him an acknowledgment. To that end, having ſo managed it that the parliament petitioned him to create that foreign lord a peer of England, he made him earl of Wincheſter, and afterwards, by letters patents, allowed him to bear the arms of England in his eſcutcheon. Gruthuyſe made earl of Winchester. P. 765. Stow.

Edw. IV. 1472.

Before I finiſh what relates to the events of this year, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention how matters ſtood between Lewis XI. and the duke of Burgundy. The knowledge of their diſputes is very requiſite for the underſtanding of the hiſtory of England. Lewis, as I ſaid, at the inſtance of the duke of Bretagne and the conſtable de St. Pol, who ſought only to deceive him, had begun the war with the duke of Burgundy, and taken from him Amiens and St. Quentin. As he did not want good ſpies, he diſcovered at length that he was engaged in that war ſolely for the accompliſhment of the projected marriage between the duke of Guienne his brother and the duke of Burgundy's daughter. In order therefore to free himſelf at once from the troubles that were deſigned to be raiſed by means of his brother, he cauſed a poiſon to be given him, which was to operate ſlowly, that his death might be aſcribed to a common diſtemper. Mean while, for fear the duke of Burgundy, finding himſelf too much preſſed, ſhould take new meaſures with the duke of Bretagne and the conſtable, he ſent to offer him a truce. The duke could wiſh for nothing more advantageous in his preſent circumſtances: but as he had reaſon to fear the offer was deſigned only to amuſe him, Lewis gave the duke of Bretagne full power to conclude the truce in his name. As the duke could not refuſe to undertake the affair without diſcovering himſelf, he ſent the biſhop of Leon, in quality of mediator, to Cambray, where the treaty was to be negociated. Both parties were ſo willing to agree, that it was not poſſible for the biſhop to hinder the ſigning of a truce for thirteen months, from the 1ſt of April 1472, to the 1ſt of May 1473. About ſix weeks after the concluſion of the truce, the duke of Guienne died, and Lewis took poſſeſſion of that Duchy without oppoſition.

State of affairs between Lewis and the duke of Burgundy. Commin. P. Daniel.

P. Daniel.

The duke of Burgundy then perceived that Lewis had granted him a truce only to have time to ſecure Guienne, and that upon all occaſions he ſhould be that prince's dupe, when their affairs were determined by way of negociation: ſo, being highly provoked to ſee himſelf thus amuſed, and finding that with ſuch enemies the ſureſt way is to act with open force, he entered France, and deſtroyed whatever he met with in his way with fire and ſword. The duke of Bretagne ſeeing his projects vaniſhed by the death of the duke of Guienne, reſolved ſeriouſly to join with the duke of Burgundy, being perſuaded that the preſervation of both depended upon their ſtrict union. Mean while, Lewis perceiving the

duke

duke of Bretagne would not fail to take that courſe, had already ſent troops into Anjou to keep him in awe. Edw. IV. 1472.

Whilſt Lewis was ſtill employed in Guienne, the duke of Burgundy made ſome progreſs in Picardy, and took Neſle and Roye: but unfortunately he loſt two whole months before Beauvais without taking the place. This accident was the cauſe that Lewis, not perceiving himſelf much preſſed, left his troops in Anjou. So, the duke of Bretagne, not daring to ſtir from his country, was prevented from joining his ally according to agreement. At length, the duke of Burgundy raiſing the ſiege of Beauvais, came into Normandy, in expectation of the duke of Bretagne. Mean time Lewis was a little embarraſſed. By leaving his troops in Anjou he expoſed Picardy and Normandy to the duke of Burgundy's attacks; and if he marched to the aſſiſtance of thoſe provinces, he left the duke of Bretagne free to make a powerful diverſion in his neighbourhood. But he ſoon freed himſelf from this difficulty: by the help of the duke of Bretagne's miniſters, whom he gained to his intereſt, he found means to make a truce with that prince °, and perſuade him to renounce the duke of Burgundy's alliance. This unexpected defection obliged the duke of Burgundy to accept of a truce offered him by Lewis, and which was frequently prolonged. Commin.

Before we enter upon the events of the year 1473, it muſt be obſerved, that all the Engliſh hiſtorians are miſtaken in a whole year, placing in this what happened in the next. Biondi, the Italian author I have ſometimes quoted, owns the French place in the year 1475, what the Engliſh fix to the year 1474; and adds, that he chuſes to follow the Engliſh, and ſo is guilty of their miſtake. The Collection of the Public Acts ſhows it ſo plainly that there is no reaſon to queſtion it. Indeed, the year 1473 was ſo barren of events, that it is not very ſtrange if it was confounded or joined with the following. The affairs which ought to be aſſigned to the year 1473, though they are of little moment in themſelves, they ſerve to diſtinguiſh theſe two years and rectify the chronology. 1473. Miſtakes of the Engliſh hiſtorians.

The king of Portugal demanding the reſtitution of certain Portugueſe veſſels taken by the Engliſh, enquiry was made, whereby it appeared that theſe ſhips were plundered by the baſtard of Fauconbridge during his revolt againſt Edward; for which reaſon the king of Portugal deſiſted from his demand. Agreement with Portugal. Act. Publ. tom. xi. p. 762—766 767—769.

° By granting him a penſion of forty thouſand livres, the half of Guienne, and other places. Commines, lib. iii. cap. 11.

The

Edw. IV. 1473.

The affairs with Scotland employed Edward good part of this year: at length, by a treaty concluded at Alnwic the 28th of September, it was agreed the truce of Newcaſtle ſhould be inviolably obſerved by both the nations.

Confirmation of the truce with Scotland. p. 776, 788.

The differences Edward had with the Hanſe towns were alſo decided at the congreſs of Utrecht, the 19th of September [p].

p. 779, 780, 793.

Negotiations with the duke of Burgundy. p. 772, 778.

There were likewiſe ſome negociations concerning the thirty years truce of commerce between England and the duke of Burgundy's dominions; but it does not appear that any thing was concluded in the affair, which probably was only a pretence for more ſecret and important negociations, as will be ſeen preſently.

Alliance with Denmark. p. 775, 784.

The alliance between England and Denmark being often violated during the confuſion of the civil wars in England, the two ſovereigns were equally deſirous to renew it. To that end they agreed, that, without enquiring into the damages the Engliſh and Danes had done one another, the alliance ſhould remain upon the ſame foot as before the violation.

This is all worth notice in the Collection of the Public Acts for the year 1473. Let us proceed now to the following year, which will afford us more plenty of matter.

1474.

Deſigns of the duke of Burgundy. Commin.

The duke of Burgundy, as I ſaid, obtained a truce, which was afterwards prolonged two or three times, till 1475. During the truce he employed his time in conquering the duchy of Gueldres. Arnold duke of that name being diſpleaſed with Adolphus his ſon, who had kept him ſix months in priſon, made a grant of his duchy to the duke of Burgundy. Upon that pretence entering Gueldres, he defeated Adolphus, and taking him priſoner ſeized upon the duchy.

Mezerai. Commin.

This acquiſition exciting him to new conqueſts, he conſidered how to enlarge his dominions on the ſide of Germany, and formed projects too vaſt and too difficult to be performed. Mezerai ſays, he promiſed his daughter in marriage to Maximilian ſon of the emperor Frederic, upon condition his dominions ſhould be erected into a kingdom. He adds, this affair miſcarried becauſe the duke would have the condition performed before the marriage, in order to ſign the contract as king, but the emperor would have the marriage conſummated firſt. Be this as it will, the duke forming the project of extending his dominions in Germany, embraced the firſt opportunity to carry his arms into that country. A diſpute concerning the

[p] Or rather in February, 1474. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. xi. p. 793.

arch-

archbiſhopric of Cologne, between Robert of Bavaria and the brother of the landgrave of Heſſe, furniſhed him with the wanted pretence: he immediately took the prince of Bavaria's part, and laid ſiege to Nuz, a ſtrong town in the archbiſhopric of Cologne. He reckoned the taking of that place would promote the execution of his other deſigns. Edw. IV. 1474. Commin.

The truce with the king of France being to laſt till June 1475, the duke of Burgundy hoped to be maſter of Nuz before it was expired: but Lewis put ſuch obſtacles in his way that he could not execute his deſigns ſo ſoon as he imagined. Lewis ſo managed by his intrigues, that the emperor Frederic drew together a ſtrong army to oblige the duke to raiſe the ſiege. The duke of Lorrain, the duke of Auſtria, the Switzers entered into a league againſt him; ſo that finding himſelf extremely embarraſſed to reſiſt ſo many enemies, he remained ten months before Nuz without being able to take it. Whilſt he was employed in the ſiege, he ſaw no other way to free himſelf from the perſecutions of his enemy, than to engage the king of England to make a powerful diverſion in France. For that purpoſe he ſent ambaſſadors to Edward, to perſuade him to make war upon their common enemy. The better to engage him in the undertaking, he promiſed to join him with all his forces the moment he landed in Picardy. He made him hope likewiſe, that the conſtable de St. Pol would deliver him St. Quentin, the duke of Bretagne league with them, and by the help of that prince's adherents in France, he would put the kingdom in ſuch confuſion, that the conqueſt of it would be rendered much eaſier than in the reign of Charles VI. He engages Edward to league with him againſt France. Commin. Hall. Habington. Stow.

This was preciſely the opportunity impatiently expected by Edward to be revenged of Lewis XI. Every thing ſeemed to conſpire to the downfal of that reſtleſs and turbulent prince, ſince he was going to be attacked by three formidable powers, without reckoning his danger from his own ſubjects. And indeed, if all his enemies had acted with the ſame ardor as Edward, he would doubtleſs have run the hazard of ſeeing his affairs in great diſorder. But in all appearance the duke of Burgundy only intended to engage Edward to make a diverſion in France, in order to prevent Lewis from diſturbing him in Germany. However this be, acting as if he really deſigned to undertake the conqueſt of France jointly with the king of England, he gave very ample powers to his ambaſſadors to treat with him upon that head. The plenipotentiaries of the two princes having ſettled all the articles, ſigned about the end of July ſeveral treaties concerning this important undertaking.

The

Edw. IV. 1474.

The firſt was a treaty of amity, alliance, and confederacy between the king of England and duke of Burgundy, mutually promiſing to aſſiſt one another to the utmoſt of their power.

Several treaties between Edward and the duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub. xi. p. 804, 806.

The ſecond contained certain private conventions concerning the war they were to carry into France, comprised in the eight following articles:

I. That Edward ſhould paſs into France at the head of ten thouſand men at leaſt, well armed and well appointed, before the 1ſt of July 1475, to recover the duchies of Guienne and Normandy, and the whole kingdom of France.

II. That the duke of Burgundy ſhould aſſiſt him in perſon with all his forces.

III. That the king ſhould hearken to no propoſal of peace or truce without the duke's conſent.

IV. The duke of Burgundy promiſed likewiſe the ſame thing.

V. That the two princes ſhould cauſe the war to be proclaimed, each in his dominions, againſt Lewis as their common enemy.

VI. That immediately after the war was begun or proclaimed, the two allies ſhould attack the common enemy, in the moſt convenient places, in ſuch manner however as to be within diſtance to aſſiſt one another.

VII. That in caſe one of the two princes ſhould beſiege ſome town, or be forced to give battle, the other ſhould be obliged to join him with all his forces, and at his own charges, that both might run the ſame hazard. That their lieutenants ſhould be bound to the ſame thing.

VIII. That when the war was once commenced, neither ſhould deſiſt, ſo long as the other ſhould deſire to continue it. That if one was abſent, his lieutenant ſhould be obliged to obey the other, in whatever concerned the common good of the two allies.

p. 808. The third treaty contained an explication of one of the articles of the firſt, where it was ſaid that each of the two allies ſhould aſſiſt the other with all his forces. As this expreſſion was too general, they agreed upon the number [q] and pay of the troops they were to ſupply [r].

p. 810. The fourth was a grant from Edward to the duke of Burgundy of ſeveral provinces of France, in conſideration of the

[q] Which was to be ſix thouſand men.

[r] If either party wanted troops for his own defence, he was to pay two thouſand four hundred men out of thoſe ſix thouſand, and he that furniſhed them was to pay the remaining three thouſand ſix hundred. But if they were wanted for any other occaſion, he that employed them was to pay them alone. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xi. p. 809.

future

future ſervices of that prince, in aiding him to recover the whole kingdom. The grant included the duchy of Bar, the earldoms of Champagne, Nevers, Retel, Eu, Guiſe, the barony of Douſy, with all the towns on both ſides the Somme; and laſtly, all the lands poſſeſſed by the earl of St. Pol and held of Guienne, Normandy, or the crown of France. Moreover, he renounced the homage of all theſe provinces, as well as of Burgundy, the earldoms of Charolois and Mâcon, of Flanders, Artois, and in general of all the territories the duke was actually poſſeſſed of or acquired by the grant. Finally, he added, his intent was, that this grant or conveyance ſhould be as firm as if conſented to by the eſtates, promiſing to procure their confirmation of the whole, as ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of the crown of France. Edw. IV. 1474.

The fifth was an agreement, whereby the duke of Burgundy engaged to furniſh for the war, an army of between ten and twenty thouſand men. The king promiſed on his part, to aſſign him yearly the pay of theſe troops upon the provinces included in the foregoing grant, in caſe they were conquered, and if not, upon other demeſns of the crown, in proportion of what ſhould be wanted: that if the aſſignment of the pay was not made before the end of every year, he agreed, the duke ſhould not be obliged to find any troops the year following. p. 812.

The ſixth and laſt article was in form of letters patents, whereby the duke of Burgundy agreed that Edward and his ſucceſſors kings of France, ſhould have free liberty to enter Rheims in order to be crowned, and depart without any impediment. This act was neceſſary, becauſe Champagne was included in the grant. p. 813.

This was properly ſelling the bear's ſkin before he was killed. However, it is not very difficult to diſcover the motives of the conduct of theſe two princes, ſince it is certain they both intended to deceive one another. They were both too wiſe, to expect to conquer France with the ſtipulated forces. But the duke of Burgundy meant to engage Edward to make a powerful diverſion in that kingdom, by perſuading him, it would be very eaſy to conquer it. Edward feigned on his part to be allured with theſe hopes, the better to engage the duke of Burgundy to lend him a ſufficient ſupply to recover Guienne and Normandy. This is neither the firſt nor the laſt time that princes have acted ſuch parts in their treaties. The king's and duke's motive in this treaty.

Edward having ſigned all theſe treaties, began ſeriouſly to make preparations for the intended war. His firſt care was

to

Edw. IV. 1474. to assemble a parliament [a], which readily granted him a subsidy. Since the reign of Edward III. the parliaments seldom wanted much sollicitation to grant money for a war with France. As soon as Edward saw himself supported by his parliament, he sued out commissions to levy a much greater number of troops, than what he had promised to supply by his treaty with Burgundy. Indeed as the war was upon his account, it was his part to exert himself answerably to the greatness of the undertaking. Whilst he was hastening his preparations, he sent ambassadors to divers courts, as well to make alliances with several princes, as to endeavour to hinder their union with his enemy. We find in the Collection of the Public Acts, that he sent to the emperor Frederic, to Ferdinand king of Sicily, to the king of Hungary, and some others, to engage them to enter into the league.

Subsidy granted the king. Cotton's Abridg. Hall. Hollingsh. Stow.

He prepares for the war. Several embassies. Act. Pub. xi. p. 816, —836.

At the same time, he secured himself against any diversions from the Scots, by concluding a marriage between Cecily his second daughter, and the king of Scotland's eldest son. The first overture concerning this marriage was made in the beginning of the year, and was afterwards negotiated in divers conferences between the plenipotentiaries of the two kings. At length, it was concluded the 30th of July, and October the 18th the young prince and princess were affianced by proxies. Some days after, the truce of Newcastle, which was to last till 1519, was again ratified at Edinburgh. As the affianced couple were yet too young, it was agreed the marriage should be accomplished as soon as they were both of fit age; and in the mean while, Edward should pay at several times his daughter's dowry, consisting of twenty thousand marks sterling.

He concludes the marriage of Cecily his daughter with the prince of Scotland. p. 814, 836.

He pays her dowry before-hand.

1475. Edward having thus secured himself against the diversions his enemy might have caused, continued his preparations, with great hopes of succeeding in his designs. The supply granted by the parliament not seeming sufficient, or part of it perhaps being applied to other uses, he borrowed money of all his subjects that were known to be rich. Some contributed chearfully; others were gained by the king's flatteries; and some feared to incur his displeasure, and perhaps some violence

He raises money by way of benevolence. Hall. Habington.

[a] This was no new parliament, but the same as first met on October 6, in the 12th year of this king's reign, and is mentioned above. It was by sundry prorogations continued to the 6th of June 1473, when it granted the king one tenth, and one fifteenth; and fifty one thousand one hundred and seventy pounds, four shillings and seven-pence three farthings, in full payment of the wages of the fourteen thousand archers granted before; towards the payment whereof every county, city, and town, were severally taxed. This parliament was continued till March 24, 1474, when it was dissolved. See Cotton's Abridg. p. 688----700.

in caſe they refuſed. In general, there were but few who dared to diſobey. This ſort of aid levied after this manner, was called by the new name of Benevolence, intimating that private perſons had granted it freely and of their own accord. Mean while, theſe loans raiſed without authority of parliament, were of a very dangerous conſequence: but as it was to make war upon France, there was no murmurs. It is reported, the king himſelf aſking a rich widow what ſhe would lend him, ſhe replied, "She could not refuſe twenty pound "ſterling to a prince who borrowed with ſo good a grace." The king, as much pleaſed with the lady's politeneſs as her preſent, very courteouſly gave her a kiſs, which ſhe took as ſuch an honour, as ſhe doubled the ſum ſhe had promiſed. Edw. IV. 1475. Hall.

Amongſt the new-raiſed troops there were three thouſand men deſigned for the duke of Bretagne, purſuant to a ſecret treaty between him and Edward. That prince however had lately changed into a perpetual peace the truce made with Lewis. And yet, when he was informed of the league between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, he deſired to be included, but privately, for fear of being oppreſſed before his allies were ready. The lords Audley and Duras[t] were to command the ſuccours intended for Bretagne. He deſigns three thouſand men for Bretagne. Act. Pub. xi. p. 12. Ibid.

Every thing being ready for the army's departure, Edward embarked at Sandwich the 20th of June[u], having appointed the prince of Wales his ſon, but five years old, guardian of the realm in his abſence. A hiſtorian affirms, he found at Dover five hundred tranſports ſent by the duke of Burgundy, which is not very likely. Mezerai ſays, on the contrary, that the Engliſh troops ſpent three weeks in paſſing to Calais, which is a ſign there were but few veſſels, or a very great number of troops. Philip de Commines aſſures, never did king of England lead into France ſo ſtrong an army. But this is ſpeaking hyperbolically, or not exactly according to truth. It is certain, this army was not comparable for number to that led by Edward III. into France a little before the treaty of Bretigny[w]. However, it is not eaſy to know the preciſe number of the troops, ſince the hiſtorians only mention the number of the horſe, without ſpeaking of the foot. But if we judge by the uſual proportion in thoſe days, when the cavalry was much more relied on than the infantry, this army was not He paſſes over to Calais. p. 13. Commin. Hall. Stow. Lib. 4. c. 5. Commin. Hall. Stow.

[t] Galliard de Durefort, lord of Duras. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 12.

[u] There are in Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 12----14. two papers witneſſed by the king at Weſtminſter, June 20; and three dated at Sandwich the ſame day: which makes it probable that he might embark that day. But Hall, fol. 126. Hollingſhead, p. 1346, ſay, it was not till July 4.

[w] Edward the third's army was a hundred thouſand men. Rapin.

Edw. IV. 1475. so numerous as it is pretended, since there were but fifteen hundred lances, and fifteen thousand archers on horseback. Besides, by Edward's treaty with the duke of Burgundy, he was obliged to find but ten thousand men. In fine, it will be seen in the sequel, that he made peace with Lewis without opening the campaign, when he found he could not depend upon the duke of Burgundy's assistance, which doubtless he would not have done before he had rendered himself formidable by some exploit, had he been so superior as he is represented.

He proclaims war by a herald. Commin. Biondi. Habington.

Upon Edward's arrival at Calais[x], he sent a herald to Lewis to summon him to restore the whole kingdom of France, and in case of refusal, to proclaim war against him. Lewis hearing the herald in private, told him, he was very well informed, Edward was not come of his own inclination to make war, but by the instigation of the duke of Burgundy, and the constable de St. Pol[y], who, he might assure his master, would both deceive him. Then after asking him some questions, which gave the herald occasion to say, that when he made any offers of peace, he should apply to the lords Howard and Stanley, he presented him with three hundred crowns[z], and thirty yards of velvet, to make him a robe. He did not expect, doubtless, to reap great advantages from the herald by this liberality, since the man was a stranger to his master's secret resolutions; but meant to show Edward's courtiers, what they might expect from him for more important services. The herald failed not to magnify his present, and relate to the lord Howard, who held the chief place in the king's favour, what passed between Lewis and him.

Lewis's answer, and present to the herald Hall.

Edward hears no news of the duke of Burgundy. Hall.

Mean while, Edward advancing into Picardy, where he expected to meet the duke of Burgundy, found not so much as a single man from him. Surprised at so seemingly strange a proceeding, he sent to the duke[a], who was still before Nuz, to know the reason. But before I proceed, it will be necessary briefly to mention the duke of Burgundy's affairs.

State of the duke of Burgundy's affairs. Mezerai. Commin.

The duke was intent upon the siege of Nuz, in hopes of taking that place and Cologn too, before Edward's arrival in France. But the emperor approaching the siege with an army four times as strong as the duke's, without however offering him battle, the besiegers were so harrassed, that the siege, in-

[x] Commines says, he sent him before his departure from Dover, lib. iv. c. 5.

[y] And the commons of England. Ibid.

[z] And promised to give him a thousand crowns more, in case matters were adjusted. Ibid.

[a] By the lord Scales. Commines. Hall.

steal

ſtead of advancing, was retarded. And yet the duke, from a motive of vain-glory, obſtinately continued it, to ſhow that the emperor with all his forces was not able to raiſe it. Edw. IV. 1475.

Nothing could be more advantageous to the king of France, or more prejudicial to the duke's affairs, than this unſeaſonable obſtinacy. In the firſt place, it hindred his joining the king of England. 2. In the mean time, Sigiſmund duke of Auſtria took from him the earldom of Ferette [b], and the duke of Lorrain ravaged Luxemburgh. 3. As ſoon as his truce with France was expired, Lewis made himſelf maſter of Roye, Corbie, and Montdidier. In fine, when it was too late, and he was within eight days of being maſter of the place, preſſed by Edward's inſtances, he agreed, it ſhould be delivered to a legate, to be diſpoſed of according to the pope's pleaſure. After the raiſing of the ſiege, the duke's army was ſo little able to march, that inſtead of ſpeedily joining the Engliſh, it was put into ſummer quarters. Then he went himſelf with a very ſmall train, to make his excuſes to Edward. It was difficult for the king to digeſt ſuch a negligence, in ſo important an affair. He began from that time to open his eyes, and perceive, he was engaged in the war for the intereſt of others, whereas he had imagined, it was for his own. On the other hand, the duke of Burgundy's precaution, not to admit but few Engliſh at a time into Peronne, confirmed the king's ſuſpicions. At laſt, he was quite undeceived by the behaviour of the conſtable de St. Pol, who commanded in St. Quentin. The conſtable, who was one of the chief promoters of the war, becauſe he founded his greatneſs ſolely upon the diſſention between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, had poſitively promiſed to deliver St. Quentin to the king of England. Upon this aſſurance, the duke of Burgundy would have conducted Edward into the place, that having ſo good a pledge in his hands, he might be patient. But upon their approach, they were fired upon from the town. At the ſame time, a body of horſe ſallying out, killed ſome Engliſh ſoldiers, who were moſt eager to enter, expecting to be admitted without difficulty. Very probably the duke of Burgundy himſelf was deceived upon this occaſion by the conſtable: for it is not likely, he ſhould deſignedly cauſe ſuch an affront to be put upon a prince whom he yet wanted, and who had him in his power. He did all he could however to excuſe the conſtable, and feed the king's

He is bent to purſue the ſiege of Nuz. Commin.

Hall. Commin.

He quits the ſiege.

He goes to Edward without troops. Commin. Hall. Hollingſh.

He is deceived by the conſtable of St. Pol. Commin.

[b] Which he had mortgaged to him for a hundred thouſand florins. lib. iv. c. 2.

Edw. IV. 1475.

hopes. But finding Edward gave no credit to his words, but on the contrary ſharply reproached him, he left him next day, under pretence of haſtening his troops. It may be, he was not without ſome apprehenſions, that Edward might purſue his reſentment.

He leaves Edward,

who is greatly embarraſſed. Commin. Hollingſh. Monſtrelet. Stow.

Edward ſeeing himſelf thus deſerted by the duke of Burgundy and the conſtable, and not hearing that the duke of Bretagne made any motion, or there was any appearance of the inſurrections in France, he had been made to expect, found himſelf extremely embarraſſed. In the mean time, a French priſoner, the only one taken ſince the Engliſh army's arrival, being releaſed by the king's order, the lords Howard and Stanley charged him, to preſent their reſpects to the king his maſter. The priſoner diſcharging his commiſſion, Lewis began to think it was not without deſign, that this compliment was made him, remembring what the Engliſh herald told him concerning theſe lords. He perceived, the court of England was willing to enter into treaty, but would not make the firſt advances. For his part, who was not ſo ſcrupulous, he reſolved to improve this ſort of overture. Philip de Commines ſays, he cauſed a certain perſon of little note, but of good ſenſe, to be dreſſed like a herald, and fully inſtructing him, ſent him to the Engliſh army, to demand a ſafe-conduct for ambaſſadors, and addreſs himſelf for that purpoſe to the lords Howard and Stanley. The pretended herald being admitted into the king's preſence, told him, "That he "was ordered by the king his maſter to repreſent to him, "that the war between their two kingdoms could not but be "deſtructive to both, and that the mutual commerce of the "two nations was on the contrary a manifeſt advantage, "which ought to be cheriſhed. Then, he excuſed the "king his maſter's countenancing the earl of Warwick, aſ"ſuring, it was not out of ill-will to Edward, but on the "account of the duke of Burgundy his irreconcilable enemy. "He added, that the duke of Burgundy's and the conſta"ble's inſincerity was ſo evident, that it was needleſs to "mention it, ſince he was very ſenſible of the effects. That "he was come in arms into a country where he had neither "caſtles nor friends, and he left it to him to judge, whether "the conqueſt of France was ſo eaſy as he had been made "to believe: that however, the king his maſter, knowing "ſo great an armament could not be made without vaſt ex"pence, was very willing ſo to make him amends as he "ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied: that therefore he de"manded a ſafe-conduct for ambaſſadors, with a train of one "hundred

Lewis offers a peace. Commin.

The herald's ſpeech to Edward. Commin.

"hundred horſe, that they might treat in a proper place with "thoſe of England, concerning a firm and laſting peace be- "tween the two kings and their ſubjects." Edw. IV. 1475.

In Edward's circumſtances, the king of France's propoſal was very acceptable. So, the herald was diſmiſſed with a preſent [c], and the deſired ſafe-conduct. The ſame day, or the next, Edward called a council [d], at which were preſent all the lords in the army, to the number of eighteen. It was reſolved, almoſt unanimouſly, that the lord Howard and three others [e] ſhould confer with the king of France's ambaſſadors, and a full power was given them to conclude a peace upon theſe terms: 1. That Lewis ſhould pay the king, within a fortnight, the ſum of ſeventy-five thouſand crowns, and from thenceforward fifty thouſand crowns yearly, at two payments, during the life of the two kings. 2. That the king of France ſhould promiſe to marry the dauphin his ſon to the king's eldeſt or ſecond daughter, and allow his daughter-in-law ſixty thouſand livres a year. Upon theſe two conditions, the ambaſſadors were empowered to promiſe in the king's name, that he would return into England with his troops, immediately after the receipt of the ſeventy five thouſand crowns, to conclude a treaty of alliance between the two kings, with a promiſe of mutual aſſiſtance againſt their rebellious ſubjects; and laſtly, to ſign a truce for ſeven years.

Edward calls a council. Auguſt 13. Act. Pub. xii. p. 14, 15.

Conditions offered to the king of France.

The plenipotentiaries of the two kings [f] meeting near Amiens, at almoſt an equal diſtance from the two armies, the treaty was concluded the 28th or 29th of Auguſt, as Edward deſired, without any conſiderable alteration. Every thing being ſettled, ſeparate writings were drawn, on each particular article of the treaty.

By the firſt, the two kings promiſed to decide all their differences by arbitrators, namely, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the duke of Clarence for the king of England, and for the king of France, the archbiſhop of Lyons, and the earl of Dunois. Moreover, Edward engaged to quit the French territories, upon the receipt of the ſeventy-five thou-

Treaty of Amiens or Pequigny. p. 15.

[c] Of four nobles. Commines, l. 4. c. 7.

[d] At Seyntre near Peronne. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 14.

[e] Dr. John Morton, maſter of the rolls, William Dudley, dean of the king's chapel, and Thomas Selyngar. Ibid. and p. 27.

[f] The Engliſh plenipotentiaries were, John lord Howard, Sir Thomas Saint Leger, and Dr. John Morton, maſter of the rolls. The French king's were, the baſtard of Bourbon, admiral of France, the lord St. Pierre, and the biſhop of Evreux. Hall, fol. 130. Hollingſh. p. 1347.

Edw. IV. 1475. ſand crowns, without doing any damage, and to leave hoſtages for the performance of his word.

p. 17. The ſecond concerned the ſeven years truce, in which were included all the allies of both the kings, and expreſly the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, if they deſired it.

p. 19. The third contained a mutual engagement of brotherly friendſhip between the two kings, and expreſs articles concerning the dauphin's marriage with Elizabeth daughter of Edward.

p. 20. The fourth was in form of letters patents, whereby Lewis promiſed to pay annually to Edward during their lives, the ſum of fifty thouſand crowns. This the Engliſh authors call a tribute, though the letters patents expreſs not under what title the yearly penſion was to be paid. Some ſay, it was limited to nine years. But no other limitation appears than the lives of the two kings.

p. 21. Laſtly, Edward promiſed to releaſe queen Margaret for a ranſom of fifty thouſand crowns, which the king of France was to pay for her within five years. We find in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that Margaret was accordingly releaſed the beginning of November this year, and Lewis XI. punctually paid the ſum promiſed.

The duke of Burgundy falls out with Edward. Commin. Hall. Hollingſh.

The duke of Burgundy having notice that the two kings were beginning to treat, departed immediately from his army, to which he was returned, and made all poſſible haſte, in expectation of preventing this blow, but found the truce was already ſigned. He fell upon Edward with ſevere reproaches, to which Edward returned a ſuitable anſwer, telling him however, he had taken care to include him in the truce. But the duke fiercely replied, he wanted not his mediation, and valued it ſo little, that if he treated for himſelf it ſhould not be till three months after his arrival in England. Thus parting extremely angry with each other, the duke retired into his country. The conſtable de St. Pol did all that lay in his power to perſuade Edward to break the truce, offering to deliver St. Quentin, and lend him fifty thouſand crowns. But Edward was far from renewing the war for his ſake, and truſting to his promiſes after having been ſo manifeſtly deceived.

Commin.

Commin.

Conference of the two kings at Pequigny. Commin. Hall. Hollingſh.

Before Edward's departure for England, it was thought proper, that the two kings ſhould confer together upon Pequigny Bridge, with a bar [or grate] between them. Lewis came firſt to the place, attended with the cardinal of Bourbon, and five other lords. Edward arrived afterwards, accompanied

panied likewiſe with a ſmall number of lords [g]. After they had both ſwore to obſerve the late treaty, Lewis inviting Edward to Paris, told him, he would procure him agreeable diverſions with the fair ladies of that city, and if he chanced to treſpaſs upon his chaſtity, the cardinal of Bourbon ſhould be his confeſſor, who would eaſily abſolve him. After ſome other railleries, Lewis made a ſign to the lords that were with him to retire, and the Engliſh likewiſe did the ſame. When the two kings were alone, they talked a good while together, and it was afterwards known, that the conſtable and the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne were the ſubject of their converſation. As to the conſtable, Edward regarded him not. As for Burgundy, Lewis aſking him, what he ſhould do if that prince refuſed to be included in the truce, Edward replied, he might do as he pleaſed, if, after a ſecond offer, the duke ſhould refuſe. But as for the duke of Bretagne, he plainly told him, that he would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power, if attacked. Lewis thought proper to inſiſt no farther upon that ſubject, and in fine, they parted very well ſatisfied with each other [h].

Edw IV. 1475.

The interview being ended, Lewis repaired to Amiens, where the lord Howard followed him as hoſtage. Whilſt Lewis was waſhing his hands before ſupper, Howard whiſpered him in the ear, that he would undertake to perſuade the king his maſter to take a journey to Paris, to which Lewis returned no anſwer. Howard frequently hinted the ſame thing at table, without the king's ſeeming to hear him. However, he cauſed him to be afterwards told, that the war he was going to wage with the duke of Burgundy not permitting him to go to Paris, he was very ſorry he could not enjoy the honour the king intended to do him. Philip de Commines remarks upon this occaſion, that there was nothing more feared by Lewis, than to ſee Edward reliſh France, nor any thing more paſſionately deſired by him, than to ſee him return into England. He was under ſuch apprehenſion that Edward would repent of the truce, that he privately beſtowed penſions upon his principal counſellors, to induce them to keep him in the reſolution to obſerve it. Commines could ſpeak of theſe things with certainty, ſince he was then in Lewis's ſervice and confidence. He adds moreover, that the duke of Gloceſter, who was againſt the truce, waiting

Lewis civilly refuſed Edward's viſit. Commin.

l. 4. c. 10.

He gives penſions to the Engliſh. Commin.

[g] His brother George duke of Clarence, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, William lord Haſtings the chamberlain, the biſhop of Lincoln lord chancellor, &c. Ibid.

[h] This conference was on Auguſt 29. Commines, l. 4. c. 10.

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Edw. IV. 1475. upon the king of France, was received with extraordinary reſpect, and that the king forgot nothing to gain to his intereſt ſuch of Edward's courtiers as were in any credit. The Engliſh army approaching Amiens, Lewis cauſed the gates to be kept open, and ſent orders to the publick inns, to entertain at free coſt all the Engliſh that came there. Moreover, he ſent to the king of England a preſent of three hundred waggon-loads of wine, for the uſe of his army; ſo deſirous was he to gain the hearts of the Engliſh, for fear ſome one of them ſhould make Edward ſenſible of his error. This preſent gave occaſion to ſay, that he found means to ſend home the Engliſh with cart-loads of wine. At length, all Lewis's fears vaniſhed with the departure of the Engliſh, who went away, ſays a hiſtorian, extremely well pleaſed with the French gold and wine; adding, the penſions aſſigned to Edward's principal courtiers, amounted to ſixteen thouſand crowns a year [i].

Commin. Hall. Hollingſh.

The duke of Burgundy accepts of a truce. Commin. Hall. Hollingſh.

The duke of Burgundy not bearing the thoughts of deſiring to be included in the truce, made by Edward without his knowledge, ſtood out for ſome time, and at laſt accepted of a ſeparate truce [k] offered him by Lewis. As for the conſtable, who had deceived the three princes, and been the principal author of their diviſion, he ſaw himſelf in the end forſaken by all, and forced to retire into the duke of Burgundy's dominions, upon the faith of a ſafe-conduct. But notwithſtanding that ſecurity, he was delivered by the duke to the king of France, who commanded his head to be ſtruck off. A notable leſſon for ſuch as labour to ſow diſcord among princes!

The conſtable is beheaded. Commin.

The reaſon of Edward's ſtanding by the duke of Bretagne.

Lewis would have been glad the duke of Bretagne had been thus ſacrificed to him. But that prince had in his hands a pledge which obliged Edward to protect him; otherwiſe he would have regarded him no more than the duke of Burgundy. This was the earl of Richmond, who, though abſent, made the Engliſh monarch extremely uneaſy. If the duke of Bretagne had ſuffered that prince, with the earl of Pembroke his

[i] The chief men who had penſions, were, the chancellor, Thomas Rotherham, biſhop of Lincoln, Dr. John Morton, maſter of the Rolls, William lord Haſtings, the king's chamberlain, and John lord Howard; Sir John Cheney, Sir Anthony Saint Leger, Sir Thomas Montgomery, Thomas Grey, marquiſs of Dorſet, &c. Commines, l. 6, c. 2. Hall, fol. 235. King Edward returned to London, September 28, and was met on Black Heath by the mayor and aldermen of London, and about five hundred perſons more, by whom he was conducted in great triumph to Weſtminſter. Hall, fol. 236. Hollingſh. p. 1349.

[k] For nine years. Commines, l. 4. c. 11.

uncle,

uncle, to escape, they might in time have revived the Lancastrian party, and thereby exposed Edward perhaps to the hazard of a thirteenth battle, to maintain himself in the throne. This was the true reason of Edward's supporting the duke of Bretagne, and telling Lewis, who earnestly pressed him several times to desert that prince, that on the contrary, he would defend him to the utmost of his power. Edw. IV. 1475. Act. Pub. xii. p. 22.

This open demonstration of friendship for the duke of Bretagne, causing Edward to imagine the duke would be glad of an opportunity to show his acknowledgment, he sent ambassadors [l] to him, under colour of renewing their truce. There were but few difficulties in the negotiation. The duke readily agreed to confirm the truce [m], though often violated on the part of the English. He even desisted from his demand of fifty thousand crowns for the damages sustained by his subjects. The king on his side, quitted his demands upon him for the armament made in his favour. Every thing being thus upon the terms of a perfect good understanding between the two princes, the ambassadors acquainted the duke with the principal business of their embassy. They told him, the king their master was extremely desirous to entirely extinguish the flames of the two factions which had been so long kindled in England; that the earl of Richmond, who was in Bretagne, being the only surviving person of the house of Lancaster, he intended to marry him to one of his daughters, in order to unite the two houses; that therefore he desired him to send him the earl, that he might give him marks of his favour, and thereby manifest to his whole kingdom his earnest desire of procuring them a happy tranquillity. 1476. Edward demands the earl of Richmond of the duke of Bretagne. Hall. Biondi. Hollingsh. Habington. Argentré. Act. Pub. xii. p. 23, 37.

The duke of Bretagne was a good prince, who judging of others by himself, and not believing Edward concealed ill designs under these appearances of moderation, ordered the earl of Richmond to be put into the hands of the ambassadors, to be conducted to England. Some however affirm, that a large sum of money presented to the duke by the English ambassadors, rendered their instances more effectual. However that be, they departed with their prey to imbark at St. Malo's. But whilst they were on the road, one of the duke's counsellors [n] represented to him, that by this proceeding, he would be eternally infamous; that besides, he The duke gives up the earl, and repents of it. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

[l] Doctor Stillington and two others, with a large sum of money. Hall, fol. 137. Hollingsh. p. 1319.

[m] He confirmed it, on January 22, 1476; as king Edward did on March 16. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 22, 24.

[n] John Cheulet. Hall, fol. 237.

Edw. IV. 1476. could not in conſcience deliver a prince, who thought himſelf ſafe under his protection, to his moſt mortal enemy, who demanded him only to deſtroy him, under the falſe pretence of an honourable ſettlement; that he would be accountable to God for this action, whatever colour he might put upon it in the eyes of men; and conjured him to conſider, what honour, juſtice and religion required of him on this occaſion. Whether this remonſtrance made the duke ſenſible of what he had not hitherto fully known, or ſtung him with remorſe of what he had done, he immediately diſpatched Peter Landais his favourite to St. Malo's, with orders to recover the earl of Richmond out of the hands of the ambaſſadors, if they were not yet imbarked. Landais arrived juſt as they were entering the veſſel that was to carry them to England. He immediately gave private orders to help the two priſoners to eſcape, whilſt himſelf conferred with the ambaſſadors. The conference being ended, the two earls were found to have taken ſanctuary in a church, from whence Landais pretended they could not be removed. The ambaſſadors complained of the deceit, but, after ſome frivolous excuſes, he plainly told them, the duke his maſter, upon ſecond thoughts, believed he could not deliver the earl to the king, without an indelible ſtain to his honour; that however, he would promiſe to guard him ſo carefully, that Edward ſhould never receive any damage. The ambaſſadors finding themſelves the weakeſt, were forced to be content with this promiſe, which eaſed in ſome meaſure their vexation to be ſo diſappointed. Thus, by a ſort of miracle, the earl of Richmond eſcaped the danger to which he was expoſed, providence having preſerved him on this occaſion, in order to place him one day on the throne of England.

He gets him again from the ambaſſadors. Hall.

Alliance with Denmark. Act. Pub. xii. p. 25, 27, 29, 39.

The reſt of the year 1476, affords nothing remarkable concerning the affairs of England, but a negotiation to renew the alliance with Denmark; the death of the archbiſhop of York at Guiſnes, where he was priſoner; and ſome other inconſiderable affairs. But it will be neceſſary to ſpeak of thoſe of the duke of Burgundy, which became of great conſequence both to England and France.

Affairs of the duke of Burgundy. Commin.

The duke had accepted of the truce offered by Lewis, not ſo much out of fear of his arms, as from a deſire to carry war into Germany. He wanted to be revenged of the duke of Lorrain, the Swiſs, and the duke of Auſtria; but that would have been impoſſible, if the war with France had continued. In October 1475, preſently after ſigning the truce with Lewis XI. he attacked the duke of Lorrain, and ſubdued

dued his whole duchy, without meeting much reſiſtance, except at Nanci, which endured a ſiege of two months. Lorrain being conquered, he formed the project to humble the Swiſs, who had dared to declare againſt him, whilſt he was imployed in the ſiege of Nuz. He uſed for pretence the injury they had done to James of Savoy earl of Romont, in ſeizing his territories. The Swiſs, who made yet no great figure in Europe, ſeeing the ſtorm approaching, humbly ſued for peace, but the duke was inexorable. So leaving Lorrain, in March 1476, he paſſed through Burgundy, and threw himſelf into the county of Vaux, where he took three or four towns. Then he laid ſiege to Granſon, where were ſeven or eight hundred Swiſs, bent upon making a gallant defence. The town having at length capitulated, the duke broke the articles, and put the garriſon to the ſword. Mean while, a body of Swiſs was advancing to relieve the beſieged, but came too late. The duke, contrary to the opinion of his council, reſolved to meet this body, which was ſtill in the narrow paſſages of the mountains. To that end, he detached a hundred archers to ſeize a certain paſs, and preſently after he marched himſelf to ſupport them. Theſe archers meeting the Swiſs coming out of the mountains, haſtily retreated towards the body which was marching after them. Whereupon, the duke's army imagining the horſemen were repulſed by the enemy, were ſeized with a panick, and took to flight, without the duke's being able to rally them. He loſt only ſeven men at arms, but all his baggage became a prey to the enemy.

Edw. IV. 1476.

His defeat at Granſon.

This ill ſucceſs not being capable of diſcouraging him, he aſſembled his ſcattered troops, and ſoon rendered them fit for action. About ſifteen days after, he took the field, and laid ſiege to Morat, a ſmall town not far from Bern. Mean time the Swiſs receiving ſupplies from ſome neighbouring princes, marched to the number of thirty thouſand men to fight him. The battle was fought three weeks after the rout of Granſon, and the duke was entirely defeated, with the loſs of eight thouſand men.

His defeat at Morat. Commin.

This terrible misfortune ſo ſtruck the duke, that he ſickened with grief. Philip de Commines even affirms, he was diſordered in his mind. He remained ſix weeks at a town called la Riviere, where he kept himſelf as it were concealed, and none durſt venture to ſpeak to him to comfort him. Mean time, ſeveral of the princes who before were his friends [o],

His concern at it.

[o] The duke of Milan, René king of Sicily, the ducheſs of Savoy, &c. Commin. l. 5. c. 2.

declared

Edw. IV. declared againſt him. Then the duke of Lorrain, perceiv-
1476. ing it to be a favourable opportunity, appeared before Nanci, and took the place upon terms without the duke of Burgundy's ſtirring to its relief. At length, when it was too late, and the town ſurrendered, the duke of Burgundy approached, and his enemy being retired, undertook the ſiege, where he met with difficulties which made him loſe a great deal of time, and proved the occaſion of his ruin.

1477. His defeat and death at Nanci. Commin.

Mean while, the duke of Lorrain drew together forces from all quarters, Lewis XI. finding him money for their ſubſiſtence. When he thought himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong, he approached Nanci, and encamped at St. Nicholas, expecting the effect of his correſpondence in the enemy's army, with Campobache, a Neapolitan captain, in whom the duke of Burgundy entirely confided. The city being now reduced to extremity, the duke of Lorrain advanced to join battle. Then Campobache ſuddenly deſerted his maſter with about two hundred lances [p], and went over to his enemy. He left in the army fourteen men whom he had bribed, who were to alarm the troops during the fight, and kill the duke of Burgundy, if they had an opportunity. The battle being fought on the 5th of January 1477, the duke of Burgundy's army was routed, and himſelf ſlain in the forty-ſixth year of his age. He had reigned nine years and a half, amidſt continual troubles, employed one while in defending himſelf againſt the open or ſecret attacks of Lewis XI. another while in executing projects beyond his ſtrength, which argued more ambition and raſhneſs, than prudence and counſel.

Alterations cauſed by the death of the duke of Burgundy.

The duke of Burgundy's death made a great alteration, not only in the affairs of the Low-Countries, but alſo in thoſe of the neighbouring princes. Nay, it may be ſaid to be the firſt and principal ſource of moſt of the wars, wherewith Europe has been troubled ever ſince. The duke of Burgundy left but one daughter, called Maria, who was heireſs to his large dominions, and whom he had in ſome meaſure promiſed to Maximilian of Auſtria, ſon of the emperor Frederic. This princeſs, about nineteen years old, ſaw herſelf not only forſaken, by all the late duke her father's friends, but moreover expoſed a prey to Lewis XI. who immediately deprived her of Burgundy, with the towns on the Somme, and even formed the project to diſpoſſeſs her of all the reſt of her dominions. In this preſſing neceſſity, her only refuge was the king of England's aſſiſtance, whoſe intereſt it was to

Lewis takes from Maria part of her dominions. Commin. Mezerai.

[p] One hundred and ſixty. Idem. c. 8.

oppoſe

oppoſe the growth of Lewis's power. But Edward's whole council being bribed and corrupted by the king of France's bounties, Maria obtained from that quarter empty wiſhes only for her proſperity, and compliments, which ended in nothing. To complete her misfortune, the young princeſs ſaw herſelf alſo expoſed to the tyranny of the Gantois, who ſeized her perſon, removed all her counſellors, beheaded two, and gave her a new council entirely compoſed of their creatures. Edw. IV. 1477. Commin. lib. vi. c. ii. Maria is tyrannized over by the men of Gant. Commin.

Mean time, this princeſs's marriage was thought of. Some were for her eſpouſing the dauphin of France. But Lewis having already entered into engagements with Edward, durſt not diſoblige him at ſuch a juncture. Others would have her married to the duke of Guelders, and ſome to a German prince. All but herſelf were conſulted about the choice of a huſband. Mean while Lewis continued his conqueſts. In May 1477, the emperor Frederic ſending ambaſſadors to Gant, to renew the treaty concerning the marriage of his ſon Maximilian with Maria, the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, mother-in-law of the princeſs, deſired her brother Edward to ſend ambaſſadors into Flanders to aſſiſt her in the affair. Edward conſented, but would not promiſe to aid Maria againſt the king of France, though the Flemings and the duke of Bretagne ſtrongly preſſed him. On the contrary, he agreed to prolong the ſeven years truce concluded at Amiens, till a year after the death of one of the two kings. Thus Edward acted directly contrary to the intereſt of England, in ſuffering the advancement of France, and the ruin of the houſe of Burgundy. Three principal reaſons hindred his quarelling with France. The firſt, that being grown corpulent and heavy, he was no longer fit to bear the hardſhips of war. The ſecond, that his chief counſellors were penſioners to France. The third, that having promiſed his daughter Elizabeth to the dauphin, he was unwilling by any proceeding to obſtruct the marriage. Mean while, Lewis was extremely careful to keep him in theſe diſpoſitions, by punctually paying him the penſion of fifty thouſand crowns, and ten thouſand yearly for queen Margaret's ranſom. Several matches are propoſed for her. Commin. Act. Pub. xii. p. 42. Edward refuſes to aid her. Act. Pub. xii. p. 45, 50. His reaſons for it. Commin.

Thus Maria of Burgundy ſeeing herſelf forſaken by all whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport her, had no other refuge than to marry prince Maximilian, from whom however ſhe could expect no great aſſiſtance. The nuptials being celebrated in July, Lewis XI. out of regard to the emperor, granted the new duke of Burgundy a truce for a year, and reſtored him ſome towns in Haynault which he had ſeized. Shortly after, Maria eſpouſes Maximilian of Auſtria. Mezerai. Lewis grants him a truce. Commin.

he

Edw. IV. 1477. he received ambaſſadors from England [p], who were come to ſettle the arbitration agreed on, concerning the differences between the two crowns. But he had then other affairs, which hindred him from thinking of this, and which obliged him to defer it to a more proper ſeaſon [q].

1478. Death of the duke of Clarence. Hall. Biondi. Habington. Hollingſh.

The beginning of the year 1478 was very quiet, with reſpect to the general affairs I have been ſpeaking of. But at the ſame time, there paſſed at the court of England, things which wholly ingroſſed the attention of the public: I mean the tragical death of the duke of Clarence, which it will be neceſſary to inſiſt upon a moment. This prince was haughty and ambitious, of ungovernable paſſions, of an inconſtant temper, taking no care to conceal his ſentiments; in a word, of a very narrow genius. Whilſt the king his brother lived unmarried, he could not help entertaining the hopes of ſitting one day on the throne, though it was very unlikely Edward would always remain in a ſtate of celibacy. The king's marriage deſtroying theſe hopes, he was diſpleaſed with the king himſelf, and eſpecially with the queen and her family. As he was not careful to hide his diſcontent, he drew on himſelf the averſion of the queen and her creatures, who did not fail to do him ill offices. So Edward began by degrees to neglect him, and took no care to procure him advantages, which may eaſily be procured by a king for his brothers. The duke ſo reſented this contempt, that he ſcrupled not to join with the earl of Warwick to dethrone his own brother. He repented it afterwards, and his repentance, as hath been ſeen, proved Edward's preſervation. He was in hopes a reward would quickly follow ſo ſignal a ſervice, reflecting only upon what he had done for the king, without conſidering the danger to which he had expoſed him. But Edward, prejudiced againſt him, thought, on the contrary, the bare pardon of the injury to be a ſufficient recompence for the ſervice he had received. Theſe ſentiments were inſtilled into him by his queen, who having loſt the earl Rivers her father during the rebellion, could not forbear looking upon the authors of it as the objects of her vengeance. On the other hand, the duke of Gloceſter, to the utmoſt of his power, privately ſowed diſſention between his brothers. He was a prince of greater ambition than the duke of Clarence, but withal of a

[p] Edward's ambaſſadors were, Sir John Donn, John Coke doctor of laws, and Lewis Bretell, eſq; Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 43.

[q] This year, on January 16, a parliament met at Weſtminſter; in which nothing remarkable was done, but the creating Richard, the king's ſecond ſon, duke of York, &c. See below, Cotton's Abridg. p. 791, 702.

very

very different character, proceeding to his ends by deep and artful contrivances, which rendred his ways imperceptible. He always thought before he ſpoke, whereas the duke of Clarence ruined himſelf by too freely diſcovering his ſentiments. It was difficult for two brothers of ſo contrary tempers to love one another. But in their diſcord, the duke of Clarence uſed no ceremony with his brother, whilſt Gloceſter ſtrove never to give him publicly any advantage. Mean while, he gave him ſecret ſtabs, the more unavoidable, as they came from an unſuſpected hand. All the hiſtorians agree, that from this time, the duke of Gloceſter thought of ſecuring the crown after the king's death, and therefore the duke of Clarence could not but very much incommode him. This was however an undertaking, the execution whereof ſeemed very difficult, ſince his two elder brothers had children. But his ambition made him think it not impracticable, in proceeding by degrees. The firſt ſtep was, to diſpatch the duke of Clarence. To that end, he endeavoured to render him odious to the king, and cauſe him to conſider him as a ſecret enemy, who was privately labouring to ſupplant his children. The duke of Clarence's raſh expreſſions were extremely ſubſervient to his deſign. On the other hand, the queen, who had great influence over the king, failed not to confirm his ſuſpicions. Edw. IV. 1478.

Matters ſtanding thus, the king, as he was hunting in a park belonging to Thomas Burdet[r], confident of the duke of Clarence, chanced to kill a white buck, in which that gentleman greatly delighted. Burdet was ſo concerned for the death of his favorite buck, that in the firſt tranſports of his paſſion, he ſwore, he wiſhed the horns in the belly of him that killed it. Whereupon he was accuſed of high-treaſon, condemned, and executed, within the ſpace of two days. Some ſay, his imprecation concerned only the perſon that adviſed the king to hunt in his park[s]. Be this as it will, the deſign, no doubt, of thoſe who ſo warmly proſecuted that unfortunate gentleman, was, to induce the duke of Clarence to expoſe himſelf by ſome raſh proceeding; of which his inconſiderate, impetuous, and haughty temper, afforded great aſſurance. Accordingly, the duke, who was then in Ireland, being returned to court, talked very boldly to the king of his friend's death, and bit- Stow. Habington.

r Of Arrow in Warwickſhire. Stow, p. 430.

s There is no mention of this ſtory of the buck in the hiſtory of Croyland; and Stow ſays, that Burdet was accuſed of poiſoning, ſorcery, and enchantment, (heinous crimes in thoſe times of ignorance) for which he was attainted in parliament, and beheaded at Tyborn. Perhaps the Lancaſtrian hiſtorians introduced the buck-affair to blacken the houſe of York.

terly

Edw. IV. 1478. terly complained of his diſregard for a brother, to whom he owed his reſtoration to the throne. In fine, he was ſo far tranſported with anger, that he threatened to be revenged. Neither was this all. After leaving the king, he dropped ſome other imprudent expreſſions, intimating, his brother was a baſtard, and conſequently had no right to the crown. Nothing being more agreeable to the deſires of his enemies, than to ſee him thus run into their ſnare, they ſo exaſperated the king againſt him, that he reſolved to deſtroy him. For that purpoſe, he held a council, entirely conſiſting of the duke of Clarence's enemies, where it was reſolved to apprehend him, accuſe him of high-treaſon, and bring the accuſation before the parliament, then aſſembled. All this was immediately executed, that the duke might not have leiſure to repent, and beg the king's pardon. For had he been allowed time to come to himſelf, and implored the king's mercy, his raſh expreſſions muſt have been conſidered only as the effect of a ſudden paſſion, which deſerved not the rigorous puniſhment intended him. His affair being brought before the parliament [t], he was accuſed of ſeveral crimes, under the eight following articles. I. By his ſeditious diſcourſes, he had endeavoured to draw upon the king the hatred of his ſubjects, by accuſing him of unjuſtly putting Burdet to death. II. He had bribed ſome of his domeſtics and others to ſpread ſuch a report. III. He had ſaid the king made uſe of necromancy to know the future. IV. He had taxed the king with poiſoning innocent perſons, whom he thought he could not legally deſtroy. V. He had affirmed, the king was not ſon of the duke of York, but of an adulterer admitted by the ducheſs their mother to her bed. VI. Inferring from thence, that the crown was fallen to him, he had diſcovered his deſign to ſeize it, by requiring many perſons to ſwear to be true to him and his heirs, without any exception of their allegiance to the king. VII. He had accuſed the king of uſing magic to take away his life, by cauſing him to conſume away like a taper. VIII. Laſtly, He had openly ſhown his deſign to dethrone the king, in procuring an authentic copy of the act of parliament paſſed during the earl of Warwick's uſurpation, whereby the crown was adjudged to him, after the death of Henry VI. and his iſſue-male.

Stow. p. 430.

[t] The parliament laſt mentioned, which met on January 16. Stow, p. 450.—Whoever obſerves what hurry the duke's enemies were in to take him off, and the general indignation of the people againſt the king as a fratricide, muſt be of Sir William Dugdale's opinion, that the duke was not condemned and attainted in parliament till after his death. Baron. vol. ii. p. 164.

All the hiſtorians agree, it would have been very difficult to prove all theſe articles of impeachment, if the king had not declared himſelf a party, and the queen and the duke of Gloceſter acted underhand to have him found guilty. Be this as it will, he was condemned to die. But there is in the ſentence a very remarkable circumſtance. One of the chief reaſons of his condemnation was, his affirming, the king not to be the duke of York's ſon, and that every thing ſerved afterwards for foundation to the duke of Gloceſter to mount the throne, in prejudice of Edward's children. Herein muſt be admired the blindneſs of men, and the juſtice of God. Edward makes uſe of a falſe accuſation to put his brother to death, and thereby gives occaſion to ſuſpicions, which are to ſerve hereafter to ruin his own children. The duke of Clarence being condemned, all the favor he could obtain of the king his brother, was, to chuſe the manner of his death. To avoid appearing on a ſcaffold, he deſired [u], to be drowned in a butt of Malmſey [w]. He left one ſon named Edward, who inherited from his grandfather, by the mother's ſide [x], the title of earl of Warwick, and a daughter called Margaret, who was counteſs of Saliſbury. As the death of the duke of Clarence raiſed among the people a general indignation, and murmurs very diſadvantageous to the king, it was deſigned to put a ſtop to them, by expoſing his body in St. Paul's church, and giving out he died of immoderate grief. But this artifice was not capable of amuſing the people, who too plainly ſaw, in the condemnation of that prince, the terrible effects of his enemy's malice [y].

Edw. IV. 1478.

He is ſuffocated in a butt of Malmſey. Hall.

His iſſue. Sandford. Hall.

About three months before, the king had created Edward his eldeſt ſon prince of Wales [z], and his ſecond ſon Richard,

Edward creates his eldeſt ſon prince of Wales, and his youngeſt duke of York. Sandford.

[u] That it was done at his own deſire, ſeems to be a miſtake. Hall, fol. 239, and Hollingſhead, p. 1350, ſay, he was privily drowned in a butt of malmſey, on March 11, or rather February 18. See Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 164. It is unknown what death he ſuffered.

[w] It ſeems that king Edward was afterwards very ſorry for his death; inſomuch, that when any one ſued to him for the pardon of a condemned malefactor, he would break out into theſe words: Oh, unfortunate brother, for whoſe life not one creature would make interceſſion! Hall, fol. 239.

[x] Richard Neville, earl of Warwick.

[y] His body was buried at Tewkeſbury in Gloceſterſhire, by that of his ducheſs, Iſabella, daughter and coheir of Richard Neville, the great earl of Warwick. She being with child, is ſaid to die of poiſon a little before. Sandford, p. 438. Cotton's Abridg. p. 703. Though all the antient chronicles ſay the duke was condemned by parliament, yet there is nothing of it, or of any parliament being then ſummoned, to be found on record. Perhaps the king's grief for it afterwards, kept the proceſs out of the records.

[z] Edward was created prince of Wales, July 26, 1471, and his brother Richard was created duke of York, May 28, 1474, earl of Nottingham, January 12, 1475, and duke of Norfolk and earl of Warren, February 7, the ſame year; and alſo earl-marſhal. On January 15, 1477, he married Ann, the only daughter of John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk; by whom he left no iſſue. Sandford, p. 415, 425.

duke

Edw. IV. duke of York. The rejoicings at court upon that occaſion,
1478. expreſſed not ſo much the joy of the favorites for the two princes promotion, as their ſatisfaction to ſee the project of the duke of Clarence's ruin ſo near accompliſhed. Edward did not foreſee that his unjuſt plot againſt his brother, was the firſt ſtep towards the ruin of his own ſons. Had the duke of Clarence lived, the duke of Gloceſter would never have thought of ſacrificing them, as he did, to his ambition.

Act. Pub. xii. p. 52, —61.

Shortly after the death of the duke of Clarence, the term taken by Lewis XI. and Edward, to decide their differences by arbitration, was further prolonged, and the duke of Gloceſter appointed by Edward one of the arbitrators [a], in the room of the duke of Clarence.

Embaſſy from Lewis XI. to Edward. p. 67—86.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, the truce between Lewis and Maximilian being expired, Maximilian entered Burgundy, and took ſeveral places with great eaſe, by reaſon of the people's affection to the houſe of Burgundy. Probably, he would then have taken poſſeſſion of the two Burgundies, if he had received from the emperor his father, a ſupply p. 86. anſwerable to his occaſions. This Lewis very much feared; and as he knew it to be Edward's intereſt to join forces with Maximilian, he forgot nothing to divert him from it. In July this year, he ſent a full power to prolong the truce, till a hundred years after the death of the two kings, and to oblige him to the payment of the annual penſion of fifty thouſand crowns, ſo long as the truce ſhould laſt. Moreover the embaſſador was empowered, to prolong for three years the terms agreed upon, to decide the differences by arbitrators, and to promiſe for Lewis and his ſucceſſors, to prolong it every third year, till all things were ſettled. The ambaſſador being arrived at London, Edward appointed commiſſioners to treat with him, and at length the treaty was concluded as propoſed by Lewis, though not till February the 15th, 1479 [b].

Lewis ſhifts off the dauphin's marriage with Elizabeth. p. 89, 91. Hall.

What retarded a little the negotiation was, Edward's deſire to ſecure, firſt, his daughter Elizabeth's marriage with the dauphin. To that end, he ſent two ambaſſadors [c] into France, with power to perform the ceremony of betrothing. But Lewis, it is likely, found ſome excuſes to defer it. Mean

[a] The others were, Thomas Bourchier archbiſhop of Canterbury, Henry Stafford duke of Buckingham, Thomas Rotherham biſhop of Lincoln and chancellor, and Anthony earl of Rivers. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 64.

[b] In July, this year, a treaty of trade and commerce was alſo concluded between king Edward and Burgundy. Ibid. p. 66—92, 95.

[c] Sir Richard Tunſtall, and Dr Thomas Langton. Ibid. p. 90.

while, he made the second payment of ten thousand crowns for queen Margaret's ransom. Edw. IV. 1478.

Thus Edward, contrary to his own and the kingdom's interests, suffered himself to be managed by the king of France, or rather by his own ministers, bribed by that prince. Lewis, not content with diverting him by his intrigues from assisting the duchess of Burgundy, sent him also a proposal to divide betwixt them that princess's dominions, offering him for his part Flanders and Brabant [d]. Edward closed with the proposal, but upon this condition, that in exchange for the towns conquered in Flanders, Lewis should give him others in Picardy, and particularly Boulogne [e]. But Lewis was too apprehensive of the neighbourhood of the English, to accept that condition. If he proposed to him the conquest of Flanders, it was only to engage him in a war with Maximilian and Maria, for fear he should one time or other repent his deserting them. Lewis's offer to Edward. Hall. Habington. Biondi. Hollingsh.

But Edward was far from such a thought. Instead of meditating war, he entirely abandoned himself to his pleasures, with intention to pass the residue of his days in effeminate sloth. Mean while, these pleasures which he so eagerly pursued, cost him more than the most burdensome war: and therefore, his coffers being empty, he used divers illegal means to extort money from his subjects. The most terrible was, that of causing the rich to be accused of high-treason, in order to confiscate their estates or exact large sums for their pardon. In the mean time, he continued, with several princes, negotiations, tending to secure him the continuance of that repose he so passionately loved. 1479. Edward gives himself up to pleasures. He raises money by ill means. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

The first of these negotiations was with the king of Denmark, their alliance not having been well observed on either side. At last, that prince sending ambassadors to London, the alliance was confirmed and renewed, and a congress appointed at Hamburgh, to decide all their differences. One of the conditions of the treaty was, that the English should not set foot in Iceland, without a passport from the king of Denmark. Negotiation with Denmark. Act. Pub. xii. p. 100.

Two days after the conclusion of this treaty, the French ambassador and the king's commissioners signed that beforementioned, whereby Lewis XI. promised, for himself and successors, to pay to the king of England fifty thousand crowns every year, as well during the life of the two kings, as a hundred years after, to commence at the death of the survivor. Treaty between Lewis and Edward. p. 97, 101, 103.

[d] And to pay ten thousand angels towards his charges. Hall, ibid.

[e] Monstreville and Abbeville. Commin. lib. vi. c. 7. Hall, fol. 241.

Edw. IV. 1479. Next day was alſo ſigned another treaty, prolonging the truce, friendſhip, and good underſtanding between the two kings during their lives, and between their ſucceſſors for the ſpace of one hundred years, with a promiſe of mutual aſſiſtance againſt their rebellious ſubjects. The other articles were, that if one of the two princes was driven out of his kingdom, the other ſhould be obliged to receive him, and aſſiſt him with all his forces: that they ſhould make no alliance without a mutual conſent: that the king of France ſhould ratify the treaty, and cauſe it to be confirmed and ratified by the ſtates: and that Edward ſhould likewiſe procure the parliament's approbation: laſtly, that the dauphin's marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth ſhould be accompliſhed, according to the agreement at Amiens, and this new treaty not be derogatory to the former. It does not appear that Lewis XI. ever ratified the treaty, which probably was made only to amuſe Edward: Lewis knew he was bound to nothing without a formal ratification, which doubtleſs he was reſolved not to grant, though the treaty contained only ſuch articles as were propoſed by himſelf. This was one of Lewis's artifices, againſt which it is very difficult to be prepared: with princes of this character the ſhorteſt and moſt ſecure way would be never to enter into a negociation.

Project of a marriage between Philip of Auſtria and Anne, Edward's daughter, Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 110.

As Lewis amuſed Edward with the marriage of Elizabeth to the dauphin, Maximilian uſed the ſame means to gain him to his intereſts. Though Philip his ſon was but a year old, he offered Edward to marry him to Anne his third daughter. Edward accepted the offer, and whilſt the marriage-articles were ſettling, the two princes ſent one another letters patents, promiſing not to marry their children without a mutual conſent, during the ſpace of three years.

and of his daughter Catherine, with the infante of Spain. p. 110.

About the ſame time Edward had thoughts of marrying Catherine his fourth daughter to John, infante of Caſtile and Arragon, ſon of king Ferdinand and Iſabella of Caſtile: nay, it appears in the Collection of the Public Acts, that ambaſſadors were ſent into Spain to haſten the treaty, which however came to nothing.

Lewis duly pays the penſion. p. 45, 65, 111, etc. p. 112.

Mean while, Lewis duly paid the penſion of fifty thouſand crowns, as appears by ſeveral acquittances in the Collection of Public Acts. We find there likewiſe, that in March 1480, he completed the payment of Margaret's ranſom.

He amuſes Edward, Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Lewis readily performed all the articles of the treaty of Amiens, except the dauphin's marriage, for which he ſtill found ſome freſh excuſe, though he perſiſted in his promiſe to fulfil that engagement. Edward, ſurpriſed at all theſe de-

lays,

days, called an extraordinary council, where it was resolved to send ambassadors to Lewis, peremptorily to demand the performance of his promise and the ratification of the late treaty at London. The lord Howard and Thomas Langton treasurer of the church of Exeter, were chosen for this ambassy. Howard, who was one of Edward's confidents, was very likely the chief of those who suffered themselves to be corrupted by the king of France's favours. Edw. IV. 1479. who sends him ambassadors. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 113.

Mean time Lewis was not a little embarrassed. He had given his word for the marriage, and even bound himself by a treaty, though he had never any thoughts of accomplishing it. On the other hand, his ambassadors at London had signed another treaty upon the foot proposed by himself, and yet he was resolved not to ratify it. His sole aim had been to amuse Edward, for fear of his joining with the archduke. To free himself from these difficulties, he resolved to dissemble and continue to promise the completing of the marriage, whilst, by ambassadors sent into Scotland, he tried to persuade James III. to break the truce with England. This negociation succeeded to his wish: king James suffered himself to be governed by three favourites, raised from the dust, without advising with any lord of his realm. It was very easy for the king of France to bribe those mercenary souls, who promised to induce their master to break the truce with the English. And indeed, presently after, James made preparations which plainly discovered his design. Edward, surprized at the impending rupture between the king of Scotland and him, readily guessed the author. He dissembled however his resentment, and only ordered an army to be raised, the command whereof he resolved to give to his brother the duke of Gloceſter. Then it was that he began to open his eyes, and perceive the king of France's insincerity, who, ever since Burgundy's death, had amused him with false promises. Mean while, though he had lost all the favourable opportunities, he turned his thoughts, though too late, to revenge. This appears in several pieces of the Collection of the Public Acts, all dated the year 1480, before the Scots had actually broke the truce. Lewis continues to amuse him. Hall. He stirs up the king of Scotland against him. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 115. Edward begins to open his eyes. p. 117. 1480.

First, he sent ambassadors[f] to Castile, to make reparation for certain outrages committed by the English, during the earl of Warwick's administration, contrary to the alliance between Castile and England. When a prince offers of himself to repair the damages his subjects have done to another Embassy to Castile. p. 119.

[f] John Coke secondary in the privy-seal office, and Dr. John Fox. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 119.

Edw. IV. 1480. nation, there is reason to presume it is with a view to some other design. Edward's aim was to engage the king of Castile to make war upon France, or at least to hinder his assisting Lewis.

Treaty with Denmark. Act. Pub. tom. xii. p. 119, 127.

In the second place he ratified the treaty concluded by his ambassadors at Hamburgh, with the king of Denmark.

Edward promises to aid Maximilian. p. 123, 124. p. 126, 127.

Thirdly, he confirmed his treaty of alliance with the late duke of Burgundy, and promised to send Maximilian and Maria an aid of six thousand men, pursuant to the treaty. The archduke promised on his part to pay him fifty thousand crowns yearly, in case the king of France discontinued his pension and a war ensued upon that account.

He concludes the marriage of his daughter with Philip. p. 128—134 138.

Lastly, the marriage of Philip earl of Charolois, son of Maximilian and Maria, with Anne, daughter of Edward, was concluded, with promise on both sides to cause it to be consummated as soon as the parties were of age. By this treaty Edward gave with his daughter a hundred thousand crowns. But by a subsequent treaty, the dower was set against the yearly pension of fifty thousand crowns, to be paid by the archduke instead of the king of France, and they mutually forgave one another.

He promises to declare against Lewis, if he is not made umpire. p. 133.

By another treaty, Edward promised to use his endeavours to procure Maximilian a truce with the king of France; to offer to be arbitrator himself between Lewis and him; to try to be received as such; and, if Lewis refused, engaged to declare against him. This proceeding was not very fair, but probably he did not think himself obliged to act more sincerely than Lewis had done.

Embassy to France. p. 135.

Edward having thus settled his matters with Maximilian and Maria, sent again ambassadors to France, to press the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with the dauphin. If Lewis had complied, very likely he would not have scrupled to relinquish

A fleet to aid Maximilian. p. 137.

the archduke. But Lewis, according to custom, using some ill excuse, he equipped a fleet, and gave the command to John Middleton, to go to the assistance of his new allies.

1481. The king of Scotland prepares for war. Hall. Hollingsh.

Meantime, the king of Scotland continued his preparations with intention to break with England. But before I speak of the success of this war, so little expected by Edward, it will be proper briefly to relate what passed then in Scotland, with the situation of the affairs of that kingdom.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

James III. who came to the crown at seven years of age, being out of his minority, had suffered himself to be so corrupted by flatterers, that he made his will the sole rule of his actions. Without entering into a needless detail of the out-

rages

rages he committed upon his ſubjects, it will ſuffice to ſay in a word, he was deemed a real tyrant. He had three miniſters or favourites [g], men of mean birth, who governed him entirely, and whoſe ſole view was to render him independent of the laws, that they themſelves might ruſe in his name with an arbitrary power. The king had two brothers, Alexander duke of Albany, and John. The latter, ſpeaking too freely of the king his brother's conduct, was thrown into priſon, and there put to death by having his veins opened. As the favourites were afraid Alexander would revenge his death, they perſuaded the king to confine him in a caſtle.

Edw. IV. 1481.

James oppreſſes his ſubjects. He gives himſelf up to his favorites. Puts one brother to death, and impriſons another.

In that juncture it was that James, hated by his people, and particularly by the nobility, undertook without the leaſt pretence to break the truce with the Engliſh. Edward was vexed to ſee the approaches of a rupture that would divert him from the war with France, to which he was much more inclined. Mean while, not to neglect all neceſſary precautions, he gave orders for the defence of the borders, and at the ſame time committed to certain perſons of Ireland the care of making an alliance in his name with the earl of Roſs lord of the Iſles, to give his enemy a diverſion from that quarter.

Edward prepares for his defence.

Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 139, 140.

In June 1481, the Scots made an irruption into the borders, before Edward's army was ready. They carried away ſome booty, and that was all theſe mighty preparations came to. Edward made no haſte to ſend an army againſt Scotland, as well becauſe he ſtill hoped to end this affair amicably, as becauſe he knew king James's circumſtances to be ſuch that he could not do him much hurt. His grand deſign was to be revenged of Lewis XI. for though that prince, with his uſual diſſimulation ſtill gave him hopes that he would perform his promiſe with reſpect to the marriage, and punctually pay the twenty-five thouſand crowns every ſix months, Edward plainly perceived he intended not to accompliſh the marriage, and that a rupture was unavoidable.

James enters England, and carries off ſome booty. Edward thinks more of France than Scotland.

For that reaſon he renewed his alliance with the duke of Bretagne, and concluded the marriage of the prince of Wales with Anne eldeſt daughter of that duke, or in caſe ſhe died before conſummation, with Iſabella her youngeſt ſiſter, upon theſe conditions: that if there ſhould be ſeveral ſons, the ſecond, or next to the heir of the crown England, ſhould be duke of Bretagne, and reſide in the country: that if the duke ſhould hereafter have a ſon born in wedlock, he ſhould eſpouſe

Project of marriage between the prince of Wales and Anne of Bretagne. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 142.

[g] Thomas Preſton, Robert Cockrain a merchant, and William Rogers a muſician. Buchan. lib. xii.

Edw. IV. 1481. her of Edward's daughters that was moſt ſuitable to his age: that if Edward had no daughter to give him, the duke ſhould not marry his ſon without the king's conſent: laſtly, it was agreed betwixt them, that if the king of France made war upon the duke of Bretagne, Edward ſhould ſend the duke three thouſand men at his own charge. The duke promiſed the ſame thing in caſe of a war between England and France.

1482. In the beginning of the year 1482, Edward renewed his alliance with Portugal. Shortly after he ſent ambaſſadors to Caſtile, to conclude the marriage of his daughter Catherine with the infante: but that affair did not ſucceed to his wiſh. All theſe treaties, theſe renewings of alliances, theſe projects of marriages, ſhew Edward intended to carry the war into France [h].

Alliance with Portugal. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 145.

Negociation for a marriage.

The duke of Albany eſcapes into England. Buchanan. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 154.

Whilſt Edward was intent upon every thing conducive to the good ſucceſs of his undertaking, Alexander duke of Albany, brother of the king of Scotland, eſcaped out of priſon, and came by ſea into England to implore the king's protection. Beſides the general reaſons which all the Scots had to complain of their ſovereign, Alexander had very particular ones: the death of the duke his brother and his own impriſonment ſtrongly inclined him to ſeek means to be revenged, and doubtleſs ambition greatly conduced to inflame his paſſion. The Engliſh and Scotch hiſtorians have limited his deſire of revenge to ſome general views of reclaiming the king his brother, and procuring to himſelf the reſtitution of his eſtate; but the Collection of the Public Acts furniſhes authentic proofs that Alexander's deſign was to be poſſeſſed of the throne.

Treaty of the duke of Albany with Edward June 10. p. 150.

We find there is a treaty with Edward, wherein he aſſumes the title of king of Scotland, and promiſes to do homage for that kingdom to the crown of England. He engages moreover to break the ancient alliance of France with Scotland, and make one with Edward againſt Lewis XI. to deliver Berwick to England, and marry Cecily, Edward's daughter, affianced to prince James his nephew, in caſe by the judgment of the church he could be divorced from his wife: that if he could not ſucceed, he promiſes to marry his ſon to none but

[h] In the beginning of this year, namely on the 20th of January, a parliament met at Weſtminſter; wherein the commons, with the aſſent of the biſhops and lords, gave the king a tenth and a fifteenth, to be levied on the laity, except ſix thouſand pounds to be beſtowed upon decayed towns. They alſo granted a yearly ſubſidy to be levied of all ſtrangers, as well denizens as otherwiſe. They moreover allowed a yearly rent out of the cuſtoms and other revenues, to defray the king's houſhold expences, amounting to eleven thouſand pounds. Cotton's Abridg. p. 705, 706.

a princeſs

a princeſs of England. Edward obliges himſelf on his part to aſſiſt him with all his power to take poſſeſſion of the throne of Scotland. The treaty being ſigned, Edward ſent an army againſt Scotland [i], under the command of the duke of Gloceſter his brother, whom the duke of Albany would accompany, but without taking however the title of king. Probably this treaty was a ſecret known to few perſons. At the ſame time Edward gave the command of a fleet to Robert Ratcliff, to act againſt Scotland. The duke of Gloceſter advancing to the borders of the two kingdoms, took the town of Berwick, and being unwilling to loſe time in beſieging the caſtle, leſt it inveſted [k], and marched directly to Edinburgh. Edw. IV. 1482. The duke of Gloceſter marches into Scotland, Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 157. and takes Berwick. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Whilſt the duke of Gloceſter was advancing at the head of his army, king James, who had wantonly undertaken this war without concerting meaſures to proſecute it vigorouſly, was greatly embarraſſed. The only means he had to reſiſt the Engliſh was to aſſemble the nobility; but he durſt not attempt it, knowing how much they were diſpleaſed with him and his miniſters: he was forced therefore to reſolve it, or caſt himſelf upon the mercy of the Engliſh. So, the lords being ſummoned, came with their troops to Lauther, where they were expected by the king. But to what ſtraits ſoever that prince was reduced, he altered not his conduct: his three favourites were his ſole council, and ſcarce any dared to approach him but themſelves or their creatures. The nobles, full of indignation, reſolved to embrace ſo fair an opportunity to be rid of thoſe by whom the king was beſet. After conſulting together upon what was to be done, ſome of them well-attended came to the king's apartment, and carrying away the three favourites, who had ſheltered themſelves in his room, brought them to the army, where they cauſed them to be immediately hanged. James, extremely terrified, dread- Troubles in Scotland. Buchanan. Biondi. Habington.

[i] They begun their march in May, and came to Alnwick in the beginning of July. The number of men in this army, with their chief commanders, were as follows: the front was led by Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, under whoſe ſtandard were the lord Scrope of Bolton, ſir John Middleton, ſir John Dichfield, and others, to the number of ſix thouſand ſeven hundred. In the middle ward was the duke of Gloceſter, and with him the duke of Albany, the lords Lovel and Greyſtock, ſir Edward Woodville, and others, to the number of five thouſand eight hundred men. The lord Nevill was appointed to follow with three thouſand men. The lord Stanley led the right wing, with four thouſand men of Lancaſhire and Cheſhire. The left wing was commanded by the lords Fitz-hugh, ſir William Parr, ſir James Harrington, with two thouſand men. And beſides all theſe, there was a thouſand men appointed to attend the ordnance. Hall, fol. 243. Stow, p. 432. Hollingſh. p. 1352.

[k] By the lord Stanley, ſir John Erlington, ſir William Parr, and four thouſand men. Hall, fol. 243.

Edw. IV. 1482.

ing also an attempt upon his life, promised to reform his conduct for the future; but a few days after he withdrew to the castle of Edinburgh: so, the army being without a leader, disbanded themselves, and the lords returned to their homes.

The duke of Gloucester becomes master of Edinburgh. Buchanan. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

The duke of Gloucester hearing of this disorder, hastened his march to Edinburgh, and entered the city without opposition. He would have conferred with the king, but it was not even possible to inform him of his desire. This obstinacy to hearken to nothing, obliged the duke of Gloucester to publish by sound of trumpet, in all the quarters of Edinburgh, that if, before September, the king of Scotland did not observe the treaties with England, he would destroy the whole kingdom with fire and sword. King James's engagements were chiefly to keep the truce, and return the money received for the dower of the princess Cecily, affianced to the prince his son: to this the duke of Gloucester added, that he should recal the duke of Albany, and restore him to his estate and honours. James, equally unable to resist his enemies and to perform his engagements, made no answer. Mean while, the nobles being assembled at Haddington, sent deputies to the duke of Gloucester to acquaint him, it was their earnest desire the intended marriage should be consummated, and that neither they nor the states were to be blamed that the truce was not punctually observed. The duke of Gloucester replied, the marriage being projected only to maintain a good understanding between the two nations, and king James having wantonly broke it without any provocation, he did not know whether the king his brother desired the marriage to be accomplished: that however he had orders to receive the sums that were paid in part of the princess's dower: that as for the truce, it would be assuredly observed by England, provided the king his brother was put in possession of the castle of Berwick, or at least the Scots would promise not to assist the besieged.

The nobility send deputies to him. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

The duke of Albany procures a peace Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 162—168 Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

Matters standing thus, the duke of Albany demanded of the Scotch lords a safe conduct, and obtaining it, he went and conferred with them. In the conference it was agreed, that the duke of Albany should be made regent of Scotland: that the citizens of Edinburgh should be obliged to pay the king of England the money received by James, in case the projected marriage did not take effect: lastly, that the castle of Berwick should be surrendered to the duke of Gloucester. For the duke of Albany's private security, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the bishop of Dunkeld, the high-chancellor, the earl of Argyle, promised to procure him a general pardon for

for all crimes whatever, even for attempting to dethrone the king; and to cauſe him to be reſtored to his whole eſtate. On the other hand, the duke promiſed to acknowledge the king his brother for his lawful ſovereign, and to ſwear allegiance to him. This gives occaſion to preſume his treaty with Edward was known in Scotland, or the duke thought proper to diſcover it, that this clauſe might be included in the pardon. The agreement being made, the duke of Albany, either out of pure generoſity, or becauſe he thought he ſhould meet with too many obſtacles, relinquiſhed his project of placing himſelf on the throne. On the other hand, the duke of Gloceſter ſpent ſome time at Newcaſtle, till the king his brother ſhould acquaint him with his pleaſure, concerning his daughter's marriage [l].

Edw. IV. 1482. Auguſt 4.

The duke of Albany ſeeing himſelf thus maſter of the kingdom, reſtored the king his brother to his former ſtate, reſerving to himſelf only his own eſtate and the glory of his generoſity. James, pleaſed, as may be imagined, that his fear was his only puniſhment, ſeemed at firſt to behave very differently from what he had done before. Soon after he reſolved to go to Amiens, and viſit the relics of St. John, or perhaps to take new meaſures with Lewis XI. But I do not know whether he executed this deſign, though there is in the Collection of the Public Acts, a ſafe-conduct for him and a thouſand attendants. Be that as it will, his diſſimulation laſted not long: he reſumed his former courſe of life as well as his enmity to his brother, and reſolved to diſpatch him. The deſign was kept ſo private, that when the duke was told of it, he had but juſt time to throw himſelf into a fiſhing-boat, and eſcape to the caſtle of Dunbar with ſome friends. From thence he ſent into England the earl of Angus and ſome others [m], to renew with Edward the treaty made the laſt year, and which was ſet aſide by the intervening agreement. The treaty was confirmed February 11, 1483, with additional articles. But Edward's death, which happened preſently after, prevented the execution. Mean while, the duke of Albany having now, purſuant to the treaty, delivered the fortreſs of Dunbar to the Engliſh, and ſeeing no appearance of being relieved, withdrew into France, where he was unfortunately killed with a ſplinter of a lance at a tournament, by the duke of Orleans, who was afterwards king of France, by the name of Lewis XII.

James being reſtored diſſembles his reſentment. Buchanan. Hall.

Act. Pub. tom. xii. p. 170.

He attempts his brother's life, who eſcapes to Dunbar.

1483.

He renews his treaty with Edward. p. 173. Buchanan.

He is killed in France. Biondi. Hall.

[l] The caſtle of Berwick was ſurrendered to the Engliſh Auguſt 26. Buchan. lib. xii.

[m] Andrew lord Grey, and ſir James Lyddall. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 173.

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Edw. IV. 1483.

The war with Scotland being ended, Edward turned all his thoughts to the war he deſigned to carry into France. But he was far from being in ſo favourable circumſtances to be revenged of Lewis XI. as before the rupture with Scotland. Maria ducheſs of Burgundy, being killed by a fall from her horſe in March 1481, the archduke her ſpouſe had ſo little authority among the Flemings, that he was forced to deliver his children by that princeſs to remain in the hands of the Gantois. Then Lewis XI. uſing all his policy to inſpire the Flemings with a dread of the houſe of Auſtria's power, managed ſo dextrouſly with the Gantois, that he obtained their conſent to give to the dauphin his ſon, Margaret, daughter of their deceaſed ducheſs, with the earldoms of Artois, Burgundy, Macannois, Auxerre, and Charolois. This treaty was made with that ſecrecy, that Edward had no notice of it; ſo that Lewis ſtill continued to amuſe the Engliſh ambaſſadors, even after it was ended to his wiſh. The firſt news they had of it, was the arrival of the young dauphineſs, two years old, who was brought to Paris in April 1482. The nuptials were ſolemnized in July. This was a great vexation, and moſt outragious affront to Edward, who cauſed the princeſs his daughter to be ſtiled Madam the Dauphineſs. He had perhaps forgot the affront he himſelf put upon Lewis with regard to his own marriage, or thought love would excuſe it; but Lewis believed himſelf no leſs excuſed by politics, and what kings call reaſons of ſtate. Be this as it will, Edward full of indignation and rage, bent all his thoughts to revenge; but it was too late, the opportunities he had neglected were irrecoverably loſt. He could no longer rely upon the aſſiſtance of the Flemings, who had ſo openly ſhown their attachment to the intereſts of France. The duke of Bretagne was ſeized with a melancholy, which rendered him incapable of any conſiderable undertaking. The king of Scotland had no reaſon to be pleaſed, and all that Edward could expect from his alliance with the kings of Spain and Portugal was, that they would not give any aſſiſtance to Lewis. So to be revenged, Edward muſt, like Henry V. attack France with the forces of England alone. But France was very far from being in the ſame ſtate, as when Henry V. began the war. Nevertheleſs, in ſpite of the improbability of ſucceeding in ſuch an undertaking, Edward was bent upon it. For that purpoſe he aſſembled all the lords that were at court or near London, and in a very moving ſpeech repreſented to them how great reaſon the Engliſh nation, and himſelf in particular, had, to reſent the grievous affronts put upon them by the king of France. He forgot not to diſplay the

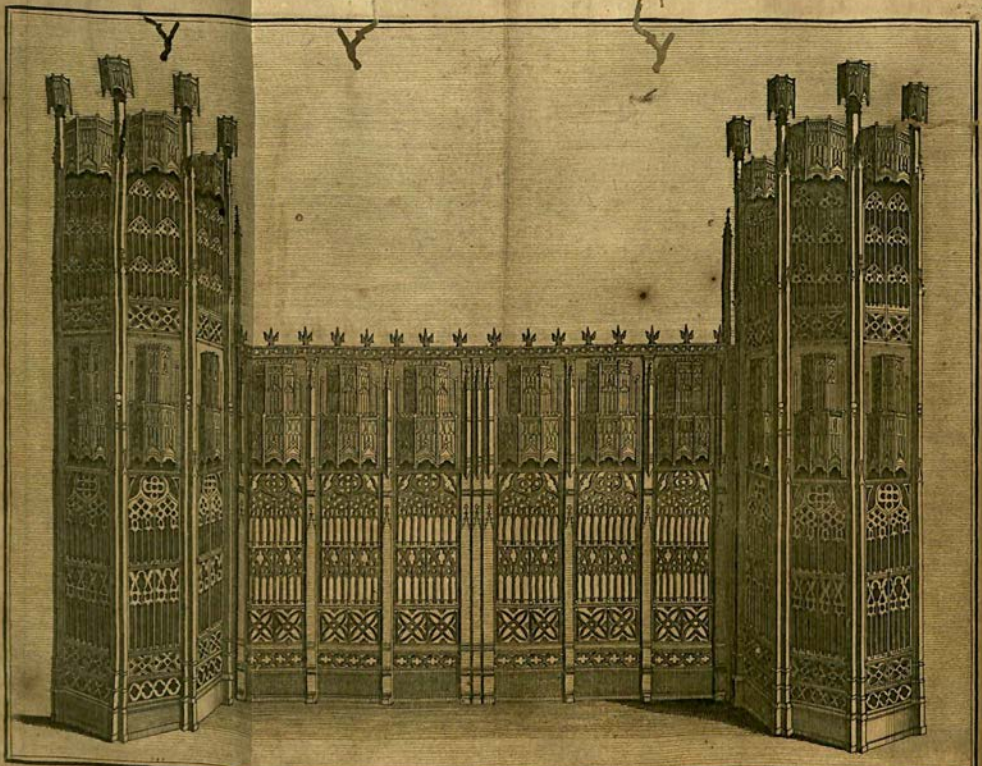
Edward's affairs are in an ill way upon the death of the ducheſs of Burgundy
Mezerai.
P. Daniel.

The dauphin's marriage with Margaret.
Commin.
Hall.
P. Daniel.
Hollingſh.

Hall.

An ill juncture for Edward.
Argentré.
Biondi.

He prepares however for war.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingſh.



The Monument of K. EDWARD IV *in the Royal* CHAPEL *of* WINDSOR.

J. Mynde fec

the title of the kings of England to the crown of France. That was the chief topic to touch the hearts of the Engliſh. In ſhort, he added whatever he thought capable to perſuade them, not only of the neceſſity of a war with France, but alſo of the great probability of a happy ſucceſs. There is no need of much eloquence to induce the Engliſh to wage war with France. All the lords unanimouſly declared, they thought the war juſt and neceſſary, and aſſured the king, they were ready to ſerve him with their lives and fortunes. The report being ſpread in the kingdom, that a war with France was reſolved, an extraordinary joy appeared in peoples faces, as if the news of ſome great victory had been received. Edw. IV. 1483.

But whilſt preparations were making for this important war, Edward was ſeized with a mortal diſtemper, which diſcovered to him the vanity of all his projects. When he felt himſelf ſick to death, he beheld the paſt actions of his life with a different eye from what he had done before, and it is pretended, he ſhewed marks of a ſincere repentance. But in the laſt moments, none but the great ſearcher of hearts can perfectly judge of the ſentiments expreſſed by the tongue. Edward died the 9th of April, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, after a reign of twenty years and one month. The cauſe of his death is variouſly reported. Some accuſe the duke of Gloceſter of poiſoning him. But this accuſation being groundleſs, ought not to be too lightly credited. Philip de Commines pretends, Edward died with grief and vexation, to ſee himſelf baffled and deceived by Lewis XI. But what he ſays is to be conſidered only as a bare conjecture, and the rather, as Edward was convinced two years before of Lewis's inſincerity. The moſt probable opinion is, that he died of a ſurfeit, being uſed to divert his cares with exceſſive eating and drinking [n]. Death of Edward IV. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. l. 6. c. 9. Hall. Hall. Hollingſh.

I have hitherto ſpoken only of Edward the IV's moſt ſhining actions, by reaſon of their connexion with the public affairs. It will be neceſſary now to ſay ſomething of his perſon, and deſcribe his good and bad qualities of body and mind. But firſt, I cannot forbear once more to remark, that a man muſt be upon his guard, with reſpect to the hiſtorians that ſpeak of this prince, as well as of his brother Richard III. The greateſt part wrote when the throne was filled with the princes of the houſe of Lancaſter, who were extremely jealous of their rights; and would not willingly have ſuffer- Character of Edward IV. Moor. Habington.

[n] Hall ſays, he had been troubled, with a tertian ague and fever, which ever ſince his laſt journey to France; ſuddenly turned to a quartan, fol. 247.

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Edw. IV. 1483. ed them to be blemiſhed, or the kings of the houſe of York to be praiſed. The after-writers, when the civil wars were forgot, tranſcribed what they found in theſe firſt hiſtories, and frequently gave for truth, what was only the effect of the prejudice or policy of the firſt hiſtorians. For my part, who have no intereſt to blacken this prince's reputation, I have endeavoured to avoid that exceſs, without concealing however either his failings or ill qualities.

When Edward aſcended the throne, he was one of the handſomeſt men in England, and perhaps in Europe. This is acknowledged by all. His noble mien, his free and eaſy air, his affable carriage, prepoſſeſſed every one in his favour. Theſe qualities, joined to an undaunted courage, gained him among the people, an eſteem and affection extremely ſerviceable to him, in many circumſtances of his life. Philip de Commines affirms, he owed his reſtoration to the inclination the principal London ladies had for him. But that would have been inconſiderable, had he not likewiſe acquired the affection of their huſbands, and in general, of moſt part of the Engliſh. If he had not depended upon the hearts of the people, he would never have ventured to attempt the recovery of the throne, with the help of two thouſand men who were moſtly foreigners. For ſome time, he was very liberal, but at laſt became covetous, not ſo much from his natural temper, as from a neceſſity to ſupply the immoderate expences into which he was thrown by his pleaſures. Though he had a great extent of wit, and a ſolid judgment, he committed however ſeveral very great errors. The firſt was, when he ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized by the earl of Warwick. But that fault was in great meaſure repaired, by the dexterity and readineſs wherewith he freed himſelf from the archbiſhop of York. The ſecond was, to truſt ſuch perſons as betrayed him, and were ſold to France. The third, to ſuffer himſelf to be ſo long deceived by Lewis XI. who was univerſally exclaimed againſt for his ill faith. Moſt hiſtorians have extremely aggravated this error, as being ignorant, that from the year 1480, he began to take meaſures to make war upon Lewis, as appears in what has been quoted from the Collection of the Public Acts. Two other errors are alſo aſcribed to him, which may be more eaſily excuſed. The firſt is, his breaking off the war with France for an inconſiderable ſum, at a time when he might have flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſucceſs. But if the circumſtances of that affair be well examined, it will be eaſily ſeen, that being forſaken by the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne his allies, it would have

Faults aſcribed to Edward.

have been very raſh to purſue with his own forces alone, the execution of ſo great an enterprize, which, probably, would have proved unſucceſsful. Another error laid to his charge is, his not joining with the heireſs of Burgundy, to ſtop the progreſs of the king of France. I own, that was a real fault. However, it may be conſiderably leſſened, by the examples of ſeveral princes eminent for their abilities, who obſerved the ſame conduct on the like occaſions. Uncertain of the events, princes often imagine they ſhall be great gainers by ſetting their neighbours at variance, in hopes of their weakening one another. But the ſucceſs ſometimes happens not to anſwer their expectations. It is certain, if Maria of Burgundy, and afterwards the archduke her huſband, had more vigorouſly reſiſted the attacks of Lewis XI. nothing was more capable to render Edward the umpire of Europe, than the mutual weakening of theſe two powers. By this conduct it was that he made himſelf courted by the king of France, and the duke of Burgundy, becauſe he was always in condition to make the balance incline to one ſide. He hoped perhaps, it would be always the ſame; but he had to deal with a more artful prince than himſelf. Edw. IV. 1483.

Inſtances of his cruelty.

Theſe are properly political faults, which are often conſidered as ſuch, only becauſe of the events which are not in man's power. But the crimes Edward is more juſtly charged with, are his cruelty, perjury, and incontinence. The firſt appears in the great number of princes and lords, whom, after taking them priſoners, he put to death on the ſcaffold. If ever there was room to exerciſe mercy in caſe of rebellion, it was at that fatal time when it was almoſt impoſſible to ſtand neuter, and ſo difficult to chuſe the juſteſt ſide between the two houſes that were contending for the crown. And yet we don't find Edward had ever any regard to that conſideration. The death of the prince of Wales, ſon of Henry VI. murdered almoſt in his preſence; and that of Henry himſelf, notwithſtanding his innocence, may perhaps be juſtified in ſome meaſure, by thoſe who think nothing unlawful when a throne is in queſtion; but they will never be excuſed by thoſe who have any tincture of religion. As for the death of the duke of Clarence, I don't know whether it would be poſſible to find the leaſt ſoftening, if it be true, as it is very probable, that he was innocent.

His breach of faith.

Edward's breach of faith was viſible, in the unjuſt puniſhment of the lord Wells and his brother-in-law, after drawing them out of ſanctuary by a ſafe-conduct; in that of the baſtard of Fauconbrige, whoſe crime he had pardoned: and laſtly,

Edw. IV. 1483. laſtly, in his oath at York, taken even with intention to break it. All theſe actions are of the number of thoſe that can be excuſed only by reaſons of ſtate; weak excuſe in things where honour and religion are concerned.

His incontinence. Moor. Hall. Stow.

As for Edward's incontinency, his whole life may be ſaid to be one continued ſcene of Luſt. He had many concubines, but eſpecially three, of whom he ſaid, "One was the mer-"rieſt [p], the other the wittieſt, and the third the holieſt in "the world, for ſhe was always in a church but when he ſent "for her." He had however, but two natural children, both by Elizabeth Lucy, (to whom he is ſaid to have been contracted before his marriage) Arthur ſirnamed Plantagenet, created viſcount L'Iſle by Henry VIII [q], and Elizabeth, wife of Sir Thomas Lumley. I ſhall ſay nothing of Edward's religion, ſince hiſtorians mention it only in relating his death-bed diſcourſes.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

His good-fortune.

What is moſt ſurpriſing in the life of this prince, is his good fortune, which ſeems to be almoſt miraculous. He was raiſed to the throne after the loſs of two battles, the firſt by the duke his father, the other by the earl of Warwick, then devoted to the houſe of York. The head of the father was ſtill upon the walls of York, when the ſon was proclaimed at London. Edward eſcaped, as it were by a miracle, out of his confinement at Middleham. He was reſtored to the throne, or at leaſt received into London at his return from Holland, before he had vanquiſhed, and whilſt his fortune yet depended upon the deciſion of a battle, which the earl of Warwick was ready to give him. In a word, he was ever victorious in all the battles where he was preſent [r].

His iſſue.

Elizabeth his queen brought him a numerous iſſue, namely, three princes, and eight princeſſes, of whom one ſon and two daughters died in their infancy [s]. We ſhall ſee preſently the fate of his eldeſt ſon Edward his ſucceſſor, and of his brother Richard duke of York.

[p] Jane Shore.

[q] From Frances Plantagenet, his ſecond daughter, married to Thomas Monk, eſq; was deſcended the late George Monk duke of Albemarle. Sandf. p. 449, 450.

[r] King Edward was buried at Windſor, in the collegiate chapel begun by him, and finiſhed by the lord Reginald Bray. He is ſaid to have taken a thouſand pounds a year from Eaton and King's College, to beſtow on this his new foundation at Windſor. He alſo repaired the caſtles of Nottingham and Dover, the Tower of London, his palace at Eltham, &c. Stow, p. 433. Habington, p. 479.

[s] The ſon was called George, who being a child, was created duke of Bedford, and ſhortly after dying, was buried at Windſor. The two daughters were, Margaret, (the ſixth daughter, buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, with a Latin Epitaph:) The other's name is not mentioned. See Sandford, p. 418, 419.

Eli-

Elizabeth the eldeſt of his daughters [t] was promiſed in marriage to the dauphin, ſon of Lewis XI. afterwards king of France by the name of Charles VIII. In proceſs of time, ſhe was married to Henry VII. king of England. Edw. IV. 1483.

Cecily, who was affianced to the prince of Scotland, eſpouſed the lord viſcount Wells, and after his death, another, whoſe name I know not, ſhe died without iſſue [u].

Ann was contracted to Philip, ſon of Maximilian of Auſtria and Maria of Burgundy. But that marriage not taking effect, ſhe eſpouſed Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk, by whom ſhe had two ſons, who died without iſſue.

Bridget was a nun, at Dartford.

Mary, who was promiſed to the king of Denmark, died at Greenwich before her marriage was ſolemnized.

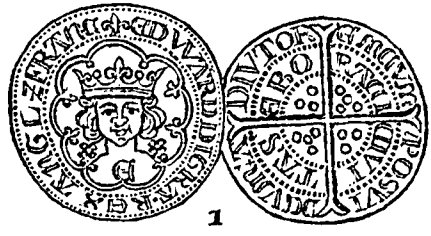
Catherine, whom the king her father would have given to the infante of Spain, was married to William Courtney earl of Devonſhire, by whom ſhe had a ſon created marquiſs of Exeter, in the reign of Henry VIII.

It muſt be remarked, that in the Engliſh hiſtories there is a continual anachroniſm of a year, and ſometimes of two, from 1474, to the end of this reign [w].

[t] Born at Weſtminſter, Feb. 11. 1466. Idem, p. 417.

[u] She had by Wells two daughters, Elizabeth who died without iſſue, and Ann Wells, buried at the Auguſtin Fryers. Cecily's ſecond huſband was one Kyme of Lincolnſhire, by whom ſhe had no children. She was buried at Quarera in the Iſle of Wight. Idem. p. 418.

[w] In this reign flouriſhed ſeveral eminent men, particularly Thomas Littleton, judge of the Common Pleas, and John Forteſcue judge and chancellor of England. In the year 1483, the laſt of this reign, was born Thomas Parr, a Shropſhire man, noted for his extraordinary great age. He lived to the year 1635, being then brought up to London by the earl of Arundel, as a great rarity, where he died, after having lived in the reigns of ten kings and queens, aged a hundred and fifty-two years.



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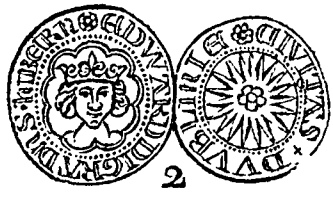

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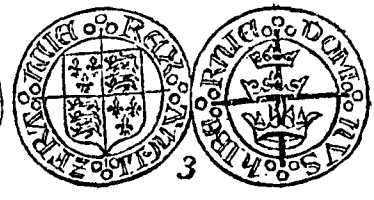

3

By an indenture of the 4th of Edward IV. a pound weight of gold of the old ſtandard, was to make by tale twenty pounds ſixteen ſhillings and eight-pence; and a pound weight of ſilver, old ſterling, was to make thirty ſeven ſhillings and ſix-pence. By other indentures of the 5th, 8th, 11th, 16th, and 22d of the ſame king, a pound weight of gold of the old ſtandard, was to make forty five nobles, going for ten ſhillings a-piece, or ninety half nobles, or one hundred and eighty quarter nobles, or ſixty ſeven and a half of the pieces impreſſed with angels, going for ſix ſhillings and eight-pence each, and conſequently was coined into twenty two pounds ten ſhillings by tale; and the ſilver monies were ſhorn at thirty ſeven ſhillings and ſix-pence the pound weight troy. Theſe indentures were made between the king, and the lord Haſtings his chamberlain, maſter, worker, and warden, of all his exchanges and outchanges in England and Calais. King Edward IVth's monies are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of Edward III. by the form of the letters, particularly ⊓ which is not made like an H, as in thoſe of Edward III. as alſo by the weight, his groats being above twenty grains lighter: moreover, the title of Ireland is wanting on his coins. The outer circle on the groats is wanting, leaving the letters extended to the very edge, and generally worn part away, in other reſpects like his predeceſſors; and of ſeveral mints, as London, York, Canterbury, Briſtol; ſome of them, beſides the name of the place of mintage on the reverſe, have the initial letters E. C. B. on the king's breaſt. (Fig. 1.) The Iriſh groats have the king's heads within a roſe, and generally make no mention at all of England, with the place of coinage on the reverſe, as Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford; the power of coining money being taken from other places. Theſe fall ſhort of the Engliſh groats near ten grains; the firſt difference betwixt the ſtandards of the Engliſh and Iriſh money beginning in this reign. Of this Iriſh money there is

one

one piece having on the reverſe, CIVITAS. DVBLINIE. with a large ſtar, that fills the whole area: This is reckoned a great curioſity. (Fig. 2.) There is another in Speed, having on one ſide the arms of France and England quartered, inſcribed, REX. ANGEI. Z. FRANCIE. Reverſe, three crowns, denoting the three kingdoms, DOMINVS. HIBERNIE. (Fig. 3.) The Ryal is like Henry Vth's roſe noble, only here is added a flag at the ſtern of the ſhip, wherein is the letter E. EDWARD. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC. DNS. IB. Reverſe, IHS. AVT. TRANSIENS. PER MEDIUM. ILLORV. IBAT. Inſtead of a croſs, there is a roſe in the center, with rays like a ſun, extending to the lions and fleurs-de-lis interchangeably. The angel is exactly like that of Henry VI.

17. EDWARD V.

1483. Edward V. is proclaimed. April 9.

AFTER the death of Edward IV. the prince his eldeſt ſon, between twelve and thirteen years of age, was proclaimed king by the name of Edward V. The reign of this prince was ſhort and unfortunate, if the two months and twelve days that he bore the title of king, and which were wholly ſpent in depriving him of the crown even before he ſolemnly received it, ought not rather to be deemed an interregnum. However, as during that ſhort ſpace he was generally acknowledged for ſovereign of England, hiſtorians have made no ſcruple to rank him among the kings. The whole ſubject of this reign conſiſts only of the means uſed by the duke of Gloceſter to diſpoſſeſs the young king his nephew, and place himſelf on the throne. But before I enter upon the relation of theſe deteſtable practices, it will be neceſſary to ſhow the ſtate of the court of England before the death of Edward IV.

State of the court before Edward's death.

Elizabeth Woodville, who from a ſubject was become queen by her marriage with Edward, held the firſt rank at court, as well by the privileges common to all queens, as by her great credit. From the time of her marriage ſhe had acquired an influence over the king, which ſhe preſerved to the day of his death. Her birth by her father's ſide was not very conſiderable[a]: but her mother, who had been wife of the famous duke of Bedford, was of the houſe of Luxemburgh, illuſtrious for the princes, kings, and emperors it had given to Europe. So, conſidering Elizabeth as derived from thence, it is not at all ſtrange ſhe ſhould have a great ſoul, and think herſelf as worthy to command as the nobleſt lords of England. However, as being queen gave her no right to interpoſe in the public affairs, ſhe artfully aſſumed it by her aſcendant over the king. Though Edward often proved falſe to her, ſhe bore it with patience, and without any ſigns of uneaſineſs. Edward, charmed to find himſelf at liberty to purſue his inclinations without danger of continual reproaches, repaid this moderation with all ſorts of condeſcenſions, which the queen knew how to improve. The advancement of ſir Richard

[a] The firſt mention of that family is in 37 Edward III. when Richard de Wydville was conſtituted ſheriff of Northamptonſhire, and governor of the caſtle there. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 230.

Woodville,

Woodville, her father, to the honour of earl Rivers [b], and the marriage of her brother with the richeſt heireſs of the kingdom, were the firſt proofs ſhe gave of her power. After that Edward heaped honours and riches upon the family, even to the deſiring to marry his brother-in-law Anthony to the king of Scotland's ſiſter [c], as appears in the Collection of the Public Acts. When the prince of Wales was of age to have a governor, that lord, become earl Rivers, was intruſted with that high office. The queen forgot not her own children by her former huſband ſir John Grey of Groby: Thomas Grey her eldeſt ſon was made marquis of Dorſet, governor of the Tower, and keeper of the king's treaſures; Richard Grey, his brother, was created a baron, and had a conſiderable poſt about the prince of Wales. Edw. V. 1483. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 171.

If the queen had confined her favours to her ſons, her father, and her brother, there would have been no reaſon to think it very ſtrange: but it cannot be denied that ſhe made an ill uſe of her power by cauſing to be created peers many perſons, who would have had no pretenſion to that honour, if they had not been ſupported by her favour. This gave occaſion to the diſtinction in thoſe days between the Ancient and the New nobility. But if this diſtinction redounded not to the honour of the laſt, that diſadvantage was amply repaired by the places of honour and profit procured them by the queen. By degrees ſhe had as it were baniſhed the ancient nobility from the court, where appeared ſcarce any but lords of the new creation, all attached to the queen. It was much the ſame in all the reſt of the kingdom, where the moſt conſiderable poſts were filled by ſuch as the queen knew to be her creatures. Her aim was to preſerve her power during the king's life, and in caſe ſhe ſurvived him, to ſecure the government of the kingdom in her ſon's name, when he ſhould be on the throne. But by a fatality very common to the beſt contrived projects, this very thing proved the occaſion of her own and her family's ruin. Two parties at court, the Old and the New nobility.

The queen having thus openly declared againſt the ancient families, it is eaſy to conceive ſhe was not beloved. Accordingly ſhe took all poſſible care to hinder the lords whom ſhe did not like from having the king's ear. Mean while, it was not in her power to expel the court three lords of the ancient nobility, whom the king loved becauſe they had done him ſignal ſervices: theſe were Henry Stafford duke of Buckingham, William Haſtings, and Thomas Stanley. The king protects the new nobility Moor. Heads of the nobility.

[b] This was not the name of any place, but of an ancient family, ſometime earls of Devon. Ibid.

[c] Margaret.

Edw. V. 1483. The firſt, who was of a very ancient family [d], had moreover the advantage of being deſcended from a daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock duke of Gloceſter, ſeventh ſon of Edward III. and enjoyed the office of high-conſtable.

The duke of Buckingham.

The lord Haſtings.

The lord Haſtings [e] was high-chamberlain. The king had a ſingular affection for him, becauſe of his conſtant loyalty, of which he had given proofs in the time of his adverſity, particularly when he was forced to fly into Holland. This lord was extremely attached to the king's perſon, but loved not the queen; if he paid her any reſpect, it was with reluctance and ſolely out of complaiſance to the king his maſter.

The lord Stanley.

The lord Stanley [f], of an ancient family, was in the ſame diſpoſitions: he was devoted to the king, without making much court to the queen.

Jane Shore king Edward's miſtreſs. Moor.

The king's concubines held likewiſe a conſiderable rank at court, by reaſon of their influence over him. There were three eſpecially, of whom Jane Shore alone was concerned in the events of this new reign: ſhe was wife to a citizen of London, whom Edward had debauched and taken from her huſband. She was ſurpriſingly beautiful, and withal of a generoſity very uncommon in perſons of her character. The king was as much in love with her temper as her beauty. He never heard her ſpeak ill of any perſon, nor ever perceived her to try to prejudice him againſt any man whatever. If ſhe importuned him ſometimes, it was in behalf of the unfortunate. When ſhe had done a good office, ſhe ſcorned to take a reward, being unwilling to give occaſion to think ſhe acted from a motive of intereſt. And therefore ſhe had amaſſed but few riches, in compariſon of other concubines, whoſe greedineſs can never be ſatisfied.

Diſſimulation of the duke of Gloceſter. Moor.

The duke of Gloceſter, the king's brother, was embarraſſed between the two parties formed at court and in the kingdom. The only way to pleaſe the king, was to make court to the queen. But on the other hand, the duke, perceiving the queen's aim was to ingroſs the government in caſe the king happened to die, could not be attached to her, without forfeiting the affection of the ancient nobility, of which he might one day ſtand in need. As he was naturally a great

[d] He was deſcended from Robert de Stafford, who, at the time of the general ſurvey in the reign of William I. poſſeſſed two lordſhips in Suffolk, one in Northamptonſhire, one in Worceſterſhire, twenty in Lincolnſhire, twenty-ſix in Warwickſhire, and eighty-one in Staffordſhire. Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. p. 156.

[e] Anceſtor of the earl of Huntington.

[f] Anceſtor of the earl of Derby.

diſſembler,

diſſembler, he reſolved to make his court publicly to the queen, but in private he joined with the duke of Buckingham, the lord Haſtings, and the lord Stanley. Edw. V. 1483.

It is needleſs to ſay much of the two young princes the king's ſons, the eldeſt of whom was but twelve, and the duke of York, his brother, but nine years old when their father died. It will ſuffice to ſay, that before Edward IV. was ſeized with the diſtemper that laid him in his grave, he had ſent the prince his eldeſt ſon, with the earl Rivers his governor, into Wales, to appeaſe ſome commotions [g]. The young duke of York remained at court with the queen his mother. Edward IV. ſends his eldeſt ſon into Wales. Moor.

Edward ſaw with ſome concern the two parties that were formed in his court: but his affection for the queen not ſuffering him to hold the balance even, he took no care to prevent the conſequences. So long as he enjoyed his health, he imagined that during his life he ſhould be always maſter of both, and by ſtrengthening the nobility, hinder the old from being able to prejudice the queen and her children after his death. But when he came to die, he beheld this diviſion in another light: he conſidered that he left for ſupport to his houſe only new families, which had not had time to eſtabliſh themſelves, and owed all their authority and credit entirely to his favour, of which they were going to be deprived. This thought affecting him greatly, he conſidered how to repair his error, and in his preſent condition found no better way than to perſuade the two parties to be reconciled for his ſake. Weak expedient! which could hardly produce the deſired effect. The regard for a dying king, never beloved by the ancient nobility, was little capable of extinguiſhing their hatred and envy of the queen's relations, which unhappily had been too much fomented. However, before he expired, Edward had at leaſt the ſatisfaction to ſee this reconciliation, which he thought ſincere, becauſe of the ſeeming readineſs and chearfulneſs wherewith both parties conſented to his requeſt. The lord Rivers being abſent, the queen his ſiſter paſſed her word for him; and the marquis of Dorſet her eldeſt ſon, as repreſenting the family of Grey, embraced the duke of Buckingham and the lord Haſtings, who were the heads of the oppoſite party. The duke of Glo- Reconciliation of the two parties before Edward's death Moor.

[g] The prince was then at Ludlow in Shropſhire, that by his preſence he might compoſe the diſorders of the Welſh; who, though not in actual rebellion, yet were grown ſo unruly and diſobedient to their governors and ſuperiors, that the magiſtrates, with all their power, were not able to ſuppreſs the diſſenſions and diſorders, robberies and wrongs committed by them. Moor, p. 481.

Edw. V. 1483. ceſter being then at York upon the king's affairs, had it not in his power to obſtruct this reconciliation, which indeed would have been very much to his prejudice had it been ſincere.

Meaſures of both parties to ſeize the government

As ſoon as Edward's eyes were cloſed, the two parties, forgetting their mutual proteſtations of friendſhip, thought only of gaining the advantage one of another. Mean while, they unanimouſly agreed to proclaim the deceaſed king's eldeſt ſon by the name of Edward V. That done, each took ſuch meaſures as were thought moſt proper to attain his ends. The chief point was to become maſter of the king's perſon, in order to govern in his name. The queen hoped to maintain and even to encreaſe her authority, during the king her ſon's minority; and the other party ſaw themſelves irrecoverably loſt, if the young prince was once in the hands of his mother. However, thus far the advantage was entirely on the queen's ſide. Immediately after the death of the king her huſband, ſhe had diſpatched a courier to the lord Rivers her brother with the news: ſhe told him withal in the letter, that ſhe believed it abſolutely neceſſary for him to raiſe forces in Wales and the adjoining counties, to enable him to conduct the new king ſafely to London, in order to his coronation.

Buckingham and Haſtings ſtir up Gloceſter to ſeize the king's perſon. Moor.

On the other ſide, the duke of Buckingham and the lord Haſtings ſent an expreſs to the duke of Gloceſter [h], acquainting him with the king's death and the queen's meaſures; and withal repreſenting to him, that being the king's uncle by the father's ſide, the government of the realm belonged to him during the minority; but if he did not prevent the queen it would be in vain to expect afterwards to obtain his due right: in fine, that at all adventures they offered him a thouſand men well armed, and ready to march at the word of command.

They deſign only to remove the queen from the government. Moor.

It is very difficult to judge, whether before the death of Edward IV. the duke of Gloceſter had thought of mounting the throne to the prejudice of his nephews: but it is ſcarce to be doubted that he formed this deſign the moment he heard of his brother's deceaſe. All his after proceedings too plainly appear to be conſequences of a ſcheme laid to compaſs that end. As for the lord Haſtings, his ſole intention was certainly to take the government out of the hands of the queen and her relations. His conſtant attachment to Edward IV. would never have ſuffered him to be concerned in a plot to dethrone his ſon. As for the duke of Buckingham, his con-

h He was then at York, to keep all things quiet in thoſe parts. Compl. Hiſt. Moor, p. 482.

duct

duct is more ambiguous: beſides his hatred of the queen and her family, he had always preſerved a particular regard for the duke of Gloceſter, which gives occaſion to ſuſpect he had joined with him at firſt in the deſign to place him on the throne. However, the hiſtorians aſcribe to him (at leaſt in the beginning of this reign) the ſame intention only with the lord Haſtings, namely, to remove the queen from the government of the king's perſon and of the realm. Be this as it will, the duke of Gloceſter, upon news of the king's death, ſent back the expreſs with orders to deſire the duke of Buckingham and the lord Haſtings to come and confer with him at Northampton. Edw. V. 1483.

Conference at Northampton.

Theſe two lords, with ſome others of their party, repairing to the place appointed, the duke of Gloceſter, in a long ſpeech, demonſtrated to them the great and impending danger, if the queen was poſſeſſed of the government. He told them, "They would be expoſed to the mercy of an imperious woman and of the two families of Rivers and Grey, newly raiſed by the king his brother, who would never think themſelves perfectly ſafe, till thoſe whom they conſidered as their rivals and enemies were deſtroyed. That the late king had kept them by his authority within ſome bounds, but when they ſhould be poſſeſſed of the ſupreme power in the name of the young king, nothing would be capable of curbing their inſolence. He added, that no perſon had more right, or was more concerned than himſelf to take care of the affairs of the kingdom, during the minority of the king his nephew. That every one knew his conſtant attachment to the king his brother, and therefore his tender affection for his children ſuffered him not to leave them to the mercy of thoſe who had never appeared to have any other view than their own advancement. That for theſe reaſons he was reſolved zealouſly to apply himſelf to promote to the utmoſt of his power the good of the nation and the honour of his nephew, principally by giving him an education that ſhould render him capable of treading in the ſteps of his illuſtrious anceſtors. But that he could not hope to execute ſuch a project without the aſſiſtance of all honeſt men, and particularly of thoſe to whom he was ſpeaking, who, without doubt, had like him no other view than the nation's welfare and glory. That he had aſſembled them to conſult with them upon what was to be done in the preſent emergency, being reſolved not to proceed without their advice."

The duke of Gloceſter's ſpeech to his friends.

Edw. V. 1483. This ſpeech meeting with applauſe, all the lords entered into a ſerious debate concerning the means to become maſter of the king's perſon. To ſucceed by force was extremely difficult: the lord Rivers had not only aſſembled a good number of troops, but it would have been alſo very eaſy for him to conduct the king to London before they were in condition to prevent it: beſides, they would have given him too great an advantage, if without any apparent neceſſity they had begun ſo ſoon to take up arms. Such a ſtep would have infallibly cauſed the people to ſide with their enemies, and been looked upon as tending to obſtruct the king's coronation. Theſe conſiderations made the lords reſolve to uſe policy. To that end they agreed, that they ſhould continue to ſhew a great zeal for the king, in order to deprive the queen of all pretence to raiſe forces, or keep thoſe on foot that were aſſembled by the lord Rivers. That the duke of Gloceſter ſhould try to perſuade her to diſmiſs theſe troops as uſeleſs. That in caſe he ſucceeded, it ſhould be endeavoured to become maſter of the king before his arrival at London; but if on the contrary the queen was bent to keep theſe forces, ſhe was to be amuſed with negociations till her deſigns could be openly oppoſed.

Reſult of the conference. Moor.

Haſtings returns to London. The duke of Gloceſter's letter to the queen. Moor.

The conference being ended, the lord Haſtings poſted to London, where his preſence was neceſſary by reaſon of his great intereſt in the city. Preſently after, the duke of Gloceſter ſent the queen a letter[i] of condolence upon the king's death, expreſſing an extreme affection for the young prince his ſucceſſor, and an extraordinary reſpect for her. After this beginning, he told her, "He beheld with great joy all "hearts united in the ſame ſentiments, which made him hope "that the king his nephew would paſs his minority in a per- "fect tranquillity. That for his part he would do all that "lay in his power to keep the people in the obedience due "to their ſovereign, by giving them himſelf an example of "unlimited ſubmiſſion. That he did not queſtion ſhe would "likewiſe contribute to cauſe all the king's ſubjects to enjoy "the peace and quiet they had reaſon to expect. That "therefore he took the freedom to adviſe her to uſe her en- "deavours to diſpel the old jealouſies among the great men,

[i] Sir Thomas Moor does not ſay, that he ſent the queen ſuch a letter, but only that he ſecretly and by divers means cauſed the queen to be perſuaded, that it was unneceſſary and would be dangerous for the king to come to London with an army of attendants. See in Hall, fol. 5. He and his aſſociates ſent letters; but it was to the lord Rivers, and others of the queen's friends that were about the king's perſon. Idem, fol. 6.

"and

" and confirm by her prudence the reconciliation lately made Edw. V.
" before the king her huſband's death. That his advice was 1483.
" that without affection or prejudice, care ſhould be taken to
" reward merit wherever it was found, that no man might
" juſtly complain of being neglected for mere party-concerns.
" That this was chiefly to be endeavoured, leſt by acting
" otherwiſe, diviſions, which ought to be buried in eternal
" oblivion, ſhould be renewed. That therefore he could
" not forbear telling her, he was ſurprized to hear that lord
" Rivers was gathering forces to conduct the king to Lon-
" don, ſince they ſeemed to be entirely needleſs. That he
" was really convinced of the goodneſs of her intention,
" but it was to be feared, this proceeding would be ill-con-
" ſtrued. That troops, raiſed upon the frivolous pretence
" of providing for the king's ſafety, when none appeared
" to give him any diſturbance, could not but breed ſuſpi-
" cions in the oppoſite party lately reconciled. That the
" precautions ſeveral lords would undoubtedly take, to ſcreen
" themſelves from the miſchiefs they would have reaſon to
" dread, were the natural and infallible fruits of theſe ſuſpi-
" cions. That therefore, to avoid a groundleſs peril, and
" by a needleſs precaution, the peace of the whole kingdom
" was indangered. That when once theſe ſuſpicions ſhould
" take root, and two armies be on foot in the kingdom, God
" alone knew what might be the event. That for theſe
" reaſons, of which doubtleſs ſhe perceived the ſtrength, he
" adviſed her to diſmiſs her troops, that all the nobles of the
" realm might come without fear and ſuſpicion, to pay
" their reſpects to their young ſovereign, and contribute,
" each according to his power, to the preſervation of peace
" and union in the ſtate."

The queen falls into the ſnare.

The queen very imprudently followed the advice of which ſhe perceived not the venom. She thought it was the ſooner to be complied with, as it came from a brother-in-law, who had always been firm to the intereſts of the late king, and ſtill ſhewed himſelf very zealous for her and her children. During Edward IV's life, the duke of Gloceſter had been very reſpectful to the queen, ſo that ſhe had no reaſon to ſuſpect him. Beſides, there was not in his letter a ſingle word to induce her to think he intended to diſpute the government with her. In fine, ſhe conſidered, the duke could not aſpire to the crown, without ſupplanting two nephews, and five nieces, who were not in his power. This alone would have been capable to remove her ſuſpicions, ſuppoſing ſhe could have entertained any. So, believing herſelf ſufficiently

Edw. V. 1483.

ciently ſupported, ſince the duke of Gloceſter expreſſed ſo great an attachment to her intereſts, ſhe writ to the lord Rivers her brother, that ſhe thought it proper, he ſhould diſmiſs his troops, for fear of raiſing jealouſies without occaſion. The earl immediately obeyed her orders, and keeping only the king's domeſtics, began his journey to conduct him to London.

Rivers carries the king to London without a guard.

The young king approaching Northampton, the dukes of Gloceſter and Buckingham, who had brought into the town nine hundred armed men[k], went to meet him and ſaluted him very reſpectfully. In diſcourſing with the lord Rivers, they told him, the town of Northampton was ſo full of ſtrangers, and ill provided with proviſions and other conveniences, that it would be very incommodious for theirs, and the king's retinue to lodge in that place. Then, they adviſed him to carry the king to Stony Stratford which is but twelve miles further in the road to London. They added, for their part, they would return to Northampton, and wait upon the king in the morning, before he ſat out. Upon parting, one of them propoſed to the earl, in a free and eaſy manner, as if it had been a ſudden thought, to go and paſs the night with them at Northampton, whilſt the king reſted at Stony Stratford. The earl not ſuſpecting their deſign, complied with the kind invitation. He was even glad of an occaſion to cement their mutual reconciliation, by this mark of confidence.

The duke of Gloceſter and his friends go and meet the king. Moor.

They perſuade Rivers to go with them to Northampton.

The three lords being come to Northampton, ſpent the evening together in perfect harmony, with mutual proteſtations of friendſhip and offers of ſervice. Bed-time being come, the earl Rivers withdrew to his lodgings. But the other two paſſed the reſt of the night in conſulting what was to be done, ſince the earl had indiſcreetly put himſelf into their hands. Their conſultation being ended, they ſecured the keys of the inn where they lodged, under colour that they would be the firſt that ſhould attend the king in the morning. For the greater precaution, they ſent a good number of men to line the way, and ſuffer no perſon whatever to enter Stony Stratford. At break of day they were ready to mount, whilſt the lord Rivers was ſtill in bed. Mean time, one of his people waking him, and telling him, the dukes of Gloceſter and Buckingham were ready to depart, and that no body was ſuffered to go out of the inn, he immediately put on his cloaths, to know the reaſon of that pro-

They careſs him very much; Moor.

[k] And had lain there ſome days. Moor, p. 483.

ceeding. But he found them in a very different diſpoſition from that wherein he had left them ſome hours before. Upon his approach they began to quarrel with him[l], taxing him with alienating the king's affection from his moſt faithful ſubjects, adding, they ſhould take care to prevent the like practices for the future. The earl began to return a calm anſwer to this accuſation, but refuſing to hear him, they committed him to the cuſtody of ſome of their ſervants, and mounting their horſes rid away to the king. Edw. V. 1483. and afterwards arreſt him;

They found the young prince ready to depart, and paying him their reſpects re-mounted in order to attend him. Before they were out of the town, they quarrelled with the lord Richard Grey, the king's half-brother, and charged him that jointly with the marquis of Dorſet his brother and the lord Rivers his uncle, he had conſpir'd to become maſter of the king's perſon: and that the marquis of Dorſet had moreover taken out of the Tower, the treaſure committed to his cuſtody by the late king. Whereupon the king ſaid, that for what concerned the marquis of Dorſet he could ſay nothing, but would anſwer for the conduct of the lord Rivers and the lord Grey, ſince they had been continually with him. To this the duke of Buckingham replied, they had taken care to conceal their plots from his highneſs, which however were not the leſs certain. At the ſame time, he ordered his people to arreſt the lord Grey, with ſir Thomas Vaughan and ſir Richard Hawſe, and inſtead of proceeding to London, carried the king back to Northampton[m]. The ſame or next day the priſoners were conducted to Pontfract caſtle[n], the governor whereof was the duke of Gloceſter's creature. The king appeared extremely concerned for the diſgrace of his brother and uncle, as well as for the violence to his own perſon. But he had no way to free himſelf from his new governors, but his tears, which were little regarded. Mean while, they paid him outwardly all the reverence uſually paid to a ſovereign, in order to blind the eyes of the people by theſe marks of reſpect and ſubmiſſion. and likewiſe the lord Grey and two knights Moor. They ſend them to Pontfract. They ſeize upon the king.

The news being brought to the queen, ſhe perceived her error in relying on the duke of Gloceſter, and ſuſpected immediately that he would not ſtop there, and that he had formed The queen takes ſanctuary in Weſtminſter with her children, Moor.

[l] When he aſked them the reaſon of their keeping the keys of the inn. Moor, p. 484.

[m] And diſplaced all ſuch perſons as had offices about the king, and in whom they could not entirely confide. Moor, ibid.

[n] They were at firſt ſent into ſeveral priſons in the north for a time, and afterwards removed to Pontfract caſtle. Moor, ibid.

deſigns

Edw. V. 1483. designs ſtill more deſtructive to the royal family. So, finding herſelf deprived of the aſſiſtance of her brother and ſons, as well as of their counſels, ſhe ſaw no other refuge, than with the duke of York her ſon and the reſt of her family to take ſanctuary in Weſtminſter-Abby[o].

The lord Haſtings, then at London, hated the queen, as I obſerved, but loved the king and all Edward IV's family. It is true, he was engaged in Gloceſter's and Buckingham's plot, but it was with a belief that it tended only to hinder the queen from aſſuming the government, which he thought juſt and reaſonable. He had intelligence in the night of what had paſſed at Northampton, and inſtantly ſent the news to Dr. Rotheram the archbiſhop of York and lord chancellor, aſſuring him withal, he had no reaſon to be alarmed: that the king's perſon was in no danger, and very ſhortly what had happened would turn to the welfare of the kingdom. The archbiſhop riſing that moment went to the queen, and carried the great ſeal along with him. He found her in a diſconſolate condition, ſitting upon the ground, lamenting her own and her childrens fate, whilſt her domeſtics were buſy in carrying ſuch goods as were neceſſary into the ſanctuary. He endeavoured to comfort her, telling her what the lord Haſtings had declared to him. But he found her very backward to believe, that any good could come from ſuch an enemy. Then the prelate, to give her hope, told her, the king's perſon was ſafe, ſince the duke of York his brother was not in the power of thoſe whom ſhe conſidered as her enemies. He added, if they ſhould be ſo audacious as to put the king to death, or give the crown to another, he aſſured her he would immediately crown the duke of York. In fine, to give her all poſſible aſſurance of his fidelity, he left the great ſeal with her. But reflecting afterwards upon his error, in reſigning ſo precious a pledge committed to him by the late king, he ſent for it again as ſoon as he came home.

Moor.

The archbiſhop of York gives her marks of his fidelity.

Mean while, the whole city of London was in commotion. Several citizens had even taken up arms, not knowing what might be the event of the news they had juſt received, which probably was very much aggravated. The lord Haſtings being ſenſible, that an inſurrection at London might break the meaſures of his friends at Northampton, inſtantly came into the city, and as his credit was great among the citizens, he aſſured them that the king was in no danger: That indeed the earl Rivers, the lord Grey, and ſome others,

Tumult at London appeaſed by Haſtings. Moor.

[o] In the middle of the night. Ibid.

were

were arreſted for conſpiring againſt the dukes of Gloceſter and Buckingham, but would be brought to a legal trial: that however, it was no juſt reaſon for them to take up arms, and it was to be feared they would be called to an account for the tumult, if they did not lay them down as readily as they had taken them up. The citizens ſuppoſing the lord Haſtings to be perfectly informed, by reaſon he was of the duke of Buckingham's party, retired to their houſes, being unwilling to concern themſelves with the quarrels of the great men. Edw. V. 1483.

Shortly after, the dukes of Gloceſter and Buckingham conducted the king to London, paying him all the reſpect due to his dignity. As they travelled along, they cauſed a report to be ſpread, that the lord Rivers and the reſt of the priſoners at Pontfract had intended to kill them; and their ſervants ſhewed the people barrels of arms, which were ſaid to be found among the baggage of the conſpirators. The news of the extraordinary reſpect paid the king, flying to London before his arrival, the city grew more quiet, becauſe there was reaſon to believe, there had been no attempt upon the king's perſon or dignity. At his approach, the people went out in crowds to receive him, and the young king entered the city [p], attended by a great number of lords, and particularly by the duke of Gloceſter, who followed him bare-headed [q]. He was lodged in the biſhop's palace, to ſhew the citizens the great confidence placed in them, and that his ſafety only was conſulted [r]. This management entirely removed the ſuſpicions againſt the duke of Gloceſter, raiſed by the Northampton affair. The king is brought to London. Moor.

The rejoicings for the king's ſafe arrival being ended, it was neceſſary to think of ſettling the government during his minority, which was to laſt ſeven years. The moſt natural way would have been to call a parliament, as was practiſed after the death of Henry V. But as, during a parliament, all other authority would have ceaſed, till the government was regulated, the duke of Gloceſter did not think fit to part with the power he had acquired by ſeizing the king's perſon. Indeed he might have expected, that the parliament would confer on him the dignity of protector of the realm, ſince he was the only prince of the blood capable of holding the reins of the government. But at the ſame time the care The duke of Gloceſter calls a grand council. Moor.

[p] On the 4th of May. Moor, p. 486.

[q] He rode bare-headed before him, and often with a loud voice ſaid to the people, "Behold your prince and ſovereign." Ibid.

[r] At the biſhop's palace, the duke of Gloceſter did the king homage, and invited all the nobility to do the ſame. Ibid.

of

Edw. V. 1483. of the young king's perſon and education would have been certainly committed to others. It is a conſtant and very juſt rule not to truſt a minor king to thoſe that may be gainers by his ruin. But this was what the duke of Gloceſter feared above all things. He reſolved to continue maſter of the king's perſon, otherwiſe it would have been very difficult to accompliſh his deſigns. Theſe conſiderations made him think it more agreeable to his intereſts to call a great council, and not ſummon a parliament till he had ſecured the crown. This council conſiſting chiefly of the antient nobility and the duke of Gloceſter's friends, declared him protector of the king and kingdom, uſurping a privilege belonging only to the parliament. But as I have often obſerved, it is eaſier to cauſe the parliament to confirm what is done, than induce it to do what is deſired.

He is declared protector.

Doubtful behaviour of the protector.

The ſeizing of the king's perſon, and the getting himſelf declared protector, were the two firſt ſteps by which the duke of Gloceſter intended to mount the throne. Each had its fair and foul ſide. In the firſt place, after the death of Edward IV. the queen and her relations having no right to ſeize the government of the realm, it could not be thought ſtrange, that the duke of Gloceſter ſhould aſſume near the king the rank to which he was intitled by his birth. But his fraud and violence to the queen's relations gave occaſion to ſuſpect, he had formed deeper deſigns. In the next place, nothing was more natural than to ſee the king's uncle protector of the realm. But at the ſame time, his affecting to obtain that dignity, without vouchſafing to call a parliament, and his cauſing to be annexed to the office of protector of the realm, that of protector of the king, which ſhould have been ſeparated from it, was an extraordinary proceeding, which might have raiſed juſt ſuſpicions. And yet the conſequence was not perceived till it was too late to prevent it. But for fear theſe irregularities might open peoples eyes, the duke took care to conceal himſelf under the vail of an extraordinary zeal for the king his nephew's intereſts, and a great reſpect for his perſon.

Alterations at court. Moor.

As ſoon as the duke was declared protector, he took the great ſeal from archbiſhop Rotheram, who had given him a very plauſible pretence and delivered it to the biſhop of Lincoln[s]. The duke of Buckingham and the lord Haſtings were confirmed in their places; but there were great alterations

[s] John Ruſſel, a wiſe and good man, and of very great experience in the ſtate affairs. Moor, p. 486.

made

made in all the reſt of the poſts, the new protector putting in his own creatures in the room of the queen's, who filled them before. Though the lord Haſtings was not truſted with his principal deſign, he did not deſpair of gaining him, when his affairs ſhould be more advanced. Beſides, Haſtings was a mortal enemy to the queen and her family, and had a great intereſt in London. This was ſufficient then, for without knowing it, he could be ſerviceable to the protector in executing his projects, which it was not yet proper to diſcover. Edw. V. 1483. Reaſon for retaining the lord Haſtings.

To proceed with any appearance of ſucceſs in his deſign, it was neceſſary for the duke of Gloceſter to have the young duke of York in his power as well as the king his brother. To dethrone or murder the king would have been to no purpoſe, ſo long as the duke of York was out of reach. For he would ſtill have had the ſame thing to act over again. In order to accompliſh that deſign, he moved in the council whether it would not be requiſite to get the duke of York out of the queen's hands, and place him with the king his brother. He made upon this occaſion a very long ſpeech, wherein, after teſtifying an extraordinary zeal for the royal family, and confirming what he ſaid with a great oath, he diſplayed the reaſons which required the young prince's removal from the queen. The firſt was, "That the queen's "flying to ſanctuary without any apparent danger to herſelf "or family, could not but be conſtrued as an affront to "the government. In the ſecond place, her ſole aim muſt "have been to raiſe diſturbances by making the people be- "lieve the king was in danger, ſince no other conſequence "could be inferred from her conduct. That therefore it "was neceſſary to undeceive the people by procuring the "duke of York, and cauſing him to be educated according "to his quality. That the more viſible the queen's malice "was, the more it ſhould be endeavoured to prevent its ef- "fects. That it was manifeſt, ſhe was ſtriving to form in "the kingdom a party capable of ſetting her at the head of "affairs, as ſhe was in the late reign. That it was with "difficulty and by great chance, that they were freed from "the imperious rule of that princeſs and her family; but if "the king ſhould happen to die, the realm would be again "plunged into the ſame calamities, ſince ſhe had the lawful "heir in her power. On the other hand, it was neceſſary "to conſider what foreigners would ſay when they heard, "that whilſt one of Edward IV's ſons was crowned, the "other was forced to keep in ſanctuary. That it would be "diſhonorable to the government to ſuffer themſelves to be The protector moves in council to take the duke of York from the queen. Moor.

Edw. V. 1483.

"thus braved by a woman, who had attempted to cauſe the "king's council to be conſidered as enemies of the royal "family. That beſides, the king being young and wanting "ſome diverſion, he could not have a more agreeable com- "panion than his own brother, and there was no reaſon to "keep them aſunder. In fine, it would be indecent to pro- "ceed to the coronation in the abſence of the duke of York "the ſecond perſon in the ſtate, who having an evident "right to be preſent, could not be debarred of it without "injuſtice. Upon all theſe accounts, he concluded that a "truſty perſon ſhould be ſent to the queen, to deſire her to "deliver the duke of York to the king his brother. He "added, that in his opinion, the cardinal archbiſhop of "Canterbury[t], was the propereſt perſon for that office. "That if, notwithſtanding all the archbiſhop's arguments, "ſhe ſhould obſtinately keep the young prince with her, "and perſiſt in her groundleſs ſuſpicions, he ſaw no reaſon "why the council ſhould not take him away by force. This "was his opinion, and he deſired every member of the "council to ſpeak his own with freedom."

The archbiſhop of Canterbury is ſent to the queen. He is againſt violating the ſanctuary. Moor.

The cardinal readily took upon him to acquaint the queen with the council's pleaſure, but by no means approved the motion of violating the privilege of ſanctuary. He ſaid, the church of Weſtminſter was conſecrated five hundred years ago by St. Peter himſelf, who deſcended from heaven[u], attended by multitudes of angels. That no king of England had ever dared to violate that ſanctuary, and that ſuch an attempt would certainly draw down the juſt vengeance of God upon the whole kingdom.

Buckingham's reaſons for it.

The duke of Buckingham replied with great warmth to this part of the cardinal's ſpeech. He ſhewed that ſanctuaries were intended only to protect ſuch as had reaſon to fear oppreſſion and violence, and not to countenance frivolous and malicious ſuſpicions, detrimental to the king and kingdom. After many ſharp reflections againſt the queen, he enlarged upon the abuſes of ſanctuaries, particularly as they afforded thoſe who fled thither means to eſcape. He added, though the duke of York was neither guilty nor oppreſſed, there was room to fear the queen his mother would carry him out of the kingdom, which might one day give the queen opportunity to invade England, by the help of ſome foreign prince, upon frivolous pretences, which would never be wanting. In fine, after alledging ſeveral other reaſons, he agreed with

[t] Thomas Bourchier.

[u] In the night. See Moor, p. 487.

the

the protector to take the duke of York by force out of the sanctuary, if the queen refused to deliver him freely. This matter being taken into consideration, the opinion of the protector and the duke of Buckingham prevailed, notwithstanding the opposition of most of the ecclesiastics there present. Edw. V. 1483.

The cardinal being come to the queen [u], used all possible arguments to induce her to comply, and to persuade her that neither the king, nor herself, nor the duke of York were in danger. He spoke with the greater assurance, as he was satisfied of the truth of what he said, never suspecting the duke of Gloucester of having ill designs. For, as to the violence used to the queen's relations, he considered it as no great hurt. Besides, as he was ignorant whether they were innocent, he did not think it any great injustice to detain them some time in prison, in order to prevent their disturbing the kingdom by their immoderate ambition. But all his eloquence was not capable to persuade the queen, who plainly saw in the duke of Gloucester's conduct too much reason to strengthen her fears. At last, the cardinal perceiving his arguments were fruitless, told her, that the council, apprehensive of her carrying the prince her son out of the kingdom, had resolved to take him by force out of his sanctuary, if she obstinately insisted upon keeping him there. The queen hearing these menaces, dwelt upon the privileges of sanctuaries, which was entirely needless, since she spoke to a prelate who was thoroughly convinced of the same. At length, seeing herself pressed to obey the council's order, she freely declared to the cardinal the real cause of her fears. She told him, she could not help suspecting the duke of Gloucester of having designs destructive to the royal family, which he could not accomplish without having both the brothers in his power; and that the only means to preserve the king, was to keep the duke of York out of their uncle's reach. The cardinal growing warm at this discourse, replied, since she obstinately terrified herself with vain and groundless suspicions, he would say no more upon that head. That being only sent by the council, and the business not concerning him in particular, he would press her no farther, lest he should give her occasion to think him in the plot she apprehended. That however, he saw with grief her ill opinion of the members of the council: that she must believe them to be either void of understanding, not to perceive what she fancied she saw so

Conference between the queen and the archbishop. Moor.

[u] Attended by several lords of the council; the duke of Gloucester, and the rest of the council, remaining all the while in the Star-Chamber to expect the event. Moor, p. 489.

Edw. V. 1483. plainly, or elſe ſo wicked as to lend their aſſiſtance to the duke of Gloceſter. That for his part, he believed he might confidently affirm, the duke had never entertained ſuch a thought; and that the council would be very ſorry to ſee themſelves taxed with treachery or extreme imprudence. The good cardinal, to remove the queen's fears, ſaid nothing but what he really thought, becauſe he was not in the protector's confidence. Accordingly the queen felt herſelf very much ſhaken by the aſſurances of a perſon of his character. It was apparent, that if the council intended to deceive her, they would not have made him their inſtrument; and yet ſhe could not lay aſide her fears. Mean while, ſhe ſaw the cardinal ready to return, and herſelf going to be expoſed to the violence of her enemies, and obliged to do by force what was civilly deſired. So, ſuddenly reſolving to give up the young prince, ſhe caught him in her arms, tenderly took her leave of him, and with a ſhower of tears delivered him to the cardinal, who brought him to the protector. As ſoon as he ſaw his young nephew, he ran to him with open arms [w], to embrace him and give him marks of a feigned affection, telling him, he would always be to him inſtead of a father. Then he carried him to the king, who, without knowing how he came there, was overjoyed at his company. A few days after, the protector found ſome excuſe to convey them both to the Tower [x], whereas before they lodged in the heart of the city at the biſhop's palace [y].

The queen delivers up the duke of York. Moor.

The protector lodges the king and his brother in the Tower.

It is generally believed, that hitherto the duke of Gloceſter had not communicated his moſt ſecret thoughts to the duke of Buckingham, nor truſted him with them till after he had the two princes in his power. Buckingham mortally hated the queen and her family, becauſe it was through their means that the late king refuſed to give him poſſeſſion of certain lands in Herefordſhire, to which he laid claim [z]. His hatred had even paſſed to the king's perſon, though he had not dared to ſhow it. He had joined with the duke of Gloceſter, to deprive the queen and her relations of the government of the

He imparts his deſigns to the duke of Buckingham, Moor.

[w] He was brought to him in the Star-Chamber. The duke took him up into his arms, and kiſſed him, ſaying, "Now welcome, my lord, with "all my very heart." Moor, p. 491.

[x] Which was the uſual place from whence the ſolemnity of the coronation began; for he ſtill feigned to be making preparations for Edward's coronation. Moor, ibid. Hall, fol. 13.

[y] Which was near St. Paul's.

[z] It was no leſs than half the earldom of Hereford, and the lands belonging to it (which were then in the crown.) He claimed them, as being deſcended from Ann daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock, who had married Eleanor, one of the youngeſt daughters and co-heireſſes of Humphrey de Bohun earl of Hereford. See Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. p. 163, 168. And below in the beginning of Richard III's reign.

realm,

realm, during the king's minority; but it is not believed, his thoughts had gone any farther. For as he wanted only to preſerve or increaſe his credit, a minority ſeems to have been more for his purpoſe than the government of a grown king, ſuch as the duke of Gloceſter. However, as he was a man of ill principles, it was not difficult for the protector to engage him in his plot, by the hopes of a reward. It is ſaid, he promiſed not only to procure him the lands he deſired, but alſo to give him part of the late king's wardrobe, to furniſh his houſe in a ſtately manner, and ſecure to his heirs the office of high conſtable, of which he was in poſſeſſion *. Be this as it will, the duke of Buckingham ſo engaged in the project to ſet the protector on the throne, that from thenceforward he appeared no leſs eager than the protector himſelf to accompliſh it. The thing being reſolved, the queſtion was only how to put it in execution.

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who comes into them. Moor.

From that time the conferences between the duke of Gloceſter and his truſty friends became more frequent than before. They debated the principal difficulties that might occur in the execution of the deſign, and the means to ſurmount or prevent them. In ſhort, they came to the following reſolutions, which were conſidered as the plan whereon they were gradually to proceed. 1. As the ſtrongeſt oppoſition was probably to be expected from the queen, it was reſolved to diſpatch the priſoners at Pontfract, in order to deprive the royal family of their chiefeſt ſupport. The lord Haſtings, to whom this deſign was imparted, readily gave his conſent, tho' he knew not the protector's real motive to put theſe lords to death. 2. It was agreed to endeavour to engage in the plot the propereſt perſons to accompliſh it, that is in other words, villains capable of any undertaking, without regard to honour, juſtice, or conſcience. 3. It was judged neceſſary to find ſome foundation to ſupport the duke of Gloceſter's pretenſions, that the people might be amuſed with ſome appearance of reaſon 4. As it was no leſs requiſite to keep the plot ſecret till matters were ripe for execution, it was reſolved ſtill to ſhow publicly a ſettled deſign to cauſe the king to be crowned, till it was no longer neceſſary to diſſemble. 5. Laſtly, It was agreed, that the lord Haſtings ſhould either be gained or diſpatched out of the way. One of the two ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary, conſidering his great intereſt with the people of London.

Reſult of their projects.

* It appears from Rymer that he was not. For that office was, November 17, 1482, given in commiſſion to Sir William Parre, Sir James Haryngton, Sir James Tyrrel, and four other perſons. Tom. xii. p. 169.

Edw. V. 1483. This plan being laid, the protector writ to Sir Richard Ratcliff, governor of Pontfract and his creature, to behead, on a day appointed, the four lords that were under his cuſtody.

Orders to behead the priſoners at Pontfract.

After that he applied himſelf particularly to gain Sir Edmund Shaw, then mayor of London, and ſucceeded to his wiſh. The mayor engaged in the plot his brother John Shaw, a famous preacher, and Pinker, monk and provincial of the Auguſtine fryers, who were much eſteemed by the people. To theſe the protector joined Richard Cateſby, a particular friend and confident of the lord Haſtings.

The protector gains Shaw and Cateſby. Moor.

A report is ſpread againſt the legitimacy of Edward IV. and V. Moor.

By means of theſe men the protector's ſecret council reſolved to ſpread among the people the reaſons which might ſtrengthen his pretenſions. This ſeemed very difficult, ſince there were three princes and ſix princeſſes before him, namely, the king, the duke of York his brother, Edward the IVth's five daughters, the earl of Warwick, ſon to the late duke of Clarence, and Margaret his ſiſter. One ſingle expedient ſeemed proper and ſufficient to deſtroy the rights of theſe princes and princeſſes; which was, to intimate that Edward IV's children were all baſtards, and Edward himſelf and the duke of Clarence his brother, not ſons of the lake duke of York. To exclude Edward's children, it was reſolved to urge the validity of his pretended marriage-contract with Elizabeth Lucy before he eſpouſed Elizabeth Woodville, from whence it followed, that the children by the laſt marriage were illegitimate. This pretenſion was to be proved by the ducheſs of York's teſtimony, who had uſed that argument to hinder the king her ſon from marrying Sir Richard Woodville's daughter.

Remarks upon a fact advanced by Commines.

Philip de Commines ſays, the biſhop of Bath and Wells then affirmed, that he married Edward IV. to a lady called Eleanor Talbot, before he eſpouſed the queen; that it was done without witneſs, and the king had ſtrictly charged him never to mention it to any perſon whatever. But we do not find in the Engliſh hiſtorians, that the duke of Gloceſter, at the time we are ſpeaking of, made uſe of this reaſon, which however would have been more plauſible than that taken from Edward's marriage with Elizabeth Lucy. For Edward had taken precautions with regard to this laſt, as was obſerved in the hiſtory of his reign, whereas the firſt had been unanſwerable, being ſupported by the evidence of the very biſhop that pretended to officiate. It is therefore unlikely the duke of Gloceſter ſhould neglect ſo great an advantage. But it may very well be that Philip de Commines was wrong informed, or at leaſt miſtaken in the name of the king's miſtreſs.

Mean

Mean while, as it was not eaſy to prove Edward's pretended marriage with Elizabeth Lucy; and as, on the contrary, the biſhops had declared there was no mutual contract, the protector's council judged that the other point ſhould be chiefly inſiſted upon, namely, that Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence were not ſons of the late duke of York. Thereby were excluded, at once, the poſterity of theſe two princes, and then the duke of Gloceſter was next heir. To ſupport this aſſertion, it was reſolved to plead the duke of Clarence's own teſtimony, who, as was pretended, maintained that Edward IV. was illegitimate. Moreover, ſome of the late duke of York's ſervants were already ſuborned, who took care to ſpread divers reports which confirmed what was intended to be intimated to the people. They gave out, that the ducheſs of York had taken to her bed certain perſons perfectly reſembling Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence, and that the duke of Gloceſter alone was ſon to the duke of York. Edw. V. 148. The protector's emiſſaries ſpread reports againſt Edward IV. Moor.

As for the earl of Warwick and his ſiſter, another way was uſed to exclude them, namely, the attainder of the duke of Clarence their father, which, as they pretended, rendered them incapable of inheriting at all. Thus, the duke of Gloceſter did not ſcruple to accuſe his own mother of adultery. But this was one of the leaſt crimes which cleared his way to the throne, ſo blinded was he by his ambition. Pretence to exclude the duke of Clarence's heirs. Moor.

Every thing being thus prepared, the protector feigned to haſten the king's coronation. For that purpoſe he appointed a particular council, which was to meet every day [b], and regulate the ceremonies. He took care to compoſe this council of ſuch lords as were moſt attached to Edward IV's family, among whom the two archbiſhops, the biſhop of Ely [c], the lord Haſtings, and the lord Stanley were the principal. At the ſame time, he had another council conſiſting of his creatures, which alſo met regularly [d], but whoſe conſultations were only how to defer the coronation, and place the protector on the throne. Two councils erected. Moor.

The lords appointed to haſten the coronation, quickly perceived all their orders were retarded by obſtacles from another quarter. On the other hand, they were ſurprized, that the protector ſeldom ſuffered the king to be ſeen; that the young prince had but very few attendants, whilſt the protector's houſe was full of unneceſſary people, and a crowd of cour- Moor.

[b] At Baynard's caſtle. Moor, p. 491. —In the mean time, orders were iſſued out, on June 5, for creating knights at the king's coronation, which was fixed to the 22d of June. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 183.

[c] John Morton.

[d] At Croſby's place, in Biſhopſgate ward. It was the protector's manſion-houſe. Moor, p. 491.

Edw. V. 1483. tiers, who were always well received and careſſed. Theſe things, joined to the affected delays of the coronation, began to breed ſuſpicion in thoſe who were really friends to the king's perſon. The lord Stanley, a man of deep penetration, was the firſt to diſcover his fears of the protector's ill deſigns. He freely ſpoke his mind to his fellow-counſellors, and declared, he did not like the duke of Gloceſter's proceedings: that the other council which ſo frequently met, and whoſe reſolves could not be known, was to him very ſuſpicious. That therefore it was his opinion, they ſhould think betimes of means to prevent the miſchiefs which might happen. This advice was prudent; but the lord Haſtings, ſtill prepoſſeſſed that the protector thought only of humbling the queen's party, removed all theſe ſuſpicions. He affirmed there was no danger from the other council; and he would pawn his life, that if any thing were tranſacted there detrimental to the king and the ſtate, he ſhould be inſtantly informed of it by one of the members who was entirely devoted to him. He meant Cateſby his friend and confident [e]. But he did not know that Cateſby betrayed him, and was therefore truſted by the duke of Gloceſter. So Stanley and the other lords of the ſame party preferring the lord Haſting's aſſurances to their own judgment, took no meaſures to ſtop the protector's progreſs, which they might eaſily have done, had they endeavoured it in time.

The lord Stanley's ſuſpicions of the protector,

removed by the vain confidence of Haſtings,

who is betrayed by Cateſby.

The protector ſounds Haſtings, and ſends him to the king. Moor.

Mean while, the duke of Gloceſter, knowing what a firm friend the lord Haſtings was to the king, thought it time to execute the project he had formed about him, that is, to engage him in the plot, or deſtroy him. To that end, he ordered Cateſby to ſound him, but with all the caution imaginable, for fear of diſcovering the deſign before he was ſure to be gained. Cateſby having put the lord Haſtings upon diſcourſing of ſtate affairs, told him, people talked very much of the duke of Gloceſter's title to the crown preferably to Edward IV's children, and many were perſuaded the title was not groundleſs. That it was openly ſaid, it were to be wiſhed, the reaſons alledged in his favour were good, ſince it would be more advantagious to the nation to be governed by a man than by a child. That, for his part, he had not yet examined the matter, and ſhould be glad firſt to know his opinion. Haſtings, not ſuſpecting his friend, diſcloſed all his thoughts, and imparted to him the lord Stanley's ſuſpicions of the duke of Gloceſter. He added, he had rather ſee the ruin and de-

[e] Richard Cateſby was a lawyer, who had, through the lord Haſtings's means, been put into a place of conſiderable truſt in the counties of Leiceſter and Northampton, where this lord's power and intereſt lay. Moor, p. 492.

ſtruction

ſtruction of the protector and the duke of Buckingham, than the late king's children deprived of their right. That if he perceived any plot in favour of the duke of Gloceſter, he would employ his credit, his eſtate, and his very life, to prevent its ſucceeding. This reply was immediately carried to the protector by the treacherous Cateſby, with many aggravations, to promote the lord Haſtings's deſtruction, for fear he ſhould one day diſcover his treachery. Edw. V. 1483.

Haſtings's death reſolved. Moor.

The duke having thus ſounded the lord Haſtings, was greatly embaraſſed. He paſſionately deſired to gain that lord, knowing how ſerviceable he could be to him. But for that very reaſon he could not help fearing him, if he perſiſted in his attachment to the king. To free himſelf from this uneaſineſs, he ordered Cateſby to ſound him once more. Cateſby ſpeaking a little too plainly in his ſecond converſation with Haſtings, and not doubting that his treachery was known, told the protector, that not only he had nothing to hope from that quarter, but was to expect to find in Haſtings a profeſſed enemy. Whereupon the protector reſolved to diſpatch him, looking upon him now as his real adverſary.

Means to bring it about. Moor.

This reſolution being taken, he called a council at the Tower [f], under colour of finiſhing the affairs of the king's coronation. He came himſelf at nine o'clock in the morning, with a chearful countenance, courteouſly ſaluting all the lords, as if he had nothing in his mind that gave him the leaſt uneaſineſs. After that, he went out, and deſired the lords of the council to continue their deliberations in his abſence.

About an hour after, he returned with an angry countenance, knitting his brows, biting his lips, and ſhowing all poſſible ſigns of the perturbation of his mind. Remaining ſome time without ſpeaking, he broke ſilence with theſe words: "My lords, what puniſhment do they deſerve who "have plotted againſt my life?" The lords not immediately anſwering, the lord Haſtings replied, "Whoever was guilty "of ſuch a crime, ought to be puniſhed as a traitor." "It "is, anſwered the duke, that ſorcereſs my ſiſter-in-law, with "her accomplices." Theſe words aſtoniſhed many of the council who favoured the queen, being afraid the accuſation concerned them. But the lord Haſtings was far from any ſuch fear. All knew he was ſworn enemy to the queen, and conſequently there was no likelihood of his joining with her in ſuch a deſign. Beſides, he had lately approved of the order ſent to Pontfract, to behead the lords priſoners, who were

[f] On June 13. Moor, p. 493.

Edw. V. 1483. to be executed that very day. After a ſhort pauſe, the protector, unbuttoning his left ſleeve, ſhowed the council his arm, dried and withered, ſaying, with extreme emotion, "See what that ſorcereſs, and Shore's wife have done by their "witchcrafts. They have reduced my arm as you ſee, and "my whole body would ſoon have been the ſame, if by God's "mercy their infamous plot had not been diſcovered." Theſe words cauſed a greater ſurprize than the former, the whole council knowing the duke's arm had long been in that condition. Beſides, if the queen had framed ſuch a project, Jane Shore would have been the laſt perſon ſhe would have imparted it to, ſince of all women ſhe moſt hated her. The lord Haſtings, who ſince Edward's death had kept Jane Shore, perceiving ſhe was involved in the accuſation, could not forbear to ſhow how much he doubted her being guilty, by ſaying, "If they had committed ſuch a crime, they deſerved "to be puniſhed." Then the protector raiſing his voice, "What, ſays he, doſt thou anſwer me with Ifs and Ands, "as if I forged this accuſation? I tell thee they have con"ſpired my death, and thou thyſelf art acceſſary to the crime." As he ended theſe words, he ſtruck the table twice with his fiſt, and immediately the room was filled with armed men. As ſoon as they were in, the protector turning to the lord Haſtings, ſaid to him, "I arreſt thee for high-treaſon." "Who, me, my lord?" anſwered Haſtings. "Yes, thee, "traitor," replied the protector: at the ſame time he delivered him to the cuſtody of the ſoldiers. During the buſtle, one of the ſoldiers would have cleft the lord Stanley's ſkull with a battle-ax: but he avoided part of the blow by ſinking under the table; however, he was dangerouſly wounded. Probably, the ſoldiers had orders to kill him as it were by chance, under pretence he would have defended the lord Haſtings. It is not hard to gueſs, why the protector deſired to be rid of him. Be this as it will, having miſſed his aim, Stanley was arreſted with the archbiſhop of York and the biſhop of Ely, it being the protector's intereſt to put it out of their power to hurt him, whom he knew to be zealouſly affected to the young king. As for the lord Haſtings, he would ſcarce give him time to make a ſhort confeſſion to the next prieſt that came, ſwearing, "he would not dine till his head was ſtruck off." Accordingly, he was beheaded upon a log which was found on the green before the Tower chapel, the time fixed by the protector being too ſhort to erect a ſcaffold. Hiſtorians enlarge upon ſundry preſages he had of his death. But though ſuch kind of remarks may have their uſe, when the facts are very

Stanley is wounded, and arreſted with the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhop of Ely.

Moor.

very certain, I ſhall paſs them over in ſilence [g]. It ſuffices to obſerve only, that the lord Haſtings died the ſame day and hour that the Pontfract priſoners [h] were executed, to whoſe death he greatly contributed. Edw. V. 1483.

The priſoners at Pontfract are executed.

The lord Haſtings being dead, the protector judged it neceſſary to palliate ſo haſty and illegal an execution, for fear the Londoners ſhould take fire upon hearing it [i], and for that purpoſe, ſent for the lord mayor and aldermen. In the mean while, he and the duke of Buckingham put on two old ruſty coats of armour. The mayor being come to the Tower, the protector told him, the lord Haſtings and ſome others had conſpired to take away his life, and he had no intelligence of the plot till ten o'clock that morning: that the fact being fully proved, the king and council had thought neceſſary to execute him immediately, by reaſon they were informed, a great number of people were all ready to riſe in his favour: that the conſpiracy had put his perſon in extreme danger, and forced him to harneſs himſelf in old ruſty armour for his defence: that he had ſent for him to inform him of the truth, that he might, when he acquainted the Londoners with the ſudden execution, take care to appeaſe or prevent the commotions which ill-affected people might raiſe in the city. The mayor and aldermen eaſily perceived the protector did not tell them the whole truth; but not daring to expreſs their doubt, they withdrew, aſſuring him his orders ſhould be obeyed.

The protector tries to juſtify what was done by the mayor of London. Moor.

What the protector had ſaid to the mayor and aldermen, was only to prepare the people to receive a proclamation, publiſhed in the city two hours after the death of the lord Haſtings. The king, in whoſe name it was publiſhed, was made to ſay in it, "That the lord Haſtings had conſpired to ſeize his perſon, in order to govern the kingdom as he pleaſed, and to kill the protector and the duke of Buckingham. That to prevent the deſign, he was forced, by advice of his council, to cauſe the criminal to be immediately puniſhed, and that never man more deſerved to die. That it was he that per-

Proclamation upon that ſubject. Moor.

[g] The preſages hiſtorians dwell upon were, a remarkable dream of the lord Stanley's, who dreamed, that a wild boar with his tuſhes, had wounded his and the lord Haſtings's head, and therefore adviſed him to fly from danger; the ſollicitations of his concubine Jane Shore, that very morning not to go to the council, nor to truſt the wild boar; the often ſtumbling of his horſe as he was riding to the Tower, and ſome other like obſervations. He was afterwards buried at Windſor, near king Edward's tomb. Moor, p. 494.

[h] Anthony earl of Rivers, Richard lord Grey, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawſe.

[i] The lord Haſtings was in great eſteem with king Edward's friends, as being well affected to his family, and in no ſmall favour with the people, being reckoned a lover of the common good. Moor, p. 495.

Edw. V. 1483. ſuaded the late king to do ſo many things contrary to the "rights and privileges of the people. That he had endeavoured to debauch him by his perſuaſions and example, and "had laid the night before with Shore's wife, the accomplice "of all his crimes, and particularly of that for which he was "executed." There were ſeveral other things in the proclamation, tending to leſſen the people's affection and compaſſion for the lord Haſtings, and to ſhew that his death was a judgment upon him. It was obſerved, that the proclamation was elegantly compoſed, and fairly written on parchment, though publiſhed ſo very ſoon after that lord's death. This bred a ſuſpicion that it was ready prepared[k] in order to be publiſhed immediately after the execution. Accordingly, it produced but little effect[l].

Moor. As Jane Shore was accuſed of being an accomplice of the lord Haſtings, the protector was obliged to proceed againſt her. So, giving orders[m] to arreſt her, he commanded her to be brought to the Tower, where ſhe was examined before the council. The duke of Gloceſter accuſed her himſelf of intending, by her ſorceries, to waſte his fleſh by degrees, and conſpiring with the lord Haſtings to aſſaſſinate him. But, beſides that he could alledge nothing in proof of theſe accuſations, ſhe made ſo good a defence, that the council could find no reaſon to condemn her. However, as the protector was unwilling ſhe ſhould eſcape without puniſhment, ſhe was ſued for incontinency, as being guilty of leaving her huſband, and living with other men. Theſe were facts ſhe could not deny, ſince the whole court was witneſs, ſhe had been kept by the late king, and afterwards by the lord Haſtings. Whereupon ſhe was delivered over to the biſhop of London, and condemned by the eccleſiaſtical court to do open penance in St. Paul's church in a white ſheet, with a wax-taper in her hand, before all the people[n].

Jane Shore condemned to do open penance. Moor.

The protector haſtens the execution of his deſign. The late executions at London and Pontfract without any proceſs, the impriſonment of the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Ely, and the lord Stanley, left no room to queſtion the duke of Gloceſter's deſigns. Hitherto, he had given ſome

k By Cateſby. Moor, p. 495.

l People jeſted and ſaid, "it was "writ by the ſpirit of prophecy." Idem. p. 496.

m To Sir Thomas Howard, to apprehend her perſon, and ſeize her goods, which were valued at between two and three thouſand marks. Ibid.

n Which ſhe accordingly did the next Sunday morning, after this manner: ſhe was brought, cloathed in a white ſheet, by way of proceſſion, with the croſs carried before her, and a wax taper in her hand, to St. Paul's church, from the biſhop's palace adjoining. In all this action ſhe behaved with ſo much modeſty and decency, that ſuch as reſpected her beauty more than her fault, never were in greater admiration of her than now. Ibid.

colour

colour to his conduct; but after these violent proceedings, there was no way to hide his intentions. Every one said to himself, these unjust doings could not but end in the king's destruction. But people durst not tell their thoughts to one another, such a terror was there every where spread. They who could have taken measures to oppose the protector's designs, were dead or in prison; and if there were any left capable to make him uneasy, the example of those who had been treated with so much barbarity, was sufficient to cause them to act with circumspection. They plainly saw the imminent danger, if they did but seem to perceive what was contriving. Edw. V. 1483.

Fear and consternation having thus seized the great men, the protector and the duke of Buckingham thought it was time to discover their designs[o]. There remained but one difficulty, and that was to get the Londoners to approve of the intended change. This was no easy matter. Indeed, private persons may suffer themselves to be corrupted, and if any are too obstinate, they may be dispatched as the lord Hastings had been served. But how to persuade a whole nation, they ought to approve of manifest acts of injustice, wherein they themselves have no interest. There are but two ways to succeed. The first is to oblige them through fear, to feign to believe what they do not believe; the other, to gain those in whom they put any confidence, that they may by degrees be brought to what is desired. After several consultations, the protector and the duke of Buckingham resolved to use these two means, the first whereof had already begun to have a very great effect. For the second, they agreed, that, by emissaries, it should be continued more than ever to be spread among the people, that Edward the Fourth's children were illegitimate, and their father himself and the duke of Clarence his brother were not the duke of York's sons. That these rumours should be supported by a sermon of Dr. Shaw, whose eloquence was applauded by the whole city.

He employs Dr. Shaw a famous preacher. Moor.

These measures being taken, the doctor mounted the pulpit one Sunday morning at Paul's-Cross, and preached upon these words, "Bastard slips shall take no deep root[p]." He began with shewing the blessings God usually bestowed on the fruits of the marriage-bed, and the calamities which on the contrary fell upon the children born out of wedlock. He did not want examples of both, as well in sacred as prophane history. Then he enlarged on the noble qualities of the duke

Shaw's sermon at Paul's Cross.

[o] In the mean time, he issued out a proclamation, importing, That the king's coronation, for divers great and urgent causes, should be deferred to the 2d of November. Moor, Hall, fol. 17.

[p] Wisdom of Solomon iv.

of

Edw. V. 1483. of York, ſlain in the battle of Wakefield, and ſhowed how happy the Engliſh would be to have a ſovereign of the race of that great prince. From thence he took occaſion to remark, that it was to be feared, the reign of Edward V. would be fatal to England, ſince he was born of an illegitimate marriage. Moreover, that neither Edward IV. nor the late duke of Clarence were ſons of the great duke of York, as was certainly known from officers of his houſhold, witneſſes of the ducheſs their mother's ſcandalous life. That ſhe had taken to her bed, in the ſight of all her ſervants, men whom the two brothers perfectly reſembled: but that the duke of Gloceſter alone could truly be called the duke of York's ſon. That beſides, Edward IV. was not lawfully married to his queen, ſince he had before plighted his faith to the lady Elizabeth Lucy, as could be ſhown by good evidences. That conſequently his children could be no better than baſtards. That therefore the duke of York's real poſterity was not to be looked for in the children either of Edward or of the duke of Clarence, and that their race would infallibly periſh, becauſe "baſtard plants ſhall take no deep root." But my lord protector, continued he, raiſing his voice, that noble prince, the pattern of all virtue, carries in his countenance, in his air, in his carriage, in his ſoul, the perfect image of his illuſtrious father. At theſe words, it was deſigned the duke of Gloceſter ſhould appear, in hopes that the people, moved by the preacher's eloquence, would ſalute him king. But the duke happening to ſtay a little too long, the doctor had begun another ſubject, when he ſaw him entering, which however he left, and repeated the ſame words before-mentioned, whilſt the duke was preſſing through the crowd to come to his place. But inſtead of hearing the cry of Long live King Richard! as he expected, he perceived, all kept a ſullen ſilence, the people deteſting the baſeneſs of the preacher, inſtead of applauding his eloquence. The ſermon being ended, the doctor went and hid himſelf for ſhame, neither durſt he ever ſhow his face again in the world. It is ſaid he died preſently after with grief at his ill-ſucceſs, and for loſing the eſteem of his audience.

Iſſue of his ſermon.

The duke of Buckingham harangues the people at Guild-Hall in favour of the duke of Gloceſter.

Shaw's ſermon not producing the deſired effect, other means were to be uſed; for the protector had proceeded too far to recede. So the duke of Buckingham, being a fine ſpeaker, took upon him to harangue the people, imagining, a polite ſpeech would be more ſucceſsful than Shaw's methodical ſermon. To that purpoſe, the lord mayor had orders to aſſemble the aldermen, common-council, and principal citizens, in the

Moor.

the Guild-Hall [q]. Which being done, the duke of Buckingham came to the aſſembly [r], and taking his place near the mayor, told the people, he was come from the council, to acquaint them with a matter of the greateſt importance to the whole kingdom, but eſpecially to the inhabitants of London. His ſpeech ran at firſt upon the calamities endured by the people of England in the laſt reign. He aggravated in a very violent manner, the cruelty, avarice, and incontinency of Edward IV. and endeavoured, to the utmoſt of his power, to render him odious. Then, he put his audience in mind, the Sunday before, that excellent man, Dr. Shaw, had clearly proved to them, that Edward was not lawfully married to his queen, and conſequently their children were baſtards: that neither Edward himſelf, nor the duke of Clarence his brother, were the duke of York's ſons; and to the proofs alledged by the doctor, he himſelf could add many more, did not his reſpect for the protector hinder him from dwelling upon the ducheſs his mother's looſe life: that for theſe reaſons, the lords of the council, and the commons of the realm, particularly of the northern counties, had declared, that a baſtard ſhould not ſit on the throne of England, and petitioned, that the crown ſhould be adjudged to the duke of Gloceſter, only ſon of the late duke of York: that indeed there was reaſon to fear, the magnanimous duke would refuſe the offer; but on the other hand, it was to be hoped, all the people, and eſpecially the inhabitants of London, uniting with one accord, he would be prevailed with to take upon him the burden of the government, too weighty for a child: that upon all theſe conſiderations, he required them in his own, and the name of the lords of the council, to declare their intention. Here he ſtopped, in expectation to hear the people cry, Long live King Richard; but every one ſtood ſpeechleſs, ſo great was their ſurprize to hear ſo unjuſt a propoſal. The duke, ſurprized in his turn at ſo unexpected a ſilence, aſked the mayor the reaſon; who replied, perhaps they did not well underſtand him. If that's the caſe, anſwered the duke, I will make myſelf better underſtood. Then raiſing his voice, he repeated the ſenſe of what he had ſaid in other words, with a gracefulneſs and eloquence worthy a nobler ſubject. But the people ſtill kept a profound ſilence. The duke, in confuſion that his rhetoric ſhould produce ſo little effect, talked ſome time in a low voice with the mayor, to conſult with him

Edw. V. 1483.

He expects in vain that the people ſhould cry King Richard!

He repeats his ſpeech. Moor.

[q] On the Thurſday following, which was the 17th of June. Moor. Hall, fol. 20.

[r] Attended by ſeveral lords, who were privy to the deſign. Ibid.

what

Edw. V. 1483. what was to be done. At length, the mayor told him, perhaps the people were ſilent becauſe they were uſed to be harangued only by the recorder, who was the mouth of the city.

He orders the recorder to ſpeak to the people.

Whereupon he commanded the recorder [s] to ſpeak to the people, which he did with great reluctance. However, he ſo managed his ſpeech, that without any addition of his own, he repeated to the people the ſubſtance of what the duke had ſaid. He concluded, with requiring the people [t] to give a poſitive anſwer, whether they would have the duke of Gloceſter for king or not? At theſe words there was a confuſed murmur in the aſſembly; and as it was yet uncertain whether the people anſwered Ay or No, ſome of the duke of Buckingham's ſervants, who had ſlipt in amongſt the crowd, cried out, Long live King Richard! Some of the citizens who had been bribed, but would not venture to begin, ſeconded the cry, and the apprentices, with the rabble who ſtood near the door, followed their example, and throwing up their hats in token of joy, cried out, King Richard! King Richard! The duke of Buckingham plainly perceived, the cry came from the rabble without, and not from the principal citizens in the hall. Nevertheleſs he commanded ſilence, and reſuming his ſpeech, ſaid, he was overjoyed to ſee ſo general and unanimous an approbation to his propoſal. "Wherefore, continued he, my good friends, I deſire you to meet me here "to-morrow about this time, that we may all go together, "and preſent our humble petition to his highneſs, and in"treat him to condeſcend to our requeſt." Then the mayor diſmiſſing the people, the citizens returned to their houſes with tears in their eyes and grief in their hearts, without daring to ſhew it, for fear of offending thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to have it concealed.

Some of the mob cry, a Richard! Moor.

The duke pretends it was a general approbation.

He waits upon the protector with the mayor, and offers him the crown. Moor.

Next day the duke of Buckingham, with the mayor, aldermen, and many other perſons of the cabal, came to the protector's palace [u] and ſent a meſſage to him, that the magiſtrates of London deſired an audience. The protector ſcrupled to appear, pretending to fear, that ſuch numbers were aſſembled for no good deſign. Whereupon the duke of Buckingham obſerved to the mayor and thoſe about him, that his highneſs was not conſcious of their intent, intimating thereby, that he was not concerned in the tranſactions of the foregoing day. At length, upon the repeated deſire that

[s] Thomas Fitz-williams. Moor, Hall, fol. 22.

[t] It was not the recorder, but the duke of Buckingham, who continuing to ſpeak, required the people to give a poſitive anſwer. Moor. Hall, fol. 20.

[u] At Baynard's caſtle in Thames-ſtreet, where the protector then lay. Moor.

his

his highneſs would be pleaſed to grant an audience, he came forth with ſigns of great miſtruſt, and as not daring to approach ſuch multitudes for fear of ſome miſchief [w]. Then the duke of Buckingham, without giving the mayor time to ſpeak, briefly ſet forth the grievances of the nation in the late reign. After that, he ſaid to the protector, the people had found no better way to free themſelves from their evils, than to pray his highneſs to aſſume the royal authority, which of right belonged to him. He added, the mayor and aldermen of London, whom he ſaw there, were come to petition in the name of all the people, who were united in the ſame intention. Edw. V. 1483.

The protector refuſes it at firſt.

The duke of Gloceſter ſeeming ſurpriſed at the propoſal, anſwered, that he was convinced that all he had heard was true: "but he had ſo great a veneration for the memory of the "late king his brother, and ſo tender an affection for his "children, as outweighed all the crowns in the world, and "therefore he could not comply with their requeſt. How-"ever he willingly pardoned their petition, and thanked "them for their affection: but adviſed them to be obedient "to the ſovereign under whoſe dominion they lived. That "for his part, he would continue to the utmoſt of his power "to give the king his nephew ſuch counſels, as he ſhould "judge moſt conducive to render his kingdom flouriſhing, "and his people happy, as he believed he had hitherto done, "to the ſatisfaction of all the world." Moor.

The duke of Buckingham threatens to give the crown to another.

The duke of Buckingham ſeeming diſſatisfied with this anſwer, murmured ſome words to himſelf expreſſing his diſcontent, and at length deſired leave to ſpeak once more; and having obtained it, he plainly told the protector, "That all "people were unanimouſly reſolved not to acknowledge for "king any of Edward IV's children: that they had proceed-"ed too far to recede, and therefore if he would not receive "the crown, the people would be forced to offer it to one "who would not refuſe it."

The protector accepts of it. His ſpeech to the people. Moor.

At theſe words the protector began to be a little more compliant, and at laſt, ſpoke to the people in this manner: "Since I ſee the whole kingdom is "reſolved not to ſuffer Edward's children to reign, for which "I am extremely concerned, I am fully convinced, the "crown can of right belong only to me, who am the un-"doubted ſon of the late duke of York my father. To "this title is now joined the free election of the lords and "commons of the realm, which of all titles I ſhall conſider

[w] He is ſaid to appear in a gallery, with a biſhop on each ſide of him. Moor. Hall. fol. 23.

"as

Edw. V. 1483. "as the chief and moſt effectual. From theſe conſiderations "I graciouſly receive your petition, and inſtantly take upon "me the government of the two kingdoms of England and "France, the former to be governed and defended, and the "latter by God's help, and my people's aſſiſtance, to be "ſubdued." At the cloſe of the ſpeech was heard a great ſhout of, Long live king Richard III! The comedy being over, the people retired to their homes, making upon this occaſion ſuch reflections as were ſuggeſted by their underſtandings, intereſts, or paſſions.

18. RICHARD III.
Sirnamed CROOK-BACK.

Rich III. is proclaimed. Moor. Hall.

THE duke of Gloceſter having attained his ends by ſuch extraordinary ways, and in ſpite of all the obſtacles that oppoſed his ambition, was proclaimed the 22d of June[a], by the name of Richard III. He might have been crowned the next day, ſince the preparations for Edward the fifth's coronation were finiſhed: but he delayed the ceremony till the ſixth of July, expecting the arrival of five thouſand men, which he ſent for out of the north, becauſe he did not entirely confide in the citizens of London.

The biſhop of Lincoln is made chancellor, Moor. Act. Pub. xii. p. 189, 190. and John Howard duke of Norfolk.

During that interval, he gave the great ſeal to the biſhop of Lincoln[b], one of his favorites. On the 28th of June he conferred the office of earl marſhal upon the lord John Howard[c], and the next day, the title of duke of Norfolk. The day following, he commiſſioned him to exerciſe the office of high-ſteward during the coronation. A few days after, he created Thomas Howard his ſon, earl of Surrey, William Berkeley earl of Nottingham, and the lord Lovel one of his confidents, viſcount of the ſame name[d].

a Sir T. Moor, (as publiſhed in Hall) ſays, that Richard took the reins of the government the 19th of June, and the next day, viz. the 20th, was proclaimed king, when with great ſolemnity he rode to Weſtminſter, and ſitting in the ſeat royal, called before him the judges of the realm, whom he ſtraightly commanded to execute the law without favour or delay. Moor. Hall, fol. 25.

b John Ruſſel.

c He was ſon of Sir Robert Howard, and Margaret daughter and coheir of Thomas de Moubray duke of Norfolk. The firſt perſon of note in this family, was William Howard judge of the common-pleas, in the reign of Edward I. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 265.

d And chamberlain. Moor.

Tho-

K. RICHARD III.
G. Virtue Sc.

Thomas Rotheram archbiſhop of York and the lord Thomas Stanley, who were impriſoned the day the lord Haſtings was executed, were releaſed at the ſame time, and the new king made the lord Stanley lord ſteward of the houſhold. It was not from a motive of affection or confidence, but out of fear that the lord Strange his ſon [e], who was beginning to levy forces in Lincolnſhire [f], ſhould raiſe commotions, the conſequences whereof he much dreaded. Rich. III. 1483. Archbiſhop of York and Stanley are releaſed. Moor.

As for Dr. Morton biſhop of Ely, who was arreſted the ſame day, the king deſigned not to do him the ſame favour. But the univerſity of Oxford, of which that prelate was member, having preſented a petition in his behalf, he did not think [illegible] wholly to reject it, at a time when he wanted to gain the affection of his new ſubjects. However, as he mortally hated that biſhop, he could not reſolve to releaſe him entirely. He only took him out of his confinement in the Tower, and committed him to the duke of Buckingham's cuſtody, who ſent him to the caſtle of Brecknock in Wales. He was a man of mean parentage [g], but having ſtudied at Oxford, where he had taken his doctor's degree, was ſo eminent for his learning and parts, that he was taken from thence and made privy-counſellor by Henry VI. The revolution which had placed Edward IV. on the throne made no alteration in his fortune. Edward, it is likely, pleaſed with his complaiſance, continued him in the ſame poſt and promoted him to the biſhopric of Ely. From thenceforward he was wholly attached to that prince, which drew on him Richard's hatred, who put him under confinement the ſame day the lord Haſtings was beheaded, for fear his affection to the late king's family ſhould lead him to oppoſe his deſigns. The biſhop of Ely is committed to the cuſtody of Buckingham. Moor.

The ſixth of July, the coronation of the king and queen was performed with great ſolemnity [h]. All the peers of the realm were preſent for fear of being ſuſpected by the new king, whoſe jealous temper was well known. Margaret counteſs of Richmond, wife of the lord Stanley and mother The king and queen crowned. Moor. Hall.

[e] Having married Joan, daughter and heir of John lord Strange, he was ſummoned to parliament in 22 Edw. IV. by the title of lord Strange. Dugdale. Ibid. p. 249.

[f] Hall and Hollingſhead ſay, it was in Lancaſhire, fol. [illegible] p. [illegible]6.

[g] Biſhop M[illegible] not of mean parentage. He was ſon of Richard Morton, a gentleman of Bere in Dorſetſhire; whoſe grandfather was Robert Morton of Morton in Nottinghamſhire, of a very antient family.

[h] On the 4th of July he went to the Tower by water with his wife; the 5th he rode through London with great pomp; and the 6th was crowned. See a particular account of his coronation in Hall, fol. 25, 26; and Holingſhead, p. 1387, &c.

Rich.III. 1483. of the earl of Richmond detained in Bretagne, held up the queen's train.

Richard enjoyed but two years and two months the crown he had ſo ardently deſired. He ſpent his whole reign in deviſing means to ſupport himſelf in the throne, which having mounted by bloodſhed and other crimes, he endeavoured to keep poſſeſſion by the ſame methods, but all his meaſures proved ineffectual, divine providence being pleaſed to blaſt projects, founded wholly upon injuſtice, violence, and the ſubverſion of the laws. The preſent circumſtances ſeemed however to be very favorable for him. The Lancaſtrian family was quite extinct in England. Henry earl of Richmond, the only branch of that houſe, was in the hands of the duke of Bretagne, who had promiſed Edward IV. to hinder him from going out of his dominions. Margaret his mother ſhewed no inclination to proſecute her rights. Beſides, ſhe was ſubject to a huſband whom Richard had attached to his intereſt by one of the moſt conſiderable poſts at court. As to the princes and princeſſes of Portugal and Caſtile, deſcended from Philippa and Catharine of Lancaſter, daughters of John of Gant, they were too remote to diſturb the new king. In fine, there was not a lord in the kingdom that ſeemed to have credit enough to excite inſurrections, the civil war having ſwept away great numbers and entirely deſtroyed many ancient families. As for thoſe that were ſtill left, Richard hoped to win them by favours, as he had already gained the duke of Buckingham, the duke of Norfolk, the Lord Stanley, and ſome others. As for the Yorkiſts attached to the family of Edward IV. namely, the Woodvilles, Greys, and others of the new nobility, he had already diſpatched ſome, in the laſt reign, and the reſt were fled. The queen-widow was ſtill with her five daughters in ſanctuary, from whence ſhe durſt not ſtir, and where ſhe ſeemed unable to hurt him. The marquis of Dorſet her ſon had likewiſe taken ſanctuary, and Sir Richard Woodville had abſconded. In a word, Edward V. and the duke of York his brother were in the Tower, where ſince the 27th of June, Richard had taken care to place as governour Sir Robert Brackenbury his creature. Thus, nothing ſeemed capable to ſhake the new monarch's throne.

Circumſtances favorable for Richard.

Mean while, to be provided against whatever might happen, he formed the project to ſecure Caſtile and Portugal, the archduke Maximilian, who governed the Low-Countries in the name of Philip his ſon, France and Bretagne, from whence he feared his enemies might procure ſome aſſiſtance. In fine, to

Richard's meaſures for his ſafety.

to break all the measures which the friends of Edward the IVth's family might take against him, he resolved to murder his nephews young king Edward V. and the duke of York his brother. These were Richard's first projects to preserve his crown, which created him no less uneasiness after possession than whilst he was labouring to obtain it. Rich. III. 1483.

To execute all these resolutions, the 12th of July, he appointed for his ambassador to Castile, Bernard de la Force, with orders to renew the antient alliance with queen Isabella and Ferdinand king of Arragon her husband. The next day he gave the like commission to Thomas Hutton, to treat of the prolongation of the truce with Francis II. duke of Bretagne. Probably Hutton had secret instructions to endeavour to procure the earl of Richmond, or at least to renew the treaty upon that subject between Edward IV. and the duke. Three days after, he appointed commissioners to treat with France concerning some breaches of the truce, in order to have occasion to confirm it. Embassy to Castile; Act. Pub. XII. p. 193. to Bretagne; P. 194. to France; P. 191, 195. Moor.

These measures being taken, nothing remained but to execute the principal article, the murder of his two nephews. For that purpose, he resolved to remove from London, that their death happening in his absence, he might be the less suspected. With this view he departed from London to visit several counties, under colour of reforming certain abuses introduced to the great detriment of the people. His progress into the north was particularly necessary to curb the insolence of the troops he had sent for from thence, and who after their return had committed great outrages. But before he proceeded to York, he made some stay at Gloucester, not to be too far from London, whilst his orders concerning his nephews were executing. He resolves to put his nephews to death. Moor. Hall. He goes to Gloucester.

The Duke of Buckingham, his intimate friend and confident, attended him to Gloucester. He had loaded that lord with estates and honours, both whilst he was protector and after he was king. But the duke still expected another favour, of which he had received a positive promise. And that was, the moiety of the lands of the house of Hereford, to which he thought he had a very just right. The foundation of his claim will plainly appear in the following genealogy. The duke of Buckingham demands the inheritance of Hereford. Moor. Hall. His claim.

THE HISTORY

HUMPHREY BOHUN,
Earl of Hereford and Northampton.

MARY BOHUN
Wife of
Henry IV.

HENRY V.

HENRY VI.

EDWARD
Prince of Wales.

ANN
THOMAS of Woodſtock
Earl of Gloceſter,
Son of Edward III.

ANN
Edmund Earl of Stafford.

HUMPHREY
Duke of Buckingham.

HENRY
Duke of Buckingham.

To conſider only this genealogy, it is evident, the duke of Buckingham had a right to claim one half of the earl of Hereford's lands, as deſcended from one of his daughters. But there were other reaſons which rendered his title diſputable. When Richard II. put to death his uncle the duke of Gloceſter at Calais, he cauſed his eſtate to be confiſcated by the parliament, and gave what that prince held in right of Ann his wife to the earl of Derby, who had married the eldeſt of the ſiſters, and withal created him duke of Hereford. Thus, the earl of Derby took poſſeſſion of the whole inheritance of the earl of Hereford his father-in-law, and afterwards mounting the throne by the name of Henry IV. all his lands were annexed to the crown, which was thereby poſſeſſed of the whole eſtate of the Hereford family to the time of Richard the third's acceſſion to the throne. However, when Richard, being protector, intended to engage the duke of Buckingham to ſerve him in his deſign to uſurp the crown, he promiſed to reſtore him the moiety of the inheritance confiſcated upon the duke of Gloceſter his great grandfather. But after he was king he altered his mind, whether he thought he had amply rewarded him otherwiſe, or was afraid of rendering him too powerful, and ſo giving him occaſion to aſpire to the throne, as deſcending from Edward III. Be this as it will, the duke during the [illegible] putting him in mind of his promiſe, received ſuch an anſwer, as left him no room to expect that juſtice or favour[1]. The duke, who was

The king denies his requeſt; Moor. Hall.

[1] That Rapin, and the reſt of our hiſtorians are miſtaken in this particular, is plain from Sir W. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 168, wherein is inſerted

was very high-ſpirited, was ſo offended at the king's anſwer, that he deſired leave to go and look after his own private affairs[k]. Richard not imagining, the refuſal had made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the duke, or perhaps, not fearing the effects of his reſentment, gave him the leave he deſired, and parting from him at Gloceſter, he purſued his journey to York. Rich. III. 1483. upon which the duke retires.

During the king's ſtay at Gloceſter, he ſent an expreſs order to Brackenbury, governor of the Tower of London, to murder Edward V. and the duke of York his brother. Brackenbury, more conſcientious than his maſter, returned a very ſubmiſſive anſwer, but withal told him, he ſhould never be able to execute his commands. Richard, vexed to be deceived in his opinion of that officer, ſent him by James Tyrrel a written order, to deliver to the bearer the keys and government of the Tower for one ſingle night. Brackenbury obeyed, and Tyrrel brought in his agents[l] to execute the king's orders. That very night, whilſt all were aſleep, he went into the two princes room, and ſmothering them in their bed, cauſed them to be buried under a little ſtair-caſe. This is what Tyrrel himſelf afterwards confeſſed, who was executed in the reign of Henry VII. In 1674, whilſt ſome alterations were making in that part of the Tower, bones were found, which were thought to be thoſe of Edward V. and the duke of York, and upon that ſuppoſition, Charles II. who then reigned, ordered them to be put into a marble urn, and removed to Weſtminſter among the tombs of the kings[m]. As the two princes were never more heard of ſince the day Tyrrel went into the Tower, Death of Edward V. and of the duke of York. Moor. Hall. Their bones are found in the reign of Charles II. Sandford.

ſerted a bill ſigned by king Richard, whereby he granted the duke of Buckingham livery of all thoſe lands to which he pretended a right by deſcent from Humphrey de Bohun. Among the reſt there were ſixteen lordſhips in Eſſex, (particularly Walden, Badow, Pleecy, Waltham, High-Eſtre) beſides many more in other counties, amounting in all to the yearly value of 1084l. 18. 9d.

k Dugdale aſcribes the cauſe of his retiring, either to trouble of conſcience, or becauſe he found himſelf neglected by the king. Ibid.

l Miles Fore[illegible] John Dighton. Moor.

[illegible] of Sir Thomas Chicheley maſter of the ordnance, great heaps of records of bills and anſwers lying in the ſix clerks office, were removed to be repoſited in the white tower; and a new pair of ſtairs were made into the chapel there, for the eaſier conveyance of them thither. The labourers in digging at the foot of the old ſtairs, came to a wooden cheſt, containing the bones of conſumed corps covered with a heap of ſtones: which bones king Charles cauſed to be interred in Henry VIIth's chapel, near two other royal children, Mary and Sophia, daughters of king James I. with a monument of white marble, and an inſcription on it in capital letters. Sandford, p. 427—429.

Rich.III. and as their ſervants were diſmiſſed, the public doubted not
1483. that they were ſacrificed to their uncle's ſafety.

Richard having received the news of the death of his two nephews, continued his journey into the north, and came to York about the end of Auguſt. As the pretence of his progreſs was to cauſe juſtice to be impartially adminiſtred to the people, he could not help executing ſome of the northern ſoldiers, who in returning from London had committed great outrages. Then, he cauſed himſelf to be crowned a ſecond time at the cathedral of York, the beginning of September, and the ſame day he created Edward his ſon, ten years old, prince of Wales with the uſual formalities.

The king is crowned again at York. Hall. Hiſt. Croyl.

He creates his ſon prince of Wales.

A few days after his coronation, he received the agreeable news that Ferdinand and Iſabella had prevented him, by deſiring themſelves the confirmation of the alliance between England and Caſtile, by an ambaſſador ſent on purpoſe and who was then come to York. The renewing of that alliance, which he ratified himſelf the 31ſt of Auguſt, pleaſed him extremely. He found that Ferdinand and Iſabella acknowledging him for lawful king, were forming no project to reſtore to the throne the houſe of Lancaſter, from whence queen Iſabella was deſcended, being grand-daughter of Catherine of Lancaſter, daughter of John of Gant. He expreſſed his ſatisfaction by conferring the honour of knighthood [n] upon Geoffrey de Saſiola ambaſſador of Caſtile, who brought him the good news, and by his letters full of eſteem, affection, and acknowledgment, to the king and queen of Spain, to the cardinal de Mendoca, and to the earl of Leryn their miniſters.

The alliance with Caſtile is renewed. Act. Pub. XII. p. 199.

Sept. 8. p. 200.

p. 201, 202.

Lewis XI. king of France died Auguſt the 29th this year. Charles VIII. his only ſon being a minor, ſucceeded him under the guardianſhip of his ſiſter Ann, Wife of Philip de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu, purſuant to the late king's directions. But Lewis duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, diſputed the regency with her. This conteſt raiſed in the court of France diſturbances which prevented the miniſters from attending to the renewal or confirmation of the truce with England, which Richard earneſtly ſollicited.

Death of Lewis XI. Commin. P. Daniel.

Troubles at the court of France.

Whilſt the king was flattering himſelf with having taken all neceſſary meaſures to ſupport himſelf on the throne, a conſpiracy was forming againſt him, which ended in his ruin after proving the deſtruction of its author. He left the duke

The duke of Buckingham conſpires againſt the king. Moor.

[n] Which he did by putting a gold collar round his neck, and ſtriking him thrice on the ſhoulders with his ſword. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. xii. p. 200.

of Buckingham diſſatisfied, and parting from the king in order to retire. He was a perſon of a lively and penetrating genius, very proud, ambitious, revengeful, and not very ſtrict in his morals. During Edward the fourth's life, he could never bring himſelf to ſtoop to the queen, though ſhe had a great aſcendant over the king her huſband. He was even conſidered as head of the party of the antient nobility againſt the new, which wholly conſiſted of the queen's relations and creatures. It was chiefly from his averſion to the queen, that after Edward IV's death he devoted himſelf entirely to the duke of Gloceſter, for whom, as has been related, he procured the protectorſhip, and at laſt the crown itſelf. In return for ſo ſignal a ſervice, Richard had liberally beſtowed his favours upon him. Particularly he made him as it were maſter of Wales, and the adjoining counties, by the poſts and governments given him in thoſe parts [o]. But all theſe favours were forgot, when he refuſed to grant him a moiety of the lands of Hereford. The duke perceived the king's policy, in giving him poſts, from which he could remove him at pleaſure, whereas in reſtoring the lands he demanded, it would not have been in his power to reſume them without uſing force. This proceeding convinced him, that the king would always keep him in dependance, and as he perfectly knew that prince's character, eaſily perceived, that the leaſt occaſion would be ſufficient to make him forfeit whatever he enjoyed. Beſides, he thought it a manifeſt injuſtice to refuſe him what he believed to be his lawful right; that moreover he broke his promiſe, and ſhowed himſelf extremely ungrateful, in making ſo ill a return for the ſervices he had received from him. All this gave him reaſon to fear, he had intended to ruin him in time.

Rich. III. 1483.

Cauſe of his diſguſt.

Full of theſe ſiniſter thoughts he retired to his caſtle of Brecknock, where Dr. Morton biſhop of Ely was priſoner under his cuſtody. In his frequent converſations with that prelate, he could not help diſcovering his reſentment againſt the king. The biſhop, who was a man of ſenſe, quickly found, the duke was diſſatisfied, which imboldened him to talk to him freely. He obſerved the duke took a pleaſure in hearing him, and that he would have perhaps ſpoken himſelf more plainly, had he dared to truſt him entirely. So, to inſpire him with more confidence, he affected to ſpeak of the

The duke and biſhop of Ely conſult together how to dethrone the king. Moor. Hall.

[o] He was chief-juſtice and chamberlain of all South-Wales and North-Wales; as alſo conſtable of all the caſtles and ſteward of all the king's lordſhip's lying within Shropſhire and Herefordſhire. See Dugdale's Baron. Vol. i. p. 169. and Strype's Notes in Compl. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 530.

Rich. III. 1483. king in a manner, which by ſhowing what he thought of him, gave the duke to underſtand, that he ſhould find in him a perſon ready to ſecond him in his deſigns. At length, after mutually ſounding each other for ſome time, they opened their minds to one another, and lamented together the unhappy ſtate of the kingdom under ſuch a king. The late death of Edward V. and of the duke his Brother, afforded them freſh matter to exclaim againſt Richard. They concluded, that ſince he had not ſpared his own nephews, no lord in the kingdom could be ſure of his life. Theſe converſations ended at length in the duke's requeſt to the biſhop, to tell him freely, whether he ſaw no way to prevent the miſchiefs they had reaſon to fear; promiſing with an oath to keep the ſecret inviolably. Morton, who till then was under ſome apprehenſions that the duke deſigned to inſnare him, being encouraged by the oath, told him in plain terms, "it "was his opinion, there was no other way than to dethrone "Richard, and ſet up another king. He owned, that though "he could have wiſhed the crown had continued in the fa-"mily of Henry VI. he had not been able to avoid follow-"ing the ſtream, when he ſaw almoſt all England declare for "Edward IV. That afterwards, Henry VI. and the prince "his ſon being dead, he had faithfully adhered to Edward. "That upon Edward's death he had ſerved with the ſame "zeal his young ſon, whom he believed his lawful ſucceſſor. "That afterwards he perceived with grief the duke of "Gloceſter aſpiring to the throne, and having the honour to "be of the council, thought it his duty to endeavour to op-"poſe his deſign. But inſtead of ſucceeding, he had only "drawn upon himſelf the hatred and diſpleaſure of that "prince, who had thrown him into priſon, ſolely for ad-

The biſhop propoſes to the duke to make himſelf king. Mnor. Hall.

"hering to the family of Edward IV. That this unjuſt vio-"lence had increaſed his hatred of the uſurper, and the "tragical death of the two young princes had carried it to "the higheſt degree. That being in theſe circumſtances, "he had conſidered with himſelf what prince would be moſt "proper to be placed on the throne in the room of the tyrant, "and had found no other than the duke of Buckingham, de-"ſcended from a ſon of Edward III. That the whole race "of Lancaſter being extinct, at leaſt in England, there re-"mained of the houſe of York only the tyrant and his ſon, "with the young earl of Warwick ſon of the duke of "Clarence. As for the laſt, he could not pretend [illegible] "crown, his father's attainder having debarred his heirs "of the right of inheriting. That the preſent king had by "his

" his crimes rendered himſelf unworthy, and to preſerve the Rich. III.
" ſon's right after deſtroying the father, would be acting by 1483.
" halves. That therefore, once more, he ſaw only the duke
" of Buckingham capable of lawfully claiming the crown."

The duke liſtened very attentively to this diſcourſe, but Hall. Hollingſh.
deferred his anſwer till next day. This delay threw the biſhop in a fright, ſince it left him ſtill uncertain whether the duke was ſincere, or deſigned only to ſift him. By the way, the biſhop it ſeems was not very ſcrupulous, ſince knowing the duke of Buckingham's character, he readily offered his ſervice to ſet him on the throne. This is a ſign that he acted Hall.
more from a motive of revenge againſt Richard, than with a view to the good of the public. The king and the duke were too much alike for any great advantage to be expected by ſuch a change.

Next day the converſation being reſumed, the duke after a The duke rejects the propoſal, and names the earl of Richmond. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.
long apology for all his former actions, freely confeſſed to the prelate, " he had once an intention to aſpire to the
" throne, but upon mature deliberation had entirely dropped
" it. He conſidered, that in acting for himſelf, he ſhould
" ſtir up againſt him all the friends of the two houſes of
" York and Lancaſter, equally concerned to oppoſe his pre-
" tenſions. That there was a prince nearer than he, whom
" the houſe of Lancaſter looked upon as their head, and he
" it was on whom he had caſt his eyes to raiſe to the throne.
" Then he named Henry earl of Richmond, who was in
" Bretagne." Adding, " that the project to reſtore the
" houſe of Lancaſter to the throne, would draw one half of
" the kingdom to that prince's intereſt, and he had deviſed
" a happy expedient to gain him the other half: And that
" was his marriage with Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Ed-
" ward IV. which would make all the Yorkiſts his friends.
" That moreover, the nation would receive great advantage
" from thence, in as much as all the ſeeds of the civil wars
" would be deſtroyed, by the union of the two contending
" houſes. That by this means even thoſe who were indif-
" ferent for either party, would be forced, as one may ſay,
" to promote the common good of their country; and then
" Richard's few friends would not be able to balance ſo
" great a power. Whereas, if he pretended to ſet up him-
" ſelf the whole kingdom would be united againſt him, ſince
" there was not the leaſt colour to exclude from the throne,
" the houſes that had been in poſſeſſion above fourſcore
" years. In fine, he added, that in his way to Brecknock,
" he met the counteſs of Richmond, and having founded her

" upon

Rich. III. 1483. "upon this head, believed he could be ſure, ſhe would be "eaſily diſpoſed to promote the advancement of her ſon."

The biſhop likes the propoſal, Hall.

The biſhop liked this expedient, as more conformable to juſtice and equity, and more adapted to the good of the realm, eſpecially as it came from the only perſon, who would have had reaſon to oppoſe it, had it been propoſed by another.

Rights of the earl of Richmond.

Henry earl of Richmond, as I elſewhere obſerved, was of Welſh extraction. But his mother Margaret was daughter of John de Beaufort duke of Somerſet, grandſon of John of Gant duke of Lancaſter. Margaret's father dying without iſſue-male, Edmund his younger brother inherited his title. But Edmund and all his poſterity being deſtroyed in the civil wars, Margaret and her ſon were the only remains of that houſe. So, it ſeemed, they ſhould have indiſputably inherited all the rights of the houſe of Lancaſter. But however the title was liable to great objections.

Whilſt John of Gant duke of Lancaſter lived with Conſtantia of Caſtile his ſecond wife, he kept, as his concubine, Catherine Roet, widow of Sir Otho de Swinford, and by her had ſeveral children. Conſtantia his wife being dead, he married his concubine, and had intereſt enough to cauſe her children, born before marriage, to be legitimated by an act of parliament, and by Richard IId's ſubſequent letters-patent. However, the king and the parliament, willing to make a diſtinction between theſe natural children and the others born in wedlock, gave them not the name of Lancaſter or Plantaginet, but that of Beaufort, the name of the caſtle where they were born. Moreover, though in the act of parliament, and in the king's letters patent, power was granted them to hold principalities, dukedoms, earldoms, &c. and to tranſmit them to their heirs, there was no mention of the crown [p]. During the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V. the princes of this branch durſt not aſſume the name of Lancaſter. It was not till about the end of Henry VI's reign, that Edmund duke of Somerſet being prime miniſter, and very zealous for the king, againſt the attempts of the duke of York, began by degrees to aſſert his deſcent from John of Gant, and his

[p] There was mention of the crown, but it was to exclude them abſolutely from it; as is plain from the words of the act. They were by it intitled.--- "Ad quecunque honores dignitates "(excepta dignitate regali) preeminen- "tias ſtatus gradus & officia publica "& privata tam perpetua quam tem- "poralia atque feudalia & nobilia qui- "buſcumque nominibus noncupentur, "etiamſi ducatus principatus comitatus "Baronie vel alia feuda fuerint."--- This Act bears date [illegible] of Anno 20. Richard II. [illegible] plified by king Henry IV. on [illegible] in the 8th year of his reign. See Sandford, p. 332, 333.

kindred

kindred to the king, as being of the houſe of Lancaſter. The queſtion therefore was to know, whether the princes of this branch could ſucceed to the crown in their turn. And ſuppoſing they could, the point was to know what rank they held, and whether the heirs of John of Gant's daughters born in wedlock, were not to precede thoſe of a ſon only legitimated, and born before marriage. If ſo, there was no leſs than ten or twelve princes and princeſſes in Portugal, Caſtile and Germany, who would have excluded the earl of Richmond. On the other hand, it ſeems that by Edward IV's endeavours to have the earl of Richmond in his hands, he had, as it were, owned him capable of inheriting all the rights of the houſe of Lancaſter. This was a queſtion which might have been debated in thoſe days, but which, having been decided above two hundred years, requires no farther examination, unleſs out of meer curioſity thoſe that are verſed in theſe matters are willing to exerciſe their wits. Rich. III. 1483.

Very likely, if the duke of Buckingham had thought it in his power to mount the throne, he would not have failed to object againſt the earl of Richmond's title the forementioned reaſons. But, as he had himſelf obſerved, in his diſcourſe with the biſhop of Ely, he could not ſet up himſelf without oppoſing the two houſes of York and Lancaſter, that is to ſay, the whole kingdom, which was divided between theſe two factions. So the pretence to reſtore the houſe of Lancaſter, and put an end to the civil wars, by the union of the two contending houſes, was by far the more natural way to be revenged of Richard. I ſay to be revenged, for it is hard to believe, a man of his character ſhould act on this occaſion from a nobler motive.

Be this as it will, the duke and the biſhop having conſulted together how to accompliſh their deſigns, came to this concluſion: That all hope of ſucceſs was founded on the marriage of the earl of Richmond with the princeſs Elizabeth; that therefore, before all things, that point was to be ſecured, without which it would be to labour in vain, or at leaſt with great uncertainty. To that end they agreed, that they ſhould without loſs of time acquaint the counteſs of Richmond with their project, that ſhe might inform her ſon of it, and perſuade the queen-dowager, mother of the princeſs, to conſent to the marriage. The duke and biſhop inform the counteſs of Richmond of their deſign. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

But [illegible]nferring with Margaret would have been very dangerous for the duke of Buckingham, conſidering the king's extreme jealouſy of the houſe of Somerſet, the biſhop told him, he had an old friend in the counteſſes's ſervice, one Reginald

Rich. III. 1483. ginald Bray, who might ſafely be truſted with the ſecret. The duke approving that expedient, Bray was privately ſent for to Brecknock, and the project being imparted to him, the propoſing of it to his miſtreſs was left to his care. More eſpecially, he was charged to tell her, that the marriage of the earl her ſon was the baſis and foundation on which the whole project reſted.

The biſhop of Ely flies into Flanders. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

As ſoon as Bray was gone to execute his commiſſion, the biſhop of Ely deſired the duke's leave to retire to his biſhoprick. He was juſtly afraid of his life, in caſe the plot came to be diſcovered. It may be, he did not wholly depend upon the duke's ſincerity. But the duke gave him two invincible reaſons why he could not comply with his requeſt. The firſt was, that he ſhould be guilty of letting his priſoner eſcape, which alone would be ſufficient to inſpire the king with ſuſpicions. The ſecond, that in an undertaking of this nature, he could not proceed without his advice. The biſhop ſeemed to yield to theſe reaſons, but had by him ſtill ſtronger, to free himſelf from the impending danger, in caſe the affair was diſcovered. And therefore, as he was not ſo narrowly watched by his keepers, ſince his frequent converſations with the duke, he found means to eſcape, and retire to Ely [q]; from whence he fled into Flanders. Upon his arrival, he wrote to the duke to excuſe his eſcape, and withal, endeavoured to convince him, it was much more in his power to promote the execution of their intended deſign, than whilſt he was priſoner. He conjured him likewiſe, to continue in his reſolution, and ſhewed him how he might carry on a private correſpondence with him.

He writes to the duke.

The counteſs of Richmond enters into the plot.

Mean while the counteſs of Richmond being informed of what was projected in favour of the earl her ſon, ſent back her ſervant to the duke of Buckingham with her compliment of thanks; and withal let him know, ſhe was endeavouring to obtain the queen dowager's conſent to the marriage, and then would take the moſt proper meaſures to ſend to the earl of Richmond.

She acquaints the queen-dowager with it. Hall. Hollingſh.

Elizabeth Woodville widow of Edward IV. was ſtill in her ſanctuary at Weſtminſter with her five daughters, lamenting the death of her two ſons, and blaming herſelf for having been the occaſion, by her uneaſineſs to deliver the duke of York to his uncle. There had never been any particular friendſhip between that queen and the counteſs of Richmond. One was wife to a king of the houſe of York, and the [illegible]

q Where he found friends and money, Hall, fol. 36. Hollingſh. p. 719. Wil[illegible]

was of the family of Somerſet, ſworn enemies of the Yorkiſts. Wherefore the counteſs could not viſit the queen in her ſanctuary, without cauſing great ſuſpicion. To avoid this inconvenience, ſhe made uſe of one Lewis her phyſician [r], and having communicated the whole affair to him, ordered him to go to London, and ſo manage as to ſee the queen, and inform her of what was in agitation. Above all, ſhe charged him to tell her, that all hope of ſucceſs depended upon the union of the two houſes of York and Lancaſter, by the marriage of the princeſs Elizabeth with the earl of Richmond. Rich. III. 1483.

Lewis being come to London, found no great difficulty, as a phyſician, to get admittance to the queen. He communicated to her what he had in charge, intimating it would be in her own power to be revenged of her mortal enemy, the murderer of her children, and dethrone the uſurper, provided ſhe would conſent to the marriage propoſed. The queen gladly liſtened to the overture. She charged the doctor to tell his miſtreſs, ſhe approved of the project, and would ſo order it, that all the king her huſband's friends ſhould join with the earl of Richmond. But ſhe added, ſhe wiſhed the earl would ſwear to marry Elizabeth, or in caſe ſhe happened to die, Cecily her younger ſiſter. Who promiſes to give her daughter to the earl of Richmond. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Matters being thus ſettled between the queen dowager, the counteſs of Richmond, and the duke of Buckingham, they endeavoured to engage in the plot their moſt truſty friends, who likewiſe drew in others [s]. The Engliſh were as favourably diſpoſed as could be wiſhed, by three principal reaſons. Firſt, becauſe of the people's univerſal hatred of the king, who had made him extremely odious, as well by what he had done during his protectorſhip, as by his late crime, in putting his nephews to death, after robbing them of the crown. He had thereby loſt moſt of the friends of the houſe of York, who only wanted an opportunity to revenge the family of Edward IV. In the ſecond place, all the Lancaſtrians ſaw with pleaſure, a project tending to reſtore the houſe of Lancaſter to the throne. Laſtly, thoſe that without regarding the intereſts of the two factions, had only the good of the nation in view, could not but conſider as a great hap- The temper of the nation favourable to the conſpirators

[r] Who was a Welchman. Hall, fol. 36.

[s] Reginald Bray was employed by the counteſs of Richmond to engage people in her ſon's party, which he accordingly did, and brought in, among the reſt, Sir Giles Daubeney, Sir John Cheney, Richard Guilford, Thomas Rame, Eſquires, and many others. Hall, fol. 37. Stow, p. 463.

pineſs,

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pineſs, the ſucceſs of an enterprize, which by uniting the two contending houſes, would put an end to the civil war, wherewith the kingdom had been afflicted thirty years. Thus the Lancaſtrians, Yorkiſts, and even thoſe that ſtood neuter, were equally diſpoſed to concur to the downfal of the uſurper.

The duke begins to take meaſures to execute his deſigns. Stow. Hall. Bucking.

The duke of Buckingham being the author and head of the enterprize, it was his part to conduct it to a happy concluſion. For that purpoſe, he firſt ſecured ſome friends in Wales, where his power was great, who undertook to liſt ſoldiers privately, to enable him to bring ſuddenly and ſeaſonably an army into the field. Then he ſettled a correſpondence with ſome gentlemen of Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, and Cornwal, who promiſed to raiſe forces, and receive the earl of Richmond at his arrival. His deſign was to join them himſelf, with his Welſhmen, that Richard might be the leſs able to oppoſe the earl's landing. At the ſame time, ſeveral lords and gentlemen were to riſe in other counties, that the king might be at a loſs where to march firſt. The marquis of Dorſet, who had lately quitted his ſanctuary [t], Sir Richard Woodville his brother [u], the biſhop of Exeter, Sir Edward Courtney his brother, and ſeveral other perſons of quality engaged in the plot.

The earl of Richmond is informed of all. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Theſe meaſures being taken, the counteſs of Richmond ſent two expreſſes [w] to the earl her ſon, by different ways, to let him know what was reſolved in his favour, and how far the project was advanced. The two expreſſes arriving almoſt together, informed him of all the circumſtances of the plot, and prayed him to repair into England without loſs of time, upon the aſſurance they gave him, that every thing was ready for his reception. They told him likewiſe that Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, or Cornwal [x], were the moſt convenient places to land, by reaſon of the meaſures taken with the people of thoſe parts.

He reſolves to impart the matter to the duke of Bretagne. Hall. Stow.

The earl of Richmond was then at Vannes in Bretagne, where he had been ſeveral years really a priſoner, becauſe of the duke of Bretagne's engagements with Edward IV. but

[t] He repaired into Yorkſhire, where he raiſed large forces; Sir Edward Courtney and his brother did the ſame in Devonſhire and Cornwal; and in Kent, Richard Guilford and other gentlemen gathered a great body of ſoldiers, and began to commit hoſtilities. Hall, fol. 39. Hollingſh. p. 1401.

[u] It ſhould be his uncle. For he was brother to Elizabeth Woodville, the marquiſs's mother.

[w] She ſent Hugh Conway, Eſq; with a large ſum of money. But Richard Guilford, for fear Conwey ſhould be ſtopped at Plymouth, where he intended to take ſhip, ſent out of Kent, by the way of Calais, Thomas Rame with the ſame inſtructions. They both arrived within leſs than an hour, at the court of Bretagne's court. Hall, fol. 37, 38. Hollingſh. p. 1400.

[x] Wales, Stow, p. 463.

his

his confinement was not ſtrict, the duke contenting himſelf with narrowly watching him, in order to hinder his eſcape in caſe he attempted it: in other reſpects he enjoyed an honourable freedom. He heard with great joy that he was thought of in England. But when he came to conſider his preſent condition, and how little it was in his power to return into his own country ſo as to procure a welcome reception, he found it would be almoſt impoſſible to ſucceed in his enterprize without the duke of Bretagne's conſent and aſſiſtance: for unleſs that prince ſupplied him with money, troops, and ſhips, it was not practicable to take juſt meaſures to accompliſh his deſigns: beſides, the duke might have made him cloſe priſoner, by which means the whole affair would have miſcarried. So, perceiving he could not proceed without him, he reſolved to tell him the ſecret, and engage him, if poſſible, to aſſiſt him. He found the duke more ready to countenance him than he expected. The duke was not engaged with Richard as he had been with Edward his brother: beſides, the unjuſt and violent actions of the new king had rendered him odious to all the princes of Europe, and eſpecially to the duke of Bretagne. Another thing likewiſe induced him to hearken to the earl's propoſals: he had pretenſions to the earldom of Richmond in England, formerly enjoyed by his anceſtors, and imagined the earl would readily promiſe to reſtore it, if by this means he arrived to the crown. It is pretended this was the principal article of their agreement, for which the duke very willingly engaged to ſupply him with men and ſhips. When the earl was ſure of the duke of Bretagne's aſſiſtance, he ſent expreſſes[y] to the counteſs his mother and the duke of Buckingham, to acquaint them that he hoped to be ready by the beginning of October, deſiring them to prepare all things by that time. This good news preſently put all the conſpirators in motion; every one repaired to the poſt aſſigned him, as well to raiſe forces as excite inſurrections: there was no time to loſe, good part of September being now paſt.

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The duke promiſes him aſſiſtance. Hall. Hollingſh.

How careful ſoever the conſpirators had been to conceal themſelves, all theſe things could not be done and Richard have no intelligence that ſome plot was contriving againſt him; but none could tell him what it was, or who were the authors. He was then at York, thinking of very different things, ſo ſecure was he in his own opinion. But theſe advices obliged him to leave the north, and approach the centre

Richard receives confuſed notions of the conſpiracy. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

[y] He ſent back Conway and Rame. Hall, fol. 38. Hollingſh.

of

Rich. III. 1483. of the kingdom. At the ſame time he ordered his troops, which were diſperſed in ſeveral parts, to be ready to march at a moment's warning. Mean while, he prepared very ſlowly, not imagining the danger ſo near. As the intelligence he had received made him uneaſy, he ran over in his mind all the lords of the realm who could be diſſatisfied, or had ſufficient credit to excite inſurrections againſt him: he found none but the duke of Buckingham. He had angred him by diſappointing him with regard to the lands of Hereford, and knowing him perfectly, could not doubt that he was capable of any thing to be revenged: beſides, he knew him to be the only perſon in condition by his parts, his riches, and his intereſt, to form and execute great projects: his own experience would not ſuffer him to queſtion it. The biſhop of Ely's eſcape ſerved alſo to ſtrengthen his ſuſpicion. The duke of Buckingham muſt have known how odious that prelate was to him, and therefore his careleſſneſs in guarding ſuch a priſoner could not but be deemed a colluſion and conſequence of ſome ill deſign. Upon theſe ſuſpicions, which were but too well grounded, Richard reſolved to ſend for him to court, but the duke deſired to be excuſed, on pretence of ſome indiſpoſition. This refuſal confirmed the king in his belief, that what he had ſuſpected was but too true. Nevertheleſs, to be more fully ſatisfied, he ſent him poſitive orders to come to him, without alledging any excuſe. The duke perceiving diſſimulation was ineffectual, ſent him word, he would not expoſe his perſon to his mortal enemy, whom he neither loved nor would ſerve.

He ſuſpects the duke of Buckingham.

He orders him to court. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The duke refuſes, and declared againſt the king.

This was ſufficient to convince the king that the duke of Buckingham was the author of the commotions, which for ſome time had made him uneaſy. On the other hand, the duke perceiving that after ſuch a declaration there was no more ceremony to be uſed, drew together the forces which himſelf and friends had privately liſted in Wales, and began to march towards the weſtern counties [z], where he knew the earl of Richmond intended to land. There he was to be joined by thoſe who were gone before to prepare all things againſt the earl's arrival.

He takes up arms. Hall.

Richard was not a little ſurprized to hear that the duke was ſo ready. However, as he had taken ſome precautions to aſſemble his forces in caſe of neceſſity, he appointed the rendezvous at Leiceſter, where he repaired himſelf, with a reſolution to give his enemies battle before their number [illegible] increaſed.

He deſigns to go into Cornwal,

[z] Towards Saliſbury. Hall, fol. 39. Stow, p. 463.

increaſed. He would have found it very difficult however to prevent them, if an extraordinary and very unexpected accident had not hindered the duke from joining his friends, who were all ready to riſe in arms in the counties of Devon and Cornwal. The duke was advancing by long marches [a] to Gloceſter, where he deſigned to paſs the Severn: but at the ſame time the river was ſo ſwoln, that the country on both ſides was overflowed and great damage done by the waters. Never had ſo terrible an inundation been heard of in that country: it held ſix whole days, during which the duke's army could neither paſs the river, nor ſubſiſt on the other ſide where was nothing but deſolation [b]. In fine, the Welſh ſoldiers, tired with being expoſed to hunger, rains, and numberleſs hardſhips, returned to their homes, notwithſtanding all the duke's intreaties to the contrary [c]. The deſertion was ſo general, that there remained with the duke only one ſingle ſervant. Reduced to this ſad condition, he ſaw no other remedy than to conceal himſelf till he could take new meaſures. Unhappily for him, he choſe for his retreat the houſe of one Baniſter, who had been his ſervant, and to whom his father and himſelf had been very kind.

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but cannot paſs the Severn. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

His army diſperſes.

He hides himſelf at the houſe of one of his domeſtics. Hall. Buck.

The king hearing of the diſperſion of the duke of Buckingham's troops, iſſued out a proclamation againſt him and the marquis of Dorſet with ſome other of his adherents, or whom he ſuppoſed to be in league with him. But as the marquis had not yet appeared in arms, and ſo could not be ſtiled a rebel, he made uſe of another pretence to involve him in the ſentence. He ſaid, that having taken an oath at his coronation to puniſh vice and wickedneſs, he was obliged to puniſh the marquis of Dorſet, notorious for his debaucheries, who had ſeduced and raviſhed ſeveral virgins, been guilty of ſundry adulteries, and publicly kept Shore's wife. Then he promiſed a reward of a thouſand pounds Sterling, or a hundred pounds a year, to any perſon that ſhould bring the duke to juſtice; a thouſand marks, or one hundred marks a year, for the marquis; and ſo in proportion for the reſt that

Proclamation againſt the conſpirators. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 204.

[a] Through the foreſt of Dean. Hall. fol. 39.

[b] This inundation was ſo remarkable, that for a hundred years after it was called the Great Water, or Buckingham's Water. It is ſaid to laſt ten days, and that men, women, and children were carried away in their beds with the violence of it, and that the tops of the mountains were covered with the waters. Hall. fol. 39. Hollingſhead, p. 1402.

[c] Hall ſays, he had enforced and compelled them into his ſervice againſt their wills, rather by lordly and ſtreight commandment, than by liberal wages and gentle reteinour; which was the very occaſion why they left him deſolate, fol. 39.

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were named in the proclamation [d]. The villain Baniſter [e], not being able to reſiſt ſo ſtrong a temptation, betrayed his maſter to the ſheriff of Shropſhire [f], who cauſing the houſe to be ſurrounded by a company of armed men, ſeized the duke of Buckingham, diſguiſed like a peaſant, and conducted him to Shrewſbury. The duke was deſirous to ſpeak with the king, but could never obtain that favour. Some ſay, he intended to kill him with a dagger which was found upon him after his death: but this is only conjecture. However it be, he was beheaded at Shrewſbury [g], without any legal proceſs, by the king's bare order. Thus, this lord, who had helped to take away the lives of the lord Haſtings, the earl Rivers and other priſoners at Pontefract, by an arbitrary ſentence, periſhed himſelf in the ſame manner, contrary to all right, by the abſolute orders of him whom he had placed on the throne. On the other hand, we ſhall ſee preſently, that this very conſpiracy, formed by the duke of Buckingham, accomplice of all the king's ill actions whilſt he was but protector, proved the occaſion of that monarch's ruin. Is it poſſible not to perceive the direction of providence in ſuch ſort of events!

The duke of Buckingham is betrayed and beheaded. Hall.

Upon the firſt news of the diſperſion of the Welſh army, the duke's friends, who expected him in the weſt, ready to take up arms the moment they ſhould hear of his paſſing the Severn, diſperſed themſelves. Some lurked among their friends, and others fled to ſanctuary. But the greateſt part embarked and ſailed to the earl of Richmond, perceiving there was no ſafety for them in the kingdom: the marquis of Dorſet was of this number.

The conſpirators diſperſe. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, the earl of Richmond, imagining that all went there to his wiſh, ſailed from St. Malo's the 12th of October, with five thouſand men and forty ſhips, furniſhed by the duke of Bretagne. But the fleet being diſperſed by a ſtorm, ſome of the ſhips were driven on the coaſt of France, others returned into Bretagne. The ſhip in which was the earl of Richmond, reſiſting the ſeas better than the reſt, arrived after the ſtorm upon the coaſt of

The earl of Richmond comes upon the coaſt of Cornwal. Hall. Hollingſh. He is like to be ſurprized, but eſcapes.

[d] With him are named in the proclamation, ſir William Noreys, ſir William Knevet, ſir Thomas Bourghchier, of Barnes, ſir George Broun, John Cheyne, John Noreis, Walter Hungerford, John Ruſh, and John Harecourt. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 204.

[e] His name was Rauf Baniſtre. King Richard gave him for his reward the manor of [illegible] in Kent. See Compl. Hiſt. p. 532. note.

[f] John Mitton. Hollingſhead, p. 1403.

[g] So ſays Hollingſhead, p. 1403. but Hall, fol. [illegible] and Stow, 465. ſay it was at Salisbury.

Cornwal,

Cornwal[h], where he ſaw the ſhore crowded with troops, who made him a ſignal to approach: but happily for him he reſolved not to land till his fleet had rejoined him, expecting they would be ſoon at the rendezvous. Mean time, he ſent to enquire whether the troops he ſaw were friends or enemies: the commander anſwered, he was poſted there by the duke of Buckingham, to wait for the earl of Richmond, and favour his landing. But the perſon ſent by the earl eaſily perceived the contrary, and informed his maſter of it, who finding his deſign was diſcovered, put to ſea and arrived at a port in Normandy. The truth is, the troops he ſaw on the coaſt of Cornwal were the militia of the county, poſted there by Richard, with intent to ſurprize his enemy by that artifice. Rich. III. 1483. He retires into Normandy.

The earl of Richmond heard in Normandy of the duke of Buckingham's misfortune. As after that there was no more appearance of purſuing his enterprize without taking new meaſures, he returned to Bretagne, where he found the marquis of Dorſet, with the reſt that had made their eſcapes out of England. Though this deſign ſeemed entirely blaſted, he deſpaired not of better ſucceſs another time. The fugitives told him, Richard was extremely hated in England, which he took for a good omen. On the other hand, the duke of Bretagne promiſed him to continue his aſſiſtance. So, reſolving to make a freſh attempt, he ſolemnly ſwore on Chriſtmas day, in the cathedral of Rennes, that he would marry the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. or, in caſe ſhe died, Cecily her younger ſiſter. Then all the Engliſh there preſent ſwore allegiance to him, conſidering him as king of England by right, though he was not ſo in fact. From thenceforward the ſtrict enquiry made in England after thoſe that were concerned in the plot, forced great numbers to retire into Bretagne, ſo that the reſort of the Engliſh was very great for ſome time. He returns to Bretagne, Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. He perſiſts in his reſolution. And ſweats to marry Elizabeth of York. Many Engliſh come and join him.

Mean while, Richard having freed himſelf from this danger more happily than he had reaſon to expect, ordered ſeveral perſons to be ſeized, ſome of whom were immediately ſacrificed to his vengeance[i]. Of this number was ſir Thomas St. Leger his brother-in-law, who married his ſiſter Anne, widow of the duke of Exeter. In order to avoid the uſual formalities of the courts of juſtice, he commiſſioned ſir Ralph Richard puts ſeveral of the conſpirators to death. Hall. Hollingſh.

[h] At Pool, in Dorſetſhire. Hall. Hollingſh.

[i] Sir George Browne, ſir Roger Clifford, and four others, were executed at London: ſir Thomas St. Leger, Thomas Rame, with many more, at Exeter. Hollingſh.

Rich. III. 1483. Aſhton to exerciſe the office of vice-conſtable, with ſo extenſive a power that he could condemn and execute upon the ſpot all perſons whatever, guilty or ſuſpected of high-treaſon, without having any regard to any appeal [k].

An extraordinary commiſſion to Aſhton. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 205.

By virtue of this commiſſion, Aſhton, who was probably a man after the king's own heart, came into the weſtern counties, where he ſignalized his zeal by the bloody executions of ſuch as were found guilty, or only ſuſpected of having favoured the conſpirators. Thus were ſpent the firſt ſix months of the reign of Richard III. This ambitious prince was no ſooner on the throne, but he had occaſion to perceive with what difficulties he ſhould preſerve a crown ſo ardently deſired, and by ſo many unlawful practices procured.

1484. The parliament meets. Cotton's Abridg. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

In January 1484, the king ſummoned his firſt parliament [l]. This was done at a very ſeaſonable juncture. The duke of Buckingham's conſpiracy ſeeming entirely ſtifled by the death of that lord and the retreat of the earl of Richmond, there was not in the kingdom any perſon in condition to oppoſe him. So the parliament, conſiſting no doubt of repreſentatives devoted to the king, declared Edward IV's iſſue illegitimate [m], and confirmed Richard's irregular election, with his pretended right to the crown. This act was abſolutely neceſſary to the king's ſecurity. Beſides, the parliament thereby avoided the trouble of enquiring after the fate of Edward V. whom all England had for ſome months acknowledged for king.

Edward IV's iſſue declar'd baſtards.

The earl of Richmond attainted. Hall.

Then an act of attainder was paſſed againſt Henry earl of Richmond and all his adherents, by virtue whereof all their eſtates were forfeited to the king [n]. By this act, which de-

[k] By this commiſſion, which is to be ſeen in Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 205. may be known the office and authority of the high-conſtable of England: he was thereby empowered — "ad audiendum et examinandum, ac "procedendum contra quaſcumque perſonas de crimine læſæ noſtræ regiæ "mageſtatis ſuſpectas et culpabiles, tam "per viam examinationis teſtium quam "aliter, prout vobis melius viſum fuerit ex officio mero ſeu promoto. "Necnon in cauſis illis judicialiter et "ſententialiter juxta cauſas, exigentiam, et delinquentium demerita, ſine "ſtrepitu et figura judicii, appellatione "quacumque remota, quandocumque "vobis videbitur procedendum, judicandum, et finali executioni demandum," etc. This commiſſion is dated at Coventry, October 24.

[l] It met at Weſtminſter, January 23. Cotton's Abridg. p. 709.

[m] Though Rapin, in the reign of Edward V. ſays that Commines was miſtaken in ſaying, the marriage of Edward IV. with Eleanor Talbot, or Butler, daughter of the earl of Shrewſbury and relict of the lord Butler of Sudeley, was objected to prove the illegitimacy of his children; yet we find it was urged in this bill, without any mention at all of his pre-contract with Elizabeth Lucy. See Cotton's Abridg. p. 712.

[n] Hall ſays, that not contented with his prey, Richard laid on the people a great tax and tallage, [illegible]

clared

cla.ed all thoſe rebels and traitors that were concerned in the duke of Buckingham's and the earl of Richmond's conſpiracy, all the late executions were in ſome meaſure juſtified, becauſe ſuch as had ſuffered were conſidered as guilty of the crime condemned by the act °. By good fortune none of them diſcovered that the counteſs of Richmond was concerned in the plot; whether ſhe had truſted but few perſons, or her confidents had eſcaped into Bretagne. However, Richard thinking it hardly poſſible for the earl of Richmond to form an enterprize without his mother's knowledge, ordered the lord Stanley her huſband to keep her confined, to prevent her from any future attempts. He had then a perfect confidence in the lord Stanley, whom he had made high conſtable, after Aſhton as vice-conſtable had been inſtrumental in his deſigns. It is likely he did not think the lord Stanley a proper perſon to exerciſe the ſeverities for which he had commiſſioned Aſhton, and no doubt that was the reaſon why he did not make him high-conſtable till every thing relating to that commiſſion was finiſhed.

Rich. III. 1484.

The counteſs of Richmond is not diſcovered. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The lord Stanley made high-conſtable. Decemb. 16. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 209.

Richard had reaſon to believe, that after all the rigours exerciſed upon the parties concerned, the conſpiracy was entirely cruſhed P. But Thomas Hutton, who was returned from his embaſſy to Bretagne, told him the ſame plot ſtill ſubſiſted, and the duke of Bretagne had promiſed the earl of Richmond the continuance of his aſſiſtance. He gave him the names of thoſe conſpirators who were with the earl, and informed him they had frequent conferences together, and were very buſy. It was eaſy to conclude from thence, that the earl of Richmond had not loſt all hopes, and had ſtill in England correſpondencies whereon he founded the execution

The king receives freſh advices of the conſpiracy. Hall.

He tries to prevent the danger.

° The moſt remarkable ſtatutes enacted in this parliament were theſe: 1. That whereas the ſubjects of this realm had of late been burdened with a new impoſition, called a Benevolence, the ſame ſhould not thenceforth be exacted. 2. That every juſtice of the peace ſhall have power to admit a priſoner, arreſted for felony, to bail: and that no officer ſhall ſeize the goods of a priſoner, arreſted for felony, till he is attainted. 3. That no perſon ſhall be impannelled upon juries, but what hath twenty ſhillings freehold, or twenty-ſix ſhillings and eight pence copyhold at leaſt. 4. That wine and oil-veſſels ſhall contain as follows: every tun ſhall hold two hundred and fifty-two gallons; a pipe, one hundred and twenty-ſix gallons; a tertian, eighty-four gallons; a hogſhead, ſixty-three gallons; a barrel thirty-one gallons and a half; a runlet, eighteen gallons and a half. Statut. 1 Richard III. cap. 2, 3, 4, 13.

P He ordered ſir William Collingburn of Lydiard in Wiltſhire, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for aiding the earl of Richmond, and writing a ſatyrical diſtich upon him and his favourites, viſcount Lovel, ſir Richard Ratcliffe, and ſir William Cateſby:

The Rat, the Cat, and Lovell our Dog,
Rule all England under a Hog.

alluding to Lovell's arms, and to one of Richard's ſupporters being a wild boar. Hall, fol. 42. Hollingſh. p. 1406.

3

Rich. III. 1484. of his deſigns. And yet ſince the death of the duke of Buckingham, the flight of the marquis of Dorſet, and the execution of ſeveral of the ſame party, Richard ſaw no one in the kingdom that ſeemed to be able to withſtand him. So, concluding the danger muſt come from abroad, he reſolved to take all poſſible precautions to hinder his enemies from being aſſiſted by foreign princes.

He ſecures Caſtile and Portugal, Act. Pub. xii. p. 228.

Laſt year he confirmed the alliance of England with Caſtile; and in June this year did the ſame thing with regard to Portugal. Probably the whole ſtorm was to come from thoſe two quarters, ſince the king of Portugal and the queen of Caſtile, were both deſcended from Philippa and Catherine, daughters of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, and conſequently might have pretended to the crown of England. Mean while, the readineſs wherewith they had renewed their alliance with England, ſuffered not the king to ſuſpect them of having any ſuch thought.

and the archduke Maximilian p. 237, 248.

Maximilian, archduke of Auſtria, who governed the Low-Countries in the name of his ſon Philip, being ſon of Leonora of Portugal, grand-daughter of Philippa of Lancaſter, might have alſo claimed the crown of England, or aſſiſted the earl of Richmond. This conſideration made Richard reſolve to ſend him ambaſſadors, under colour of renewing the truce of commerce between England and the Low-Countries. But it is likely, the ambaſſadors had inſtructions to found whether there was any project at that court with reſpect to England.

He ſends ambaſſadors to France, p. 221, 222, 223.

Though Richard did not ſeem to have occaſion to fear any thing from France, under a minority diſturbed with inteſtine diviſions, he had taken care however to ſend ambaſſadors to Charles VIII. to deſire the prolongation, or at leaſt confirmation of the truce.

and tries to win the duke of Bretagne.

There remained only Bretagne and Scotland that could give him any uneaſineſs. He did not queſtion that the duke of Bretagne had already aſſiſted, and was ſtill inclined to aſſiſt the earl of Richmond. For that reaſon, he thought nothing ſhould be ſpared to gain that prince to his intereſt.

Affairs of Bretagne.

Francis II. duke of Bretagne, being old and infirm, was entirely governed by Peter Landais his treaſurer, and committed to him the ſole management of his affairs. This favorite, who was the ſon of a taylor, uſed his power ſo inſolently, that he drew upon himſelf the hatred of all the Bretons. This very year 1484, the great men combining together againſt him, would have ſeized him in the duke's palace, but miſſing their aim, ſaw themſelves expoſed to the favorite's vengeance, who cauſed them to be declared guilty of high-treaſon.

treaſon. Mean while, as the whole country was againſt him, he believed it proper to ſupport himſelf by ſome foreign aid. To that end he ſent in his maſter's name ambaſſadors to Richard, on pretence of making a truce with him, which was accordingly concluded in June at Pontfract, where the king then was, and which was to laſt till the 24th of April following. Rich. III. 1484.

Richard's truce with Bretagne. p. 226.

But this was not the only commiſſion theſe ambaſſadors were charged with. There are two records in the Collection of the Public Acts, whereby it appears, that Richard had promiſed to ſend the duke of Bretagne an aid of a thouſand archers. Now this could be only for the above-mentioned occaſion, ſince the duke of Bretagne had then no war upon his hands. As the duke did nothing of himſelf, very likely, to obtain this aid, Landais had put the king in hopes, he would deliver up the earl of Richmond. And indeed the ſequel plainly ſhowed, he had entered into ſome ſuch engagement. Thus Richard thought himſelf ſo ſecure from Bretagne, that inſtead of fearing the duke would aſſiſt the earl of Richmond, he flattered himſelf with the hopes of having his enemy very ſoon in his power.

Secret negotiations between Richard and the duke, or Landais his favorite. p. 228, 229.

As he might alſo be apprehenſive that the king of Scotland, deſcended from a princeſs of the houſe of Somerſet, would countenance the male-contents in placing the earl of Richmond on the throne of England, he believed he ought to ſecure himſelf too from that quarter. To that end, he negotiated with James III. a truce, concluded in September this year, and which was to laſt from the 29th of that month, to the ſame day of the year 1487. At the ſame time, he concluded the marriage of his niece Ann de la Pole, daughter of his ſiſter Elizabeth and the duke of Suffolk, with the duke of Rothſay, the king of Scotland's eldeſt ſon.

Truce with Scotland. p. 207, 218. 232—244. Hall, fol. 42, &c. Hollingſh. Stow.

All theſe precautions appeared ſo juſt, that he ſeemed to be ſcreened from all danger. However, to rob the earl of Richmond of all hopes of accompliſhing his deſigns, the prince of Wales his ſon dying in April this year [q], he declared his nephew the earl of Lincoln his preſumptive heir, intending to have the declaration ratified by the parliament. The earl of Lincoln was ſon of Elizabeth his ſiſter [r], and brother of Ann, who was to marry the prince of Scotland.

Death of the prince of Wales. Hiſt. Croyl. Hall.

Earl of Lincoln declared heir to the crown.

Moreover, not to neglect any thing that might give his enemies an advantage, he ſent an ambaſſador of obedience to

Embaſſy of obedience to the pope. Act. Pub. xii. p. 253.

[q] At the caſtle of Middleham in Yorkſhire. Buck, p. 534.

[r] And John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk. His name was alſo John. See Dugdale.

Rich. III. 1484. pope Innocent VIII. lately elected to the papal throne. He had omitted this compliment to Sixtus IV. Innocent's predeceſſor, as appears in the Collection of the Public Acts. But his fear of incenſing the pope, and affording ſome pretence to the male-contents in the kingdom, and particularly the clergy, made him diſpatch his ambaſſadors to Rome.

Embaſſy from France p. 234.

Shortly after, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee that Charles VIII. king of France, deſired a ſafe-conduct for ambaſſadors he intended to ſend to him. Thus every thing ſeemed to concur in his favour. Mean while, the earl of Richmond was ſtill full of life; and ſo long as that prince was out of his power, he could not think himſelf thoroughly fixed on the throne. This was the chief, or rather the ſole cauſe of all his trouble and care.

Richard treats with Landais about delivering up the earl of Richmond. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The truce with Bretagne being to laſt but till the 24th of April 1485, Richard took occaſion from thence to ſend ambaſſadors to the duke to cauſe it to be prolonged. That was the pretence of the ambaſſy. But the ambaſſadors had orders to treat of another more important affair with Landais, prime miniſter and abſolute maſter of the duke, who was fallen into a kind of lethargy, which rendered him unfit for public affairs. And that was to perſuade this miniſter to deliver up the earl of Richmond.

Landais had not wanted the fore-mentioned thouſand archers. It was therefore neceſſary, in order to obtain what the king deſired, to make a new treaty which might be ſo advantagious to the duke and the favorite, as to cauſe them to overlook all their ſcruples upon that ſubject. As for the duke, Argentré affirms, he ſaw among the records of Bretagne, Richard the III's letters patent, whereby he gave to duke Francis the earldom of Richmond with all its dependencies, as enjoyed by his anceſtors, with the ſole reſervation of its reverſion to the crown in caſe the duke died without iſſue. With reſpect to Landais, as the negotiation was more ſecret, it is not well known what reward he expected for his intended ſervice. Thus much is certain, Richard made him very advantagious offers. But as he was a man not to be ſatisfied with bare promiſes, there was often occaſion to ſend expreſſes to the king. Theſe delays, which, as Argentré poſitively affirms, were upon the miniſter's account, proved the earl of Richmond's ſecurity. Though he was then in Bretagne, he was entirely ignorant of what paſſed at the duke's court. But the biſhop of Ely, who though abſent, had good ſpies about Richard, being informed that the biſhop of Leon, ambaſſador of Bretagne, was treating very privately with the king,

Act. Pub. xii. p. 255, 260—264. The biſhop of Ely warns the earl of Richmond of his danger.

king, warned the earl of Richmond that he was not safe in the duke of Bretagne's dominions. This advice coming from so good a hand, put the earl upon seriously thinking of freeing himself from the impending danger. As he knew Landais to be a person capable of committing the vilest actions, he resolved to retire into France, and for that purpose sent privately to king Charles for a passport [s]; which was readily granted him. Mean while, informed as he was of Landais's ill designs, he did not question that he had ordered him to be narrowly watched. So the difficulty of escaping was not small, especially as he was surrounded with a great number of English, in respect of whom it was very hard to conceal the secret, and very dangerous to reveal it. To remedy this inconvenience, the duke of Bretagne being at that time recovered of his illness, the earl took occasion to send the principal lords of his retinue to congratulate him upon it [t], ordering them to take with them all their servants, under colour of doing him the more honour. His aim was not only to be more alone at Vannes, but chiefly to remove from his keepers all suspicion of his desiring to escape, whilst he had so many hostages at the duke's court. Accordingly, this artifice succeeded to his wish, so that two days after he departed from Vannes in disguise, attended by five persons only. As soon as he was out of the town he left the great road, and riding cross the fields and through by-ways, without stopping any where, safely arrived at Angers, capital of Anjers. This speed was absolutely necessary; for otherwise he would have been infallibly taken. Those who were charged to watch him, hearing of his escape, pursued him so closely, that they came upon the borders of Bretagne but one hour after him. In a few days the duke being informed that the earl was retired under an apprehension of ill treatment, seemed very angry with Landais for giving him occasion to fear, not knowing doubtless what his favorite was negotiating with the king of England. Then he gave all the English in his dominion leave to go to the earl with his compliments and offers of service. The earl of Richmond received these civilities with signs of the utmost gratitude, and desired the duke's messenger to tell him, he would have all his favours in everlasting remembrance. Thus the earl of Richmond escaped, as it were miraculously, out of Richard's snares. This was the second time he had been thus happily delivered. The

Rich. III. 1484.

The earl resolves to make his escape. Hall.

Stow.

The difficulty of the thing.

He escapes fortunately, and arrives at Angers. Hall. Hollingsh.

The duke of Bretagne sends him offers of service. Hall.

[s] By Christopher Urswike. Hall. fol. 46.

[t] The duke of Bretagne was then, for recreation and change of air, on the borders and confines of France. Ibid. Hollingshead, p. 1408.

English

Rich. III. 1484. Engliſh belonging to his retinue, thought themſelves no leſs fortunate than he, to be freed by the duke's generoſity from his unworthy miniſter, who not long after atoned on a gibbet for all the ill actions his avarice had prompted him to commit.

Charl. VIII. receives him honourably. Hall. Hollingſh.

The earl of Richmond making but a ſhort ſtay at Angers, went to Charles VIII. then at Langeais, who received him very civilly. However, as the court of France was not yet free from troubles, it was no favorable juncture for the earl to procure the aſſiſtance he could no longer expect from the duke of Bretagne. Nevertheleſs, as the young king ſeemed well inclined to him, he ſpared not to obtain ſome aid of that prince, when the diſturbances at his court were appeaſed.

The earl of Oxford eſcapes out of Hammes, and goes to the earl of Richmond. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Whilſt his affairs were in this ſtate of uncertainty, he ſaw the earl of Oxford [u] arrive, whom king Edward IV. had confined in the caſtle of Hammes in Picardy. This lord, who had been one of the principal friends of the houſe of Lancaſter, hearing in priſon that the earl of Richmond pretended to the crown, had wrought ſo effectually upon the governor of Hammes [w], that he had perſuaded him to releaſe him and declare for the earl: he even brought him along with him to ſalute that prince, and offer him his ſervice. The advantage of having the earl of Oxford in his party, was very beneficial to the earl of Richmond in England. Several other lords privately ſent him word that he might depend upon their aſſiſtance, when they ſhould ſee a proper ſeaſon to declare againſt Richard.

Richard obliges the lord Stanley to leave his ſon in hoſtage. Hall. Stow.

Mean while, the king had daily notice that ſomething was contriving againſt him in favour of the earl of Richmond; but could not diſcover the authors of the plot, what ſpies ſoever he employed. Beſides, he knew no Engliſh lord powerful enough, as he thought, to form or execute an enterprize of that nature. The lord Stanley was the only perſon he could miſtruſt, becauſe he was huſband to the counteſs of Richmond. That alone rendered him ſuſpected, though otherwiſe he had no proof againſt him. So, to ſecure himſelf from that ſide, Stanley deſiring permiſſion to retire upon his own eſtate, he required him to leave his ſon [x] at court as a ſort of hoſtage. Indeed, his ſuſpicions were but too juſt, ſince that very lord proved afterwards the principal inſtrument of his ruin.

Richard knew he was not beloved in England. On the other hand, he heard there were certain motions among the

[u] John de Vere.

[w] John Blunt, and alſo Sir John Fortcſcue, governor of the town of Calais. Hall, fol. 47.

[x] George Stanley lord Strange. Idem. fol. 49.

people,

people, which, though ſecret, could not but be dangerous. However, he could not prevent the miſchief he dreaded, without knowing wherein conſiſted the plots of his enemies, and the principal authors: upon this therefore he laid out all his pains. At length, by planting ſpies in the country, he came to find, that the projects in favour of the earl of Richmond were founded upon his promiſe to marry the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. This diſcovery made him perceive, the Yorkiſts were not far from an union with the Lancaſtrians, ſince they conſented to the marriage. It was manifeſt that ſuch an union could not but occaſion his ruin, ſince in that caſe he would have only a few friends of his houſe to rely on, all the reſt declaring for his brother's family. Finding therefore that the plot which was contriving againſt him, reſted upon a more ſolid foundation than he had imagined, he applied himſelf wholly to break the earl of Richmond's meaſures, by preventing the fatal marriage. He found no better way to accompliſh his ends, than to marry himſelf the princeſs deſigned for his enemy. But the execution of ſuch a project was clogged with ſeveral difficulties, which to a prince leſs ſcrupulous than himſelf, would have appeared inſuperable. The firſt was, he had a wife already, whoſe conſtitution afforded no ſigns of her leaving this world. But he deſpaired not to ſurmount that obſtacle, either by a divorce, or ſome other leſs lawful means. The ſecond difficulty was, to draw Elizabeth out of the ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, where ſhe was with the queen her mother. Beſides, it was no eaſy taſk to perſuade the queen dowager to give her daughter to the murderer of her ſons. Laſtly, the pope's diſpenſation to mary his niece muſt be obtained. But this obſtacle ſeemed inconſiderable in compariſon of the others, well knowing it was not impracticable to adjuſt that affair with the court of Rome.

Rich. III. 1484.

He diſcovers the project of the marriage of the earl of Richmond with Elizabeth. Hall. Stow.

He reſolves to marry his niece. Hall. Hollingſh.

To begin the execution of this ſtrange project, he ſent ſeveral perſons to the queen dowager, to inſinuate to her, that he wiſhed to live in friendſhip with her, and to ſhow her marks of his good will: that he confeſſed, he had dealt too rigorouſly with her; but to repair in ſome meaſure the injury he had done her, he intended to aſſign her an honorable penſion, and give her two brothers ſuch poſts as they ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied with. Moreover, he would take care of her daughters, and help them to marriages ſuitable to their quality. But as the queen would hardly be induced to credit his promiſes, after having been ſo cruelly deceived, the perſons he employed hinted to her, that this alteration proceeded

He gets the queen dowager to give up her daughters. Hall. Hiſt. Croyl. Stow. Hollingſh.

from

Rich. III. 1484. from the death of the prince of Wales. That the king being now childleſs, and without hopes of having any iſſue, his intereſts were no longer diſtinct from thoſe of his brother's family; and therefore he could do nothing more advantageous to himſelf and his houſe, than to marry his nieces into the moſt conſiderable families in England. In fine, ſhe was told, the king's deſign was, that after his death, the princeſs Elizabeth ſhould aſcend the throne; what he had done in favour of the earl of Lincoln his nephew being eaſily revokable, ſince it had not yet paſſed into an act of parliament.

Theſe laſt inſinuations made deep impreſſion in the queen's mind. Her intereſt made her imagine, what was ſaid to be very probable. On the other hand, ſhe was heartily tired of her ſanctuary, which was properly a priſon, from whence ſhe could not ſtir without being liable to greater miſchiefs. She had an extreme love for her brothers, as ſhe had plainly ſhown in the life-time of the king her huſband; and the hopes Richard gave her concerning them, were very pleaſing to her. In fine ſhe conſidered, that the plot in favor of the earl of Richmond having miſcarried by the duke of Buckingham's death, ſhe could expect for herſelf and daughters only a ſtill more rigorous fate, if by her denial ſhe ſhould farther incenſe the king. Theſe conſiderations cauſing her to forget the grievous outrages received from that prince, ſhe was ſo exceſſively blind, as to put her five daughters into his hands. Moreover, ſhe writ to the marquis of Dorſet her brother, to adviſe him to relinquiſh the earl of Richmond, and throw himſelf into the king's arms. The marquis, as inconſiderate and no leſs ambitious than the queen his ſiſter, flattering himſelf with the hopes of honours and preferments, privately withdrew from Paris, in order to paſs into England. But the earl of Richmond cauſed him to be purſued with ſuch diligence, that he was brought back to Paris, and, by ſtrong reaſons, perſuaded to ſtay with the earl.

Hall.

Death of Richard's queen. Hall. Hiſt. Croyl. Stow. Hollingſh.

As ſoon as Richard had his nieces in his power, he thought of means to execute another part of his project: and that was, to be rid of his queen, in order to marry his niece. The hiſtorians that ſpeak moſt favorably of his conduct ſay, he made the queen die with vexation, by ſhowing an averſion for her which ſhe did not deſerve, and by grievouſly mortifying her every day. Others ſpeak plainer, and affirm, he haſtened her death by poiſon. Some add, he privately acquainted the archbiſhop of York with certain ſecret infirmities of the queen, which rendered her very diſagreeable to him. This was on purpoſe that the archbiſhop might tell her again, which

which he thought would cauſe her to languiſh away, and ſhorten her days. It is ſaid farther, that the archbiſhop, after hearing the king's diſcourſe, told ſome of his friends the queen had not long to live: and indeed, ſhe died preſently after. Her fate would have been more worthy of pity, if her death had not been obſerved to be a manifeſt judgment upon her, for marrying the murderer of the prince of Wales her firſt husband, ſon of Henry VI. Richard ſhowed an extraordinary ſorrow for his loſs, and made a pompous funeral for his deceaſed queen. But this feigned grief was not capable of undeceiving the people, who openly accuſed him of murdering his queen [y], as he had done his nephews. Rich. III. 1484. Hall.

Notwithſtanding the extreme ſorrow he expreſſed in public, the queen was no ſooner in her grave, but he had the aſſurance to make his addreſſes to the princeſs Elizabeth, and offer her marriage. But ſhe ſo anſwered him, as ſhowed her abhorrence of ſuch an union, and deſired him never to mention it more [z]. Richard being ſenſible it was no proper ſeaſon to uſe violence, was ſatisfied for the preſent with this firſt ſtep, till time ſhould furniſh him with a more favorable opportunity to preſs the execution of his project. Mean while, as he daily became more odious, many lords and gentlemen went over and offered their ſervice to the earl of Richmond. Others took the ſame courſe, to avoid the perſecutions of that bloody prince, if unhappily he came to ſuſpect them. Thoſe that remained in the kingdom were no better affected, and waited only a favorable opportunity to declare againſt him. The princeſs Elizabeth refuſes to marry the king her uncle. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Several lords go over to the earl of Richmond. Hall.

Richard hearing that the earl of Oxford and the governor of Hammes were gone to the earl of Richmond, ſent orders to the governor of Calais to beſiege that caſtle, and reduce it to his obedience. The order was ſo readily executed that the earl of Oxford, who was marching to relieve the place, arrived not in the neighbourhood till after that capitulation [a]. Siege and taking of Hammes. Hall.

[y] Buck will have it, that her great grief at the death of the prince of Wales, her only ſon, threw her into a conſumption, which carried her off in a very little time. Her name was Ann, ſecond daughter and coheir of Richard Nevill, earl of Warwick. She died March 16, and was buried with due ſolemnity at Weſtminſter. Sandford, p. 430.

[z] Buck ſays, there is an original letter under Elizabeth's own hand, in the cabinet of the earl of Arundel and Surrey, written to the duke of Norfolk, wherein ſhe deſires him to be a mediator for her marriage with the king, who (ſhe ſaid) was her joy and maker in the world; and that ſhe was his in heart and thought; withal inſinuating, that the beſt part of February was paſt, and that ſhe feared the queen would never die. p. 568.

[a] It however ſtood out ſome time after his arrival, and Thomas Brandon found means to introduce thirty men into the caſtle. Hall, Hollingſhead.

However,

Rich. III. 1485. However he reaped this advantage by it, that he brought away the garriſon for the earl of Richmond.

After the earl of Richmond's attempt, Richard had fitted out a ſquadron of ſhips to oppoſe his paſſage in caſe he endeavoured to make another deſcent. But the beginning of the year 1485, the truce with Bretagne being prolonged for ſeven years, and France ſhowing no great willingneſs to aſſiſt his enemy, he believed he might ſave the charge of a fleet, which he now conſidered as uſeleſs. Accordingly the ſhips were unrigged and laid up in the ſpring.

Richard lays up his fleet. Hall. Hollingſh.

This proceeding greatly encouraging the earl of Richmond, he earneſtly ſollicited the court of France for ſome aid. King Charles's miniſters at length ſeriouſly conſidering his requeſt, believed it could not but be advantageous to France to cheriſh the troubles in England. It was ſolely with this view that they promiſed the earl an aid of two thouſand men, with ſhips to tranſport them, and gave him a ſum of money. Philip de Commines ſays, he never ſaw ſuch wretched troops, which is a clear evidence with what intent the court of France granted the earl this inconſiderable ſupply. Beſides he was required to leave hoſtages in France that ſatisfaction ſhould be made for what was expended by the court. The earl having reaſon to miſtruſt the marquis of Dorſet, embraced this opportunity to leave him in hoſtage at Paris with Sir Thomas Bourchier[b]. Then he repaired to Roan, where the troops that were lent him were ordered to aſſemble.

The court of France reſolves to aid the earl of Richmond. Commin. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The earl goes to Roan. Hall.

When he came to Roan, he received the diſagreeable news of the queen's death, and of Richard's deſign to marry the princeſs Elizabeth his niece, and to give Cecily her younger ſiſter to one of his favorites. His meaſures being broken by that marriage, which was repreſented to him as ready to be accompliſhed, he conſulted upon this occaſion with the lords that attended him. The reſult of their conſultation was, that ſince he could have no hopes of eſpouſing one of Edward the fourth's marriageable daughters, he ought to think of ſome other. For that purpoſe, he was adviſed to gain to his intereſt Sir Walter Herbert, a perſon of great power in Wales, by an offer of marrying his younger ſiſter, the eldeſt being already married to the earl of Northumberland. The reſolution being taken, he diſpatched an expreſs to Sir Walter Herbert[c] to make the propoſal. Happily for the earl, the meſſenger found the roads ſo narrowly watched,

He deſigns to marry Sir Walter Herbert's daughter. Hall. Hollingſh. His meaſures are broken.

[b] Hall calls him Sir John, ſo doth Hollingſhead.

[c] Hall ſays, this meſſenger was ſent to Henry Percy earl of Northumberland. fol. 50.

that

that he durſt not venture to purſue his journey to Herbert. Rich. III.
It is extremely probable, if this affair had ſucceeded according 1485.
to the earl of Richmond's deſire, he would have been for-
ſaken by all the friends of Edward the fourth's family, who
were very numerous. For, they had engaged in his party,
only out of hopes of his uniting the two houſes of York and
Lancaſter by his marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth.

Not many days after, he received letters from England [d], He is invited into England. Hall.
acquainting him, that if he would make haſte and land in
Wales, he could not have a more favorable opportunity.
That all the nobility of the country were for him [e]. That he Stow.
would find the people ready to take arms in his favour, and a Hollingſh.
good ſum of money, which had been privately collected [f] to
ſupply his occaſions: that in the reſt of the kingdom every
one was diſpleaſed with the king, who daily rendered himſelf
more odious. In fine, that the juncture was the moſt fa-
vorable, as it did not appear that Richard imagined him ſo
ready to depart, ſince there were no extraordinary prepara-
tions in hand.

This good news obliged the earl to haſten his departure, He lands at Milford-Haven, Hall.
without ſtaying for Sir Walter Herbert's anſwer. So coming
to Harfleur, where his ſhips waited for him, he embarked
his troops [g], and ſet ſail the laſt day of July. He arrived the
ſixth of Auguſt at Milford-Haven [h] in South-Wales, and next
day came to Haverford [i], where he was joyfully received by
the inhabitants.

From that place he ſent an expreſs to the counteſs his mo- and marches to paſs the Severn at Shrewſbury. Hall. Hollingſh.
ther, to inform her of his arrival and deſign to march to-
wards London, deſiring her to aſſemble all his friends, that
they might join him upon his rout with as many troops as
poſſible. This rout was to be very long, ſince having no
town upon the Severn at his command, he was neceſſarily
obliged to croſs almoſt all Wales, to get to Shrewſbury to the
head of that river, where he was told he ſhould be received.
So making but a ſhort ſtay at Haverford, he began his march
to North-Wales, in order to reach Shrewſbury before the
king was ready to diſpute his paſſage.

[d] By the hands of Morgan Kydwelly. Hall.

[e] Particularly Sir Rice ap Thomas, a man of great intereſt, and John Savage a famous captain. Ibid.

[f] By Reginald Bray. Ibid.

[g] Which conſiſted only of two thouſand men, as is ſaid above. Hall, Hollingſhead.

[h] One of the moſt ſpacious and ſecure ports in Europe; it contains ſixteen creeks, five bays, and thirteen roads, diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral names.

[i] Called now Harford-Weſt. It is a county of itſelf, and is governed by a mayor, a ſheriff, and two bailiffs.

Richard

Rich. III. 1485. Richard hearing the earl of Richmond was landed at Milford-haven with ſo few troops, did not imagine he would be able to make any great progreſs. However he ſent orders to Sir Walter Herbert to raiſe the militia of the county, thinking that Herbert might eaſily ſtop him till he was himſelf ready to march. But Herbert having been privately gained by the earl's friends, ſuffered him to paſs unmoleſted, without offering to make the leaſt oppoſition.

The king orders Herbert to oppoſe the earl's march. Hall. Stow.

Some days after, Sir Rice ap Thomas, a man of very great power in Wales, met the earl upon his rout, and offered his ſervice, which was gladly accepted [k]. He had with him a good body of Welſhmen. It is not ſurpriſing that all Wales ſhould declare for the earl, ſince he was of Welſh extraction, and of one of the antienteſt families of the country.

The earl is joined by Sir Rice ap Thomas. Hall. Hollingſh.

The earl of Richmond's army being greatly encreaſed by the junction of Sir Rice ap Thomas, and ſeveral Welſh gentlemen [l], and the whole country ſupplying him in his march with all neceſſaries, he arrived in a few days at Shrewſbury, where he was received without oppoſition [m].

He is received at Shrewſbury.

The king had very juſtly ſuſpected the lord Stanley of being a ſecret friend to his ſon-in-law. Stanley had indeed aſſured the earl of Richmond he would favour him to the utmoſt of his power. But as he was forced to leave his ſon in hoſtage with the king, he could not openly eſpouſe his cauſe without endangering his ſon's life. For that reaſon he pretended to take the king's part, and having levied about five thouſand men, poſted himſelf at Litchfield, as if he intended to oppoſe the earl of Richmond's march. On the other hand, Sir William Stanley [n] aſſembled likewiſe a body of two thouſand men, inſinuating that it was with the ſame view.

The lord Stanley and his brother raiſe forces as if it was for the king. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The king was then at Nottingham, where at the firſt news of his enemies landing he had given orders to aſſemble his forces [o]. He at firſt conſidered the earl of Richmond's attempt as a ſort of bravado, which he hoped to make him quickly

The king determined to fight Richmond Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

[k] Henry promiſed to make him chief governor of Wales. Hall. fol. 51.

[l] John Savage, Arnold Butler, Richard Griffith, John Morgan, &c. Ibid.

[m] Here Sir George Talbot, with his ward the young earl of Shrewsbury, who was then a minor, came to him, and brought him two thouſand men. Hall, fol. 52. Stow, p. 468.

[n] Rapin calls him William Strange.

[o] He ſent to John Howard duke of Norfolk, and to his ſon Thomas earl of Surrey, to Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, &c. to bring him their ſervants and tenants: and ordered Sir Robert Brackenbury to come to him, with Sir Thomas Bourchier, Sir Walter Hungerford, and ſeveral other knights and eſquires. Hall, Hollingſhead.

repent.

repent. But when he heard that Sir Walter Herbert had suffered him to pass without opposition, that Sir Rice ap Thomas had joined him, that all Wales had taken his part, and that he was marching to Shrewsbury, he perceived, the affair was going to become more important. So, without hesitation, he resolved to give him battle before he had made greater progress, and his army was reinforced. He wisely judged, if on this occasion he showed the least fear, it would certainly cause the whole kingdom to declare against him. On the contrary, his firmness was capable of keeping in awe such as were inclined to side with his enemy. Mean while he had every day the mortification to hear his officers and soldiers deserted to the earl. He was still in hopes, the lord Stanley and his brother would join him with their troops, though the little correspondence they kept with him, gave him but too much cause to suspect them of treachery. Be this as it will, having received certain advice that the earl of Richmond intended to march towards London, he resolved to expect him upon his rout between Leicester and Coventry, in order to put a speedy end to their quarrel by a battle.

Rich. III. 1485.

Desertion in his army.

He mistrusts Stanley. Stow.

Though the earl of Richmond's army was not considerable, he was no less desirous to ingage, because he expected that the lord Stanley and his brother would not fail him on occasion. With these hopes, he advanced to Litchfield, from whence upon his approach the lord Stanley retired to Atherston. Whilst his army was upon the march, he came privately to Stafford, where he had a conference with Sir William Stanley, in which were concerted the measures, the effects whereof will presently be seen.

The earl advances to Litchfield. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

The earl being come to Litchfield, heard that the king was at Leicester. So, perceiving he could not possibly proceed to London without fighting, he resolved to march directly to his enemy [p]. Whilst he was on the road to Tamworth, he happened to be behind his company, and attentively musing upon his affairs mistook his way, and lost the track of his army. He roved about till night, not daring to inquire the way to Tamworth for fear of addressing one of Richard's party. At last, not being able to find the road, he was forced to pass the night at a village, without knowing where he was or daring to inquire. However, next morning he found means to get to Tamworth, where his army was in great pain for him, not knowing what was become

A dangerous adventure happens to the earl in his march. Hall. Hollingsh.

[p] In his march he was joined by Sir Walter Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Bourchier, who deserted king Richard. Hall.

Rich. III. 1485. of him. To excuſe ſuch a blunder, which, had it been known, muſt have done him great injury, he pretended he had been to confer with ſome private friends who did not care to appear openly. That very day, he went with few attendants to Atherſton, where he had a long conference with the lord Stanley [q]. On the morrow hearing that Richard was gone from Leiceſter to meet him, he advanced to give him ſome part of the way. The two armies met at Boſworth, ſo near one another, that there would be no avoiding a battle, ſuppoſing either of the two leaders had deſired it. But they were both very far from ſuch a thought. The 22d of Auguſt was the day famous for the battle which decided the quarrel of the two contending houſes.

The two armies meet at Boſworth, Hall. Hiſt. Croyl. Stow. Hollingſh.

and draw up. Hiſt. Croyl. Hall. Stow. Buck. Pol. Virg.

Richard perceiving his enemy to advance drew up his army, conſiſting of between twelve and thirteen thouſand men. He gave the command of the van to the duke of Norfolk, and led the main body himſelf, with his crown on his head, either to be better known, or to put his troops in mind they were fighting for their king. The earl of Richmond, who had but five thouſand men, drew up his army likewiſe in two lines, of which the earl of Oxford commanded the firſt, and himſelf the ſecond [r]. A hiſtorian has recited the ſpeeches of the two leaders to the ſoldiers before the fight. But as it is not very certain that they were really ſpoken, and as beſides they contain nothing very particular, I ſhall paſs them over in ſilence.

Hall.

Conduct of Stanley and his brother. Hall. Stow. &c.

Whilſt the two armies were preparing for battle, the lord Stanley, who till then had continued at Atherſton, poſted himſelf with his troops over againſt the ſpace between the two armies, and his brother, who was come from Stafford, took his ſtation on the other ſide, oppoſite to him. Richard had been hitherto in doubt, whether the lord Stanley was for or againſt him, becauſe he had not yet made any public demonſtration in favour of the earl of Richmond. But when he ſaw him in that poſt, it was eaſy to perceive, he was not there to aſſiſt him, ſince he had not given him notice of his deſign. Mean while, willing to know for certain what he had to fear or hope, he ſent him orders to come and join his

[q] The ſame day Sir John Savage, Sir Brian Sanford, Sir Simon Digby, and many others, left Richard, and came to him. Hall, Stow.

[r] Sir Gilbert Talbot commanded the right wing, and Sir John Savage the left. Hall, fol. 54.——Between the two armies there was a moraſs, which the earl of Richmond left on his right hand, to ſecure him on that ſide, and in ſo doing he had the ſun at his back, and in the faces of his enemies. Hall, Hollingſhead.

army. Stanley anſwered, he would come when it was convenient. This anſwer not ſatisfying the king, he commanded his ſon to be immediately put to death. But his generals repreſented to him, that though the lord Stanley's behaviour was very doubtful, and even gave cauſe to ſuſpect him, he had not yet however declared for the earl of Richmond: that it was not improbable, he was meditating ſome great action in favour of his ſovereign, or perhaps intended to ſtand neuter during the fight, in order to join the conqueror. That in both theſe caſes, it was better to defer examining his conduct till after the event, than to provoke him by putting his ſon to death, to give the earl of Richmond an aſſiſtance capable of making victory incline to his ſide: That after all, in the king's preſent circumſtances, the death of the young lord Strange, could procure him no advantage. Theſe arguments ſeemed to the king of ſufficient force to cauſe him to revoke his orders. But he was guilty of an unpardonable error in remaining doubtful as to the two brothers, who plainly enough diſcovered their deſign. As his army was ſtill ſuperior to the forces of the earl of Richmond and the two brothers together, he ſhould have oppoſed to theſe laſt two bodies equal to theirs, with orders to attack them the moment they offered to ſtir. He would thereby have debarred them of the advantage of taking their time to declare, as they afterwards did. Such an overſight in ſo able a prince as Richard, cannot be looked upon but as proceeding from a particular direction of providence, who had determined his deſtruction.

Rich. III. 1485.

Stanley refuſes to obey the king's orders.

The king orders his ſon to be put to death, but is diſſuaded from it. Hall.

Overſight of the king.

The two armies approaching one another, the battle began with a ſhower of arrows diſcharged from both ſides, after which the royal army moved forward to come to cloſe fight. The lord Stanley, who till then had been only a ſpectator, perceiving the duke of Norfolk widened his line to the left, in order to ſurround the earl of Richmond's troops, gave him not time to execute his deſign. On a ſudden, he poſted himſelf on the right of the earl's to receive the front of the king's firſt line. This motion cauſing the duke of Norfolk to halt, in order to re-cloſe his line which was too much extended to the left, the fight ceaſed for ſome moments. But preſently after, both ſides, being more upon an equality, by the lord Stanley's joining the earl, fought with great ardour.

Hall.

Mean while, Richard being impatient to know what paſſed at the firſt line, ſpurred his horſe towards the place where they were ingaged. At the ſame time, the earl of Richmond quitting his ſecond line, where he had taken his poſt, was advanced as far as the foremoſt ranks of the firſt, to incourage

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Rich. III. 1485. his troops by his preſence, being ſenſible that the ſucceſs of the day would in great meaſure be determined by the fight of the two firſt lines. Richard perceiving him, inſtantly rode to attack him. He ſlew Sir William Brandon, the earl's ſtandard-bearer, who had interpoſed in his way. Sir John Cheney having taken Brandon's place to oppoſe the king's furious efforts, was overthrown to the ground. The earl of Richmond avoided not the combat. But if we may judge by the manner wherein the hiſtorians relate theſe particulars, he ſhowed no great eagerneſs to join his enemy, contented himſelf with ſtanding in a poſture of defence; and willingly ſuffered his people to come between them, and hinder them from too cloſely approaching each other.

Sir William Stanley flanks the troops, who are put to rout. Hall.

At the very time that Richard was ſingling out the earl of Richmond to end at once their important quarrel, it was decided very much to his diſadvantage from another quarter. Sir William Stanley, following the example of the lord Stanley his brother, and ſeeing that the left of the earl of Richmond's firſt line began to give ground, openly declared againſt the king, by flanking his troops, who were employed in fighting their enemy's in front, and vigorouſly repulſing them. This ſo ſeaſonable an attack at ſo critical a moment, having cauſed an extreme diſorder in the right of the king's firſt line, they were ſeen ſuddenly to retreat towards the main body, and the left quickly followed their example. This haſty retreat ſtruck ſuch a terror in the main body, that they almoſt all took to flight, without expecting the enemy. The earl of Northumberland alone, who commanded one of the wings, ſtood without motion, having firſt ordered his troops to throw down their arms, to let the enemies ſee they had nothing to fear from him. Richard perceiving the day was loſt, and not being able to think of flying, or running the hazard of falling into the hands of the earl of Richmond, ruſhed into the midſt of his enemies, where he ſoon met with the death he deſired. Thus fell the uſurper in a more glorious manner than his crimes ſeemed to deſerve. He wore but two years and two months the crown, he had purchaſed by ſo many ill actions.

Hall.

The battle laſted about two hours, including the time ſpent in the purſuit of the run-aways[s]. As moſt part of the king's

[s] The battle was fought about three miles from Boſworth, an antient market town in Leiceſterſhire. The exact ſpot of ground is frequently more and more diſcovered by pieces of armour, weapons, and eſpecially abundance of arrow-heads found there of a long and large proportion. There is a little mount caſt up, on which Henry VII. is ſaid to make his ſpeech to his ſoldiers. Camden in Leiceſt.

army

army fled without fighting, there were not ſlain on the ſpot above two thouſand men[t] on his ſide. The earl of Richmond loſt but a hundred, of whom Sir William Brandon was the only perſon of note. He was father to Charles Brandon afterwards duke of Suffolk. On the king's part, the duke of Norfolk loſt his life valiantly fighting for him who had made him a Duke[u]. He would doubtleſs have gained more honour and glory, had he employed his valour for a prince who had better deſerved than Richard, that a man ſhould hazard his life for his ſake. The earl of Northumberland was taken into favour by the conqueror, having perhaps held intelligence with him before the battle. It ſeems at leaſt, that it may be inferred as well from what he did in the beginning of the flight, as from certain verſes found that very morning by the duke of Norfolk, on his tent-door, intimating that the king was ſold[w]. The earl of Surrey, ſon of the duke of Norfolk, was taken priſoner, and ſent to the Tower of London, but ſhortly after obtained his pardon and liberty. Some of Richard's adherents were treated with the ſame lenity, others had the good fortune to eſcape. But Catesby, miniſter and confident of Richard, who had ſo baſely betrayed the lord Haſtings, being made priſoner, was executed two days after at Leiceſter, with ſome others of the ſame ſtamp, who had been the uſurper's inſtruments.

Rich. III. 1485.

The duke of Norfolk among the ſlain. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The earl of Surrey is taken priſoner.

Richard's crown being found by a ſoldier was brought to the lord Stanley, who went immediately and placed it on the earl of Richmond's head, congratulating him upon his victory and ſaluting him King. From that time Henry kept the regal title and acted always as ſovereign, as if that bare ceremony had given him an undoubted right. Richard's body was found among the ſlain ſtark naked, covered with blood and dirt, and in that condition thrown croſs a horſe, with the head hanging on one ſide and the legs on the other, and ſo carried to Leiceſter[x]. The body lay two whole days expoſed to public view, after which it was interred without

The lord Stanley ſets the crown on the earl of Richmond's head Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Richard's body is carried to Leiceſter.

[t] Hall ſays, there were a few above a thouſand ſlain. But Stow ſays, there were four thouſand.

[u] The other perſons of note that loſt their lives, were, Walter lord Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliff, Robert Brackenbury, Sir William Conſters, Sir Richard Claringdon. Hall, Stow.

[w] The verſes ſaid to be written upon the tent-door were theſe:

Jack of Norfolk, be not too bold,
For Dickon thy maſter is bought and ſold.

John Howard duke of Norfolk, ſon of Sir Robert Howard, as is ſaid above, left behind him Thomas earl of Surrey, and five daughters.

[x] He was brought in that manner to Leiceſter, behind a purſuivant at arms, called blaunche ſanglier. Hall, Stow.

Rich. III. 1485. any ceremony in one of the churches of that city. Some time after, Henry VII. his enemy and ſucceſſor, ordered a more honourable monument to be erected for him, on account of Elizabeth his queen, who was of the houſe of York.

The character of Richard III.

Richard III. was ſirnamed Crook-backed, becauſe he was ſo in reality: moreover, one of his arms was almoſt withered, receiving but little or no nouriſhment. As to the defects of his mind, if we believe moſt hiſtorians, they were ſo great and ſo numerous that it would be difficult to find in hiſtory a prince of ſo ill a character. It is certain he had a boundleſs ambition, which often cauſed him to commit actions unbecoming a Chriſtian prince. To this paſſion alone muſt be aſcribed his treachery and cruelty, ſince he was treacherous and cruel only with reſpect to the acquiſition or preſervation of the crown. He has not been the ſole prince whom ambition has led into the like exceſſes. The hiſtorians who writ in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. have ſo aggravated the heinouſneſs of his actions, that one cannot help obſerving in their writings a ſtrong deſire to pleaſe the monarchs then on the throne: nay, very probably, they have aſcribed to him ſome actions upon no very good foundation; for inſtance, his murdering with his own hand Henry VI. and the prince of Wales. Their great deſire to blacken this prince made them overlook his good qualities, which ought not to have been paſſed over in ſilence. Be this as it will, without pretending either to juſtify his ill actions, or to condemn him in general, as ſome have done, one ſhould blame him for what is blame worthy, and at the ſame time acknowledge what deſerved praiſe. The crimes he was guilty of in procuring or keeping the crown are, as I ſaid, effects and conſequences of his immoderate ambition, by which he ſuffered himſelf to be blinded. But their being produced by that paſſion does not in the leaſt leſſen their heinouſneſs. As to the reſt, he had a great deal of ſenſe, and a very ſolid judgment, qualities that might have been an honour to him, had they been uſed to better purpoſes. We may judge of his

y He was buried in St. Mary's, belonging to a monaſtery of the Grey Friers. Henry VII. put over him a tomb of various-coloured marble adorned with his ſtatue in alabaſter. This monument ſtood till the diſſolution of the abbies under Henry VIII. when it was pulled down and utterly defaced; ſince which his grave being over-grown with weeds and nettles, is become very obſcure and not to be found; only the ſtone coffin, wherein his corpſe lay, was made a drinking-trough for horſes at the White Horſe Inn in Leiceſter. — Richard was not above three or four and thirty years old when he was killed. He gave five hundred marks a year to Queen's college in Cambridge. Sandford, p. 434.

good

good ſenſe and penetration by his precautious to ſecure himſelf from the aſſaults of his enemies. Theſe precautions could not be more juſt, if divine providence had not been pleaſed to render them fruitleſs, as it ſometimes does with reſpect to ſeemingly the beſt concerted deſigns. On ſeveral occaſions he ſhowed an uncommon valour, and particularly in the battle where he was ſlain: this cannot be denied him without injuſtice. He expreſſed great concern that juſtice ſhould be impartially miniſtred to all his ſubjects without diſtinction, provided the preſervation of his crown was not concerned; for in that reſpect he made no ſcruple to trample upon all the rules of right and equity. This natural inclination for juſtice, but combated by his ambition, may afford ſome occaſion to preſume, he would perhaps have proved a good king, had he been able to fix himſelf ſo firmly in the throne as to have feared no revolution[z]. At leaſt, this cannot be ſaid to be improbable. The emperor Auguſtus, who was guilty of ſo many cruelties to arrive at the empire, affords a memorable and well-known inſtance of ſuch a change, and it would not be impoſſible to find other examples. But as Richard was taken out of the world before he had given ſigns of any amendment, his ill actions have effaced whatever there might be commendable in him. There is one hiſtorian however, who has endeavoured to vindicate this prince: but as he has ſet no bounds to this vindication, and laboured to make him entirely innocent, he has not acquired much credit, eſpecially as he was often obliged, in order to attain his ends, to advance facts not ſtrictly true. He has however a place in the collection of the Engliſh hiſtorians; but no modern author has thought fit to take him for guide[a]. Rich. III. Buck.

Richard left but one natural ſon, who was yet a minor when the king his father died. Some months before he had made him governor of Calais, Guiſnes, and of all the marches of End of the reign of the Plantagenets, Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 265.

z His enemies ſeem to own, that excepting his cruelties to gain and keep the crown, one might judge him to be a good king: particularly in his care to check vice and promote ſobriety and virtue; witneſs his circular letters to the biſhops, and in his concern for the good government and eaſe of his ſubjects, as may be ſeen in his proclamation againſt the rebels in Kent. See Compl. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 576. My lord Verulam ſays of him, that he was in military virtue approved, jealous of the honour of the Engliſh nation, and likewiſe a good law-maker. He founded the ſociety of heralds, and made them a corporation, etc. See the charter in Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 215.

a George Buck eſq. has endeavoured to repreſent Richard III. as a prince of much better ſhapes (both of body and mind) than he had been generally eſteemed. His work, conſiſting of five books, is inſerted in the collection of the Engliſh hiſtorians.

Rich. III. Picardy, belonging to the crown of England [b]. With Richard III. ended the Angevin kings, ſirnamed Plantagenets [c], who, ſince Henry II. the firſt of this race, had poſſeſſed the crown of England from father to ſon, during the ſpace of three hundred and thirty years. Richard was the laſt king of this houſe, but not the laſt male as ſome have aſſumed, ſince the earl of Warwick his nephew, ſon of the duke of Clarence his brother, was ſtill alive. That young prince was the ſole branch of the male iſſue of Edward III. which had been ſo numerous, but was almoſt entirely deſtroyed by the late civil war. This war, commenced thirty years before, was at length ended by the battle of Boſworth, after deſtroying above one hundred thouſand Engliſhmen, and a great number of princes of the two contending houſes. Philip de Commines mounts the number to fourſcore; but it is a miſtake or exaggeration of that author, as it is eaſy to ſee by the genealogical table of the poſterity of Edward III.

and of the civil war.

Let us cloſe the hiſtory of the Plantagenets with a brief recapitulation of the moſt memorable incidents that happened to the kings of this race, whilſt on the throne of England. In this ſummary of the fourteen foregoing reigns, it will be ſeen, not without aſtoniſhment perhaps, that the happineſs and glory enjoyed by this race for above three hundred years, were almoſt nothing in compariſon of their misfortunes [d].

Brief recapitulation of the hiſtory of the Plantagenets.

Henry II. the firſt king of this houſe, was the greateſt of all the Engliſh monarchs with reſpect to extent of dominion. Beſides the kingdom of England, he poſſeſſed in France, Guienne, Poictou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Limouſin, Perigord, Angoumois, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Normandy, to which he joined alſo Bretagne by the marriage of one of his ſons

[b] In his patent he is called John of Gloceſter. See Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 265.

[c] i. e. A Broom-ſtalk. The reaſon of this ſirname antiquaries are at a loſs to find out, and give no better than this: Fulk, the firſt earl of Anjou of that name, being ſtung with remorſe for ſome wicked actions of his, in order to atone for them, went in pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, and before the holy ſepulchre was ſoundly ſcourged with broom-twigs, which grow in great plenty there. From whence he ever after took the ſirname of Plantagenet, or Broom-ſtalk, which was continued by his noble poſterity. Buck, lib. i.

[d] It were to be wiſhed, that ſo good a hiſtorian as Rapin had been more ſparing of God's judgments; ſuch remarks at beſt being a ſign of great weakneſs. But when they are built on falſities in fact, as is ſometimes the caſe, they are inexcuſable. Of this we have an inſtance even in Rapin himſelf: ſee above p. 79. note x. As for the long liſt he has given of God's judgments upon the houſe of Plantagenet, it contains nothing extraordinary, nothing but what is very common in this world, and what might eaſily be matched out of the hiſtories of ſeveral other nations.

with

with the heireſs of that duchy, and laſtly crowned all with the conqueſt of Ireland. But with all this grandeur he was ever unhappy. His conteſt with Becket, the vexatious perſecutions from pope Alexander III. the rebellion of his queen and ſons, and the unfortunate ſucceſs of his laſt war with France, ſuffered him not to enjoy a moment's repoſe. Rich. III.

Richard I. rendered his name famous in the eaſt by the conqueſt of the Iſle of Cyprus, by the taking of Acra, and by a great victory over the Saracens. But the fame he acquired in that expedition was a dear purchaſe to chriſtendom, and particularly to England, by the prodigious quantity of men and money exported from thence, without the Chriſtians of Paleſtine reaping any great advantages. Richard himſelf at his return into Europe underwent the rigours of a very grievous and long impriſonment, from which he could not be freed without an exorbitant ranſom, which quite drained his kingdom. In ſhort, after a ſeveral years ſtruggle with Philip Auguſtus to very little purpoſe, he unfortunately periſhed by an arrow at the ſiege of Chaluz, undertaken from his greedy deſire of money.

John Lackland enjoyed not a moment's happineſs during his whole reign. Perſecuted by the king of France, then by pope Innocent III. and laſtly, by his own ſubjects, his reign was nothing but a continual train of misfortunes. He loſt all the provinces poſſeſſed by his anceſtors in France: after which Innocent III. deprived him of his crown, and reſtored it to him upon ſhameful and diſhonourable terms. In fine, he had the great mortification to ſee his barons in arms againſt him, and to die at a time when all England was paying allegiance to a foreign prince.

Henry III. a prince of a very narrow ſpirit, lived in a continual ſtate of ſubjection, though ſeated on a throne, one while a ſlave to his favourites and miniſters, another while to the imperious will of the popes: at length, ſtripped of all his authority by his own ſubjects, he remained ſome time captive to his greateſt enemies; and he was entirely indebted to a victory fortunately gained by the prince his ſon, for his reſtoration and the tranquillity he enjoyed the two laſt years of his life.

Edward I. rendered his name famous by the conqueſt of Scotland. But after ſhedding torrents of blood in that unjuſt quarrel, he had the mortification to loſe that acquiſition, and to die before he had recovered it. His conqueſt of Wales was the moſt real advantage procured for the kingdom by any king of England.

The

Rich.III. The reign of Edward II. is remarkable only for that prince's ill conduct and misfortunes. He is the firſt inſtance of a king of England depoſed by authority of parliament. Happy, if the fury of his enemies had ſtopped there! but, with an unparalleled barbarity, he was made to ſuffer the moſt cruel death that could poſſibly be deviſed, and which bore no proportion to the indiſcretions he was guilty of.

Edward III. was one of the moſt illuſtrious kings of England, as well for his perſonal qualities as for his victories in France, and the famous treaty of Bretigny, which reſtored to him with intereſt the provinces John Lackland had ſuffered to be loſt. But his reign, though glorious, was not free from misfortunes. His minority was ſullied by the tragical death of Edward II. his father, and of the earl of Kent his uncle. To puniſh theſe horrid outrages, he was forced to keep his own mother in priſon as long as ſhe lived. Toward the end of his days, he had the mortification to ſee himſelf ſtripped of all he had re-conquered upon France, without hopes of recovery. In a word, he ruined, as I may ſay, his own reputation, and died at a time when his ſubjects began to loſe their former eſteem for him.

Thus far it is eaſy to ſee that the race of the Plantagenets had enjoyed no great ſhare of happineſs. But their misfortunes, which were blended with ſome proſperities, were very inconſiderable in compariſon of what that race afterwards ſuffered. When a man takes a view of what happened to the poſterity of Edward III. he ſees nothing but diſaſters, tragical or untimely deaths, hatred, animoſity, revenge, civil wars, cruelties unheard of among princes ſprung from the ſame ſtock. England had never ſeen ſo terrible a deſtruction of her inhabitants, nor had the ſcaffold been ever died with ſo much noble and royal blood as during the hundred years between the death of Edward III. and that of Richard III. Let us briefly run over the ſeveral branches of Edward III's family, in order to ſee their calamities.

Edward the Black Prince, one of the moſt accompliſhed princes that ever was born, died in the forty-ſixth year of his age, having firſt buried his eldeſt ſon Edward but ſeven years old.

Richard II. his other ſon, who mounted the throne after his grandfather, was depoſed, impriſoned, and barbarouſly murdered.

Lionel duke of Clarence, third ſon of Edward III died in a foreign country, in the flower of his age. He left but one daughter, whoſe marriage into the houſe of March was the

the occaſion of all the calamities England was afflicted with for thirty years together. Rich. III.

The poſterity of John of Gaunt, Edward's fourth ſon, were far from being happy. Henry IV. ſucceſſor of Richard II. paſſed his whole reign under continual apprehenſions of loſing a crown acquired by extraordinary methods, and preſerved by the violent death of Richard II. whom he cauſed to be murdered in priſon.

Henry V. one of the moſt illuſtrious kings of England, after ſo great a progreſs in France as to be declared regent and heir of that kingdom, enjoyed that conſiderable advantage but two years, or rather had only a foretaſte of what he had ſo eagerly deſired. He died in the flower of his age, leaving a ſon nine months old, who afterwards proved very unfit to complete the work his illuſtrious father had ſo glorioufly begun.

The dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloceſter, died all three without iſſue. Gloceſter was long expoſed to the fury of his enemies, and at laſt ſacrificed to their vengeance.

Henry VI. ſon of Henry V. loſt all that the king his father had acquired in France. After which he was ſtripped of his royalty, impriſoned, reſtored for a ſhort ſpace, and at laſt murdered by a prince ſprung from the ſame ſtock with himſelf.

Edward his ſon, prince of Wales, died after the ſame manner, and by the ſame hand.

In ſurveying the other branch of the houſe of Lancaſter, namely that of Beaufort-Somerſet, hardly ſhall we find a prince but what loſt his life in a battle, or on the ſcaffold.

The houſe of York, of whom Edmund de Langley, fifth ſon of Edward III. was head, was ſtill leſs favoured. Some unfortunate ſtars ſeemed to be continually ſhedding their malignant influences upon that family: excepting Edmund de Langley himſelf, firſt duke of York, all the princes his deſcendants died a violent or untimely death.

Edward duke of York, his eldeſt ſon, was ſlain at the battle of Azincourt.

Richard earl of Cambridge loſt his head on a ſcaffold.

Richard, third duke of York, and his ſon Edmund earl of Rutland, periſhed in the battle of Wakefield.

George duke of Clarence was afterwards condemned to die in a butt of Malmſey.

Edward

Rich. III. Edward IV. after enjoying the crown of England ſome years, to which he had a better title than the houſe of Lancaſter, died indeed a natural death, but in the two and fortieth year of his age.

Edward V. and Richard his brother were ſmothered in their bed.

Edward prince of Wales, ſon of Richard III. was taken out of the world in the eleventh year of his age.

Richard III. was killed at the battle of Boſworth.

In fine, we ſhall ſee in the courſe of the hiſtory, Edward earl of Warwick, ſon of the unfortunate duke of Clarence, and the only ſurviving male of the houſe of York, end his days by the hand of the executioner.

Nothing more remains to complete the account of the diſaſters that befel the poſterity of Edward III. but to take notice that Thomas of Woodſtock, earl of Gloceſter, ſeventh ſon of that monarch, died a violent death in priſon at Calais.

Were not all theſe misfortunes which fell on Edward III's poſterity the effects of the divine vengeance extended to the fourth generation for the barbarous murder committed on the perſon of Edward II? at leaſt it is difficult not to ſee in theſe events the tragical death of Edward II. revenged upon Richard II. that of Richard upon Henry VI. that of Henry upon Edward V. and that of Edward upon Richard III.

THAT Richard III. coined money, appears by an indenture, whereby he contracts with Robert Brackenbury for the coinage both of gold and ſilver, of the ſame value and denomination with the money of 5 Edward IV. Dr. Nicolſon deſcribes one of his groats, as inſcribed with characters of the like ſhape with thoſe of Henry VI. and Edward IV. weighing about two penny-weights three grains, which was the exact ſtandard of Richard III's groats. Others, in the poſſeſſion of the late archbiſhop of York and Mr. Thoreſby, in which the face-ſide wants the outer circle, the letters of the inſcription which reach to the extremity of the coin being generally imperfect, ſo that there was reaſon for the proviſion made by act of Parliament in the next reign, that the new money ſhould have a circle about the outermoſt parts. That coin which Speed gives of Richard II. is thought rather to belong to this king, by the word AGLLÆ inſtead of ANGLIÆ, in whoſe reign that way of writing was uſed. The author of Num. Brit. Hiſt. has two pieces of this king, inſcribed RICHARDVS. REX. ANGLI. reverſe, CIVITAS. EBORACI. Another, RICARDVS. REX. ANGL. reverſe, CIVITAS. LONDON. The ſhortneſs of this king's reign makes his coin ſo very rare, that

that Thoreſby obſerves he had ſeen a ſeries of ancient monies from Edward the Confeſſor to the preſent times, Richard III. excepted, which he had not chanced to light upon. Speed's caſe was the ſame, ſo that he was forced to leave a blank for this king's money. Rich. III.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK XIV.

The Reign of HENRY VII. *with the State of the Church from the beginning of the reign of* HENRY IV. 1399, *to the end of the reign of* HENRY VII. 1509.

19. HENRY VII.

1485. Henry VII. proclaimed king by his army. Bacon.

THE battle of Boſworth being ended by the flight of the royal army and death of king Richard, Henry cauſed Te Deum to be ſung on the place, all the troops falling on their keees to return God thanks for his victory. Preſently after, the whole army, as it were by inſpiration, made the air reſound with the cry of "Long "live king Henry!" which was not diſagreeable to him; for it was a ſort of military election, which might have ſerved him for foundation to pretend to the crown, though he had no other title. Mean while he was embarraſſed by the uncertainty he was under, whether he ſhould keep to this election, or build his title upon a more ſolid foundation. He was however

He is in ſuſpence about taking the title of king. Bacon.

however to determine without delay, either to reject the title given him by his army till the parliament ſhould confirm it, or accept it and aſſert his right independently of the conſent of the eſtates. H. VII. 1485.

He had three titles or foundations whereon he could ground his right. The firſt was, his deſcent from the houſe of Lancaſter by Margaret his mother, daughter of a duke of Somerſet. The houſe of Lancaſter had been poſſeſſed of the crown above ſixty years, and this poſſeſſion had been confirmed by many acts of parliament: but on the other hand, ſeveral parliaments had afterwards condemned this poſſeſſion as a continual uſurpation, and adjudged the crown to the houſe of York, as deſcended from Lionel third ſon of Edward III. This queſtion conſidered originally and independently of the circumſtances which moved the parliaments to come to ſuch oppoſite determinations, could not have been decided in favour of the houſe of Lancaſter, if the laws and cuſtoms of the realm had been followed. But, if ſetting aſide the uſual practice, it ſhould be conſidered with reſpect to the acts of parliament, it could not but be doubtful, ſince the pro and con were equally ſupported by the ſame authority. It might alſo be objected to Henry, that indeed ſundry parliaments had decided the point in favour of the houſe of Lancaſter, but it did not follow that the houſe of Somerſet could receive any advantage from that deciſion. The Somerſets were indeed deſcended from the houſe of Lancaſter, but by a baſtard-branch, which could pretend the crown only by virtue of their legitimation. Now it was a queſtion yet undecided, whether the act of legitimation, and Richard II's ſubſequent letters patents, gave to that branch, derived from a baſtard born in adultery, the right to ſucceed to the crown, though mentioned neither in the act of parliament, nor in king Richard's letters. Beſides, even upon ſuppoſition of this right, another query ſtill aroſe, namely, whether the poſterity of this legitimated baſtard were to have the preference of the deſcendants of the daughters born in wedlock, of whom there were ſeveral in Caſtile, Portugal, and Germany. To leave theſe points to the examination of the parliament ſeemed therefore too dangerous for Henry. But on the other hand he was not ignorant that in the deciſion of the differences between the houſes of Lancaſter and York, the parliaments had not ſo much regarded the arguments of either party, as the circumſtances of time and things. Now he could never have a more favourable juncture than the preſent, ſince he had juſt delivered England from a tyrant univerſally hated. Hen- The reaſons of it.

ry

H. VII. ry IV. his predeceſſor had done more for the Engliſh, when
1485. for reward the crown was adjudged to him, in prejudice of the houſe of March.

Henry's ſecond title was his intended marriage with Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. which he had ſworn. But here no leſs difficulties occurred. If he relied upon this title, he was to reſolve either to reign only in right of his wife, or to confound together the titles of both houſes. In the former caſe, he would have relinquiſhed his own to leave to the houſe of York a title which had all along been conteſted, and have owned that houſe's right for the ſole foundation of his mounting the throne: beſides, he conſidered, that in caſe Elizabeth happened to die without iſſue, all her rights would of courſe devolve to her next ſiſter, and he thereby be excluded from the throne upon the death of his queen [a]: that ſuppoſing he could get the parliament to adjudge him the crown during life, he ſhould only have a perſonal right, which would not deſcend to his children by a ſecond wife.

In the latter caſe, on ſuppoſition of the confuſion of the titles of both houſes by means of the projected marriage, purſuant to the intention of thoſe who had invited him into England, this confuſion indeed might be advantageous to the children born of this marriage: but if unhappily there ſhould be none, and his death fall out before Elizabeth's, he would leave the poſſeſſion of the crown to the houſe of York, which his averſion for that houſe would not ſuffer him to behold even at a diſtance, without extreme concern. But if, on the contrary, Elizabeth ſhould die before him, he foreſaw it would prove occaſion of renewing the troubles of the kingdom, ſince, as ſhe reigned in her own right, her ſiſter or neareſt relations might pretend to ſucceed her.

Henry's third title was, that of the ſword or conqueſt, which his late victory ſeemed to give him. But he conſidered this victory was entirely owing to the aſſiſtance of the people of England, and therefore gave him at moſt but a right of conqueſt over the vanquiſhed party. Beſides, as he could ſupport himſelf only by the ſame aſſiſtance, he had reaſon to fear that in reſting upon this pretended title, he ſhould loſe his beſt friends, ſince ſuch a proceeding might be conſtrued as a ſettled deſign to rule with arbitrary power. He knew William the Conqueror had wiſely avoided that rock, by rejecting the title of the ſword, till he ſaw himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed in the throne.

[a] The caſe would be the ſame, ſuppoſing the queen left iſſue, for the crown would upon her death fall to her eldeſt ſon or daughter.

Theſe

These were difficulties considerable enough to merit Henry's mature deliberation before he resolved. But on the other hand, there was no medium to take. He was necessarily either to accept the title given him by the army, and thereby engage to prosecute his rights independently of the parliament's approbation, or by rejecting it to show he mistrusted his own right, and expose himself to a troublesome examination. After weighing the reasons on both sides as far as the time would permit, he resolved at last to rely upon the title of the house of Lancaster. So taking for granted that the army in saluting him King, had only given him his due, he determined to assert the Lancastrian claim, without any mixture of that of York, and without submitting it even to the examination of the parliament[b]. To that end he resolved to be crowned before he summoned a parliament, and to defer his marriage till he had obtained an act to adjudge him the crown as his own by inheritance. He determined therefore to assume the title of King, and to issue out orders as such, supposing that the crown was fallen to him of full right, though Margaret his mother was still alive, and ought to precede him. Notwithstanding all the reasons which rendered his title dubious, he believed there were others strong enough to support it, especially at a time when his victory was capable of deciding all the questions in his favour. This resolution was the fountain of all the troubles of his reign.

H. VII. 1485.

He resolves to take the title of king, Bacon.

and be crowned without bringing his claim into question.

Mean while, though he affected to be convinced of the goodness of his title, he distrusted it in his own mind, knowing if it came to be contested, the reasons whereon he should ground it, were of no great weight, unless supported by force of arms. In this situation he continued almost his whole life: always unconcerned in appearance, and yet terrifying himself with the least thing, and dreading that every little accident would be of dangerous consequence. The house of York was a perpetual terror to him: he knew that they who had called him into England were not enemies to that house, but only to the person of Richard III. So the rights of the two houses remaining still doubtful, as having been decided only by the sword, he was very sensible that his could be maintained but by the same way, or by wise precautions to prevent all future decisions of that kind.

He is afraid of the house of York.

[b] Or, as the lord Bacon expresses it, he resolved to rest upon the title of Lancaster as the main, and to use the other two, that of marriage and that of battle, but as supporters, p. 579.

H. VII. 1485.

Upon theſe conſiderations it was, that the next day after the battle [c], he ſent a detachment of horſe, under the command of ſir Robert Willoughby, to the caſtle of Sheriff-Hutton [d], to take from thence the earl of Warwick, and conduct him to the Tower of London. This young prince was ſon and heir to George duke of Clarence, who was drowned in a butt of malmſey. After the death of the duke his father, Edward IV. his uncle cauſed him to be carefully educated, and created him earl of Warwick, a title enjoyed by his mother's father [e]. He was unwilling to make him duke of Clarence, leſt that title ſhould preſerve the memory of an unhappy brother, whom he had ſacrificed to his jealouſy. When Richard was on the throne, he ordered this young prince his nephew to be confined in the caſtle above named, knowing how likely he was one day to diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of the crown. After the uſurper's death, the earl of Warwick ſeemed to have room to expect ſome favour from his ſucceſſor, but it proved juſt the contrary: ſo far was Henry from releaſing him, that he made him cloſe priſoner in the Tower, a rigour proceeding only from his jealouſy and inward conviction that his title was not ſo undoubted as he affected to believe. But this was not all: it will hereafter be ſeen that he put this unhappy prince to death by the hand of the executioner, therein ſtill more tyrant than the tyrant himſelf, from whom he boaſted to have delivered the kingdom.

He ſends the earl of Warwick to the Tower. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

The princeſs Elizabeth comes to London. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

The princeſs Elizabeth, whom Henry was to marry, was kept in the ſame caſtle by the late king's order, who did not think fit to leave her at liberty to chuſe a huſband, intending to marry her himſelf. Henry reſolving to repair to London with all poſſible diligence thought it not proper to leave the princeſs at ſo great a diſtance, leſt ſhe ſhould be told that ſhe had no need to mix her rights with thoſe of another: wherefore ſhe was deſired to come and remain with the queen her mother at London. His deſign was to make it believed he intended to eſpouſe her very ſoon, though he was determined to defer his marriage till after the ſeſſion of the parliament.

Henry is well received at London. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

A few days after, Henry ſet forward by eaſy journies to London, taking care to avoid all appearance of uſing the right of conqueſt. He was received in all places with loud acclamations, the people conſidering him as their deliverer, and as going by his marriage, to put an end to all the calamities occaſioned by the civil wars. He made his entry into

[c] Before his departure from Leiceſter. Hall, Stow.

[d] In Yorkſhire.

[e] Richard Nevill.

London

London with great ſtate [f]. However, the people had not the ſatisfaction to ſee him as he paſſed through the city, becauſe he was carried all the way in a cloſe chariot till he came to St. Paul's. His hiſtorian aſcribes this conduct to a motive of grandeur and ſecurity, as if having been proſcribed in the reign of Richard III. he diſdained to fawn upon the people, leſt they ſhould think he expected all from them. But I do not know whether this is better grounded than what the ſame hiſtorian adds, that Henry cauſed Richard's ſtandards taken at Boſworth [g], to be brought into St. Paul's church, that the people of London might not forget that he had juſt gained a battle, and was entering the city as a conqueror. When a prince has acquired a reputation for politics, ſomething myſterious, ſuitable to the notion formed of him, is diſcovered in his moſt indifferent actions. H. VII. 1485. Bacon.

Next day Henry aſſembled a council [h] of all the perſons of diſtinction in the court and city, before whom he ſolemnly renewed his oath to marry the princeſs Elizabeth. This declaration was abſolutely neceſſary at the preſent juncture, becauſe of a rumour that he was contracted to Ann, eldeſt daughter of the duke of Bretagne, and had not acted with ſincerity when he promiſed to marry the eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. Beſides, though his deſign was not to derive his right from this marriage, it was however proper the people ſhould think ſo, till he had obtained his deſire of the parliament, for fear meaſures ſhould be taken beforehand to obſtruct it. Indeed, he was reſolved to perform his promiſe, but was bent not to conſummate his marriage before his coronation, leſt his queen ſhould be crowned with him, and her title ſupported by that junction. Nay, he had reaſon to fear, that in caſe his nuptials were celebrated before the parliament met, ſome clauſe in favour of the houſe of York might be inſerted in the act to ſettle the ſucceſſion. He ratifies his oath to marry Elizabeth. Hall. Bacon.

About the middle of September, the city of London was afflicted with a diſeaſe then unknown, which threw the patients into a prodigious ſweat, and carried them off in four and twenty hours. Thoſe that died not within that ſpace were The ſweating ſickneſs. Hall. Stow. Bacon.

f On a Saturday the 27th of Auguſt; and as he had alſo obtained the victory upon a Saturday, he counted out of fancy, and choſe afterwards that day as a day proſperous to him. The mayor and companies of London went out to meet him at Shoreditch. Bacon, p. 579.

g There were three, on one of which was the image of St. George, on the ſecond was a fiery dragon upon white and green ſarcenet, the third was of yellow tartern, on which was painted a dun-cow. Hall, fol. 1. Hollingſhead, p. 1425.

h In the biſhop of London's palace, where he lodged for ſome time. Bacon, p. 580.

H. VII. 1485.

almoſt ſure of recovering. Happily, it laſted but till the end of October; however, it ſwept away multitudes of people before proper remedies were found [1]. The method of cure was to keep the patient neither too hot nor too cold, with temperate cordials, which, without too much increaſing the heat, helped nature to expel the humours that cauſed the extraordinary ſweatings.

The earl of Oxford is made governor of the Tower. Act. Pub. xii. p. 276.

About this time the new king made the earl of Oxford [k] conſtable of the Tower, who had always been attached to the houſe of Lancaſter, and after his eſcape out of the caſtle of Hammes, joined him at Paris, and had ſince done him ſignal ſervices, particularly at the battle of Boſworth.

Truce with France. p. 277.

Some time after, the king iſſued out a proclamation, notifying, that he had concluded a truce for one year with the king of France, from the laſt day of September. It was no ſmall advantage to ſhow the people that Charles VIII. acknowledged him for king, even before he was declared ſo by the parliament.

The office of high-ſteward is exerciſed by commiſſioners. Ibid.

The coronation-day approaching, it was neceſſary to ſettle the places and claims of thoſe who were to officiate at the ceremony. For that purpoſe, it was requiſite to create a lord high-ſteward. But as this office for ſome time had been enjoyed only by princes of the blood, and there were none then in the kingdom, the king, not to raiſe jealouſies among the great men, cauſed it to be executed by commiſſioners [l].

Creations. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

Mean while, he would no longer delay to ſhow his gratitude to three lords who had faithfully and effectually ſerved him in his greateſt diſtreſſes. Theſe were Jaſper earl of Pembroke, his father's brother, Thomas lord Stanley his father-in-law, and Sir Edward Courtney. The firſt had been a father to him in his youth, and delivered him from the ſnares of Edward IV. when he was concealed in Wales. After that, he was his conſtant companion in Bretagne, and had helped him to overcome all the difficulties which occured in his undertakings. In return for his ſervices, Henry gave him the title of duke of Bedford, vacant ever ſince the death of the famous duke of Bedford, brother of Henry V. The lord Stanley, who had been very ſerviceable to the king at the battle of Boſworth, was created earl of Derby. Sir Edward

[1] Two mayors, and ſix aldermen died of it within one week. Hall, fol. 3.

[k] John Vere.

[l] Jaſper earl of Pembroke, the earls of Oxford and Nottingham, the lords Stanley and Fitz-Wauter, Robert Morton, maſter of the rolls, Sir Thomas Brian, chief juſtice of the king's-Bench, Sir Humfrey Starkey, chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Sir Richard Croft, treaſurer of the houſhold. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 277.

Courtney,

Courtney, who had ventured to ingage in his party, and to favour in the weſtern counties, the duke of Buckingham's plot, was honoured with the title of earl of Devonſhire [m], Henry thought not proper to diſpenſe his favours to others, being willing, according to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, to reſerve his creations till the ſitting of the parliament. H. VII. 1485.

The coronation had been fixed to the 30th of October, and the parliament was not to meet till the 7th of November. Hence it is evident, that Henry did not mean to bring his title into queſtion, or leave to the parliament's care any more than to confirm his coronation, without ſuffering the foundations to be examined. The examples of Edward IV. and Richard III. had taught him, that the beſt way to gain the parliament's approbation, was to to take poſſeſſion. Indeed there is a great difference between debating, whether a prince who claims a crown has a right to pretend to it, or whether he is to be dethroned when in actual poſſeſſion. The former of theſe things may be done by reaſons, arguments, and ſtudied ſpeeches: The latter requires an army ready to give weight to the reaſons. So Henry may be ſaid to ſet the crown himſelf on his head, ſince he alone decided his right, without the authority of the parliament, who would have had much to ſay, if they had examined or been at liberty to examine, by what title Henry aſcended the throne. The ceremony of the coronation was performed by cardinal Bourchier archbiſhop of Canterbury, who ſuppoſing Henry's right to be indiſputable, thought it not proper to inquire into the validity of his title [n]. The ſame day Henry inſtituted a guard of fifty archers [o] to attend him and his ſucceſſors for ever, covering with a pretence of grandeur and majeſty, a precaution, which in all appearance he believed neceſſary in the preſent juncture. The king's coronation. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon. He inſtitutes a guard of fifty archers

The parliament met eight days after the coronation. Henry's ends in calling a parliament were chiefly four. The firſt was to be declared king de jure, as he was already king de facto, and to ſecure the crown to his poſterity, by an act in form. The parliament meets. Hall. Bacon.

[m] The bannerets made at this creation, were theſe, Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir John Cheney, Sir William Stonar, Sir William Troutbeck, Sir John Mortimer, Sir Richard Croſby, Sir John Forteſcue, Sir Edward Bedingfield, Sir Thomas Cokeſey, Sir James Baſkerville, Sir Humfrey Stanley, Sir Richard de la Bere. Stow, p. 471.

[n] Hall and Hollingſhead ſay, king Henry was crowned by the whole aſſent, as well of the commons as of the nobility, fol. 2. p. 1425.

[o] Under a captain, by the name of Yeomen of the Guard. There are at preſent a hundred in daily waiting, and ſeventy more not in waiting: and as one of the hundred dies, his place is filled up out of the ſeventy.

H.VII. 1485. The ſecond, to reverſe the attainders of all his party [p]. The third, to attaint thoſe who had expreſſed a great animoſity againſt him, and moſt zeal for the late king. The fourth and laſt was to ſhew, that though he had by his ſole authority placed himſelf on the throne, to prevent his title from being queſtioned, he intended however to govern the kingdom like his predeceſſors, by way of Parliaments, and not to aſſume a deſpotic power. This ſtep was abſolutely neceſſary for a prince whoſe title was ſo dubious, and who aſcended the throne without being called to it in the uſual way.

Difficulties about ſettleing the ſucceſſion. Bacon.

It was requiſite, for the people's ſatisfaction and the king's ſecurity, that the parliament ſhould ſettle the crown upon him by an expreſs act; otherwiſe obedience to him might not be thought indiſpenſable. Though he had been powerful enough to cauſe his authority to be owned without ſuch an act, his heirs were not certain to be always in ſo favourable a ſituation. Mean while, it was not eaſy to pen the act. Henry would not hold the crown either by the people's election, or by the parliament, or by the princeſs he was to marry. He did not even intend that Elizabeth ſhould ſhare in the royalty, otherwiſe than any other foreign queen. Nevertheleſs, in the beginning of the reign, it was proper, the people ſhould not know too much, but have ſome cauſe to believe, the king reſted upon all theſe titles. The reaſon was, the Engliſh were extremely jealous of the authority of their parliaments, and generally much better affected to the houſe of York than to that of Lancaſter. Wherefore the king finding the parliament diſpoſed to do whatever he could deſire, intimated or dictated himſelf the words of the act, namely, "That the inheritance of the crown ſhould reſt, remain, "and abide in the king, and the heirs of his body, perpetually "ſo to endure, and in none other." Which ambiguous words left it undecided, whether he had a prior right, which was doubtful, or was only king in fact, which could not be denied. As for the limitation of the entail, he was contented it ſhould go no further than to himſelf and to the heirs of his body, leaving the reſt to be decided by the law in caſe his line came to fail. Thus by not mentioning the houſe of York, the act left it undetermined whether that houſe was entirely excluded, or might inherit after the heirs of the new

Hall. Bacon.

[p] And among the reſt of Henry lord Cliffore, who had been concealed, and obſcurely brought up in the mountainous parts of Cumberland, and at Lanſborow in Yorkſhire, ever ſince the battle of Towton. See Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. p. 343.

king.

king. In this obſcure and ambiguous manner did the parliament draw and paſs the act, which was afterwards confirmed by the pope's bull. But Henry took care to have all his titles inſerted in the bull, namely, his deſcent from the houſe of Lancaſter, his marriage with Edward the Fourth's eldeſt daughter, his victory at Boſworth, and the act of Parliament: To which might be added alſo the papal bull of confirmation. All theſe titles joined together, are a clear evidence of his uncertainty, with reſpect to his right, and of his trouble cauſed by that uncertainty. H. VII. 1485.

The act of ſettlement and ſucceſſion being paſſed, it was moved for another to reverſe the attainders of the king's friends, whilſt only earl of Richmond. But ſeveral of the attainted perſons were actually members of the houſe of commons, elected by the favour they had found with the people ſince the revolution. There were likewiſe ſome in the houſe of lords. It was therefore repreſented to be incongruous, that theſe perſons ſhould give their votes in an affair which particularly concerned them, and be judges in their own cauſe. The king was troubled that the acts paſſed in the late reign ſhould be deemed valid, and his friends wanted to be purged of the crime of eſpouſing his quarrel. He concealed however his concern, and only inſinuated, that he wiſhed the judges to be conſulted upon the affair. The judges being met [q], gave it as their opinion, that the members attainted by courſe of law, ſhould abſent themſelves till their attainders were reverſed. Queſtion in parliament decided by the judges. Bacon.

But whilſt they were debating upon this queſtion, another was moved with reſpect to the king himſelf, who was of the number of the attainted, having been declared traitor and rebel by an act of parliament. This queſtion was much more embarraſſing than the other. The king could not be disjoined from the parliament without a diſſolution, neither was it probable that he would ſubmit to a parliamentary examination. In this puzzling caſe, the judges unanimouſly reſolved, "That "the crown takes away all defects and ſtops in blood: and "that from the time the king aſſumed the crown, the foun-"tain was cleared, and all attainders and corruption of blood "diſcharged." This deciſion, more conformable to politics than to the laws, eſtabliſhed a principle that might be attended with terrible conſequences. Another relating to the king decided alſo by the judges. Ibid.

[q] In the exchequer chamber, which is the council chamber of the judges. Bacon, p. 581.

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This affair being ended, the parliament paſſed an act of attainder againſt the late king, by the name of the duke of Gloceſter, and againſt his principal adherents. Of this number were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, the lords Lovel, Ferrers, Zouch, Sir Richard Ratcliff, Sir William Cateſby [r], all miniſters or favourites of Richard III. of whom ſome were killed at Boſworth Field, others executed ſince the battle. If the plots which were afterwards formed againſt Henry himſelf had taken effect, he would doubtleſs have been ſerved in the ſame manner, with all his adherents. So dangerous is it to carry ſeverity too far in caſes of this nature. Accordingly we ſhall ſee hereafter, that Henry perceiving the conſequences, cauſed an act to be paſſed to prevent the abuſe of ſuch a precedent. The deſign of the preſent act was to ſatisfy the king's vengeance, and procure him the forfeited eſtates of the attainted. Theſe confiſcations brought him in immenſe ſums, which rendered the demand of a ſubſidy unneceſſary in this firſt parliament, eſpecially as the nation was in peace or truce with all the neighbouring princes.

Act againſt Richard III. and his adherents. Hollingſh. Bacon.

A general pardon. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

After the king was revenged of his enemies, and had filled his coffers, he publiſhed the royal proclamation, offering pardon to all that had been concerned in any plot againſt him before he came to the crown, or borne arms for the late king, provided they ſubmitted themſelves by ſuch a day. His firſt deſign was to procure this general pardon to be paſſed in parliament, but recollecting it was an act of Grace, he choſe rather that it ſhould wholly flow from himſelf. Many who were apprehenſive of being proſecuted, readily came and took the oath of allegiance, in order to enjoy the benefit of the pardon. But others choſe to remain in ſanctuary, till the character of the new king was more known. The lord Lovel, one of Richard the Third's favorites, took this laſt courſe.

Creation of Peers. Ibid.

Before the parliament broke up, Henry was pleaſed to reward ſome of the companions of his exile, by creating them peers of the realm. The lord Chandos of Bretagne was made earl of Bath; Sir Giles D'Aubeney received the title

[r] And Robert Middleton, William Barkley, Robert and James Harrington, Robert Brackenbury, Richard Charleton, Thomas Pilkinton, Walter Hopton, Roger Wake, William Sapcote, Humphrey Stafford, William Clerke of Wunlocke, Geoffrey St. Germaine, Richard Watkyns, Richard Revell, Thomas Puiter, John Walche, Andrew Rat, William Brampton, John Kendal ſecretary to Richard III. and John Buck, a relation of George Buck, the author of the Life of Richard III. This John Buck was a creature of the duke of Norfolk, and loſt his head at Boſworth. Hollingſh. p. 1425. Compl. Hiſt. p. 581.

of

of baron D'Aubeney, and Sir Robert Willoughby that of lord Brooke. At the ſame time the king reſtored Edward Stafford to the dignity of duke of Buckingham, forfeited by his father's attainder, and to all the poſſeſſions belonging to his family, confiſcated in the late reign. This was a piece of juſtice he could hardly refuſe to the ſon of a lord who had loſt his life in his ſervice, and been the firſt author of his advancement to the throne. H. VII. 1485.

The parliament being diſſolved about the end of November, Henry ſent into France, Oliver King, archdeacon of Oxford, with money to repay king Charles what he had lent him, and his charges in fitting out the fleet which brought him to England. Whereupon the marquis of Dorſet, and Sir John Bourchier, left as pledges at Paris, had leave to return home. At the ſame time, Henry gave his envoy power to prolong the truce with France, if he found king Charles's council inclined. The king redeems his pledges from France, and offers to prolong the truce. Hall. Bacon. Act. Pub. xii. p. 278.

Probably his want of ready money to pay the king of France, put him upon ſending to the city of London to borrow ſix thouſand marks. His demand met at firſt with great difficulties, becauſe he was not yet well known. However, he obtained at laſt two thouſand pounds [s], which he thankfully received, and punctually repayed afterwards. He often borrowed money in this manner in the courſe of his reign, and always paid at the day. His view was to eſtabliſh his credit in that powerful city, that he might uſe it upon any preſſing occaſion. He borrows money of the city. Stow. Bacon.

About the end of the year, he called to his privy-council John Morton, biſhop of Ely, lately returned from Flanders, and Richard Fox [t]. He lay under great obligations to Morton, particularly for his intelligence of what was plotting againſt him in Bretagne, and had a great value for Fox, knowing him to be a perſon capable of doing him great ſervice, and of a temper very like his own. In time, Morton was made archbiſhop of Canterbury, lord chancellor, prime miniſter, and at laſt cardinal. As for Fox, the king made him firſt lord keeper of the privy-ſeal, then biſhop of Exeter: After that he tranſlated him to Bath and Wells, from thence to Durham, Morton and Fox are made privy counſellors. Bacon.

[s] Which was levied of the companies, and not of the wards. Stow. p. 471.

[t] The reſt of his privy-council were, John Vere earl of Oxford, Thomas Stanley earl of Derby, Sir William Stanley lord chamberlain, Robert Willoughby lord Brooke, ſteward of his houſhold, Giles lord Daubeney, John lord Dynham, Sir Reginald Bray, Sir John Cheney, Sir Richard Guilford, Sir Richard Tunſtall, Sir Richard Edgecombe, Sir Thomas Lovell, Sir Edward Pownynges, Sir John Riſley, &c. Hall, fol. 3.

and

H. VII. 1485. and laſtly to Wincheſter, the richeſt biſhoprick in England. Theſe two prelates, with Urſwick, the king's chaplain, were almoſt always employed in the moſt important commiſſions, embaſſies, and negotiations. Henry loved to employ eccleſiaſticks, becauſe he had always church-preferments ready for their reward. But he took care to promote them by degrees from ſmaller to more conſiderable ſees. Herein he found his own profit; for by tranſlating biſhops from one ſee to another, he made the more vacancies, and conſequently the firſt-fruits which accrued to the king, were greatly multiplied [b]. Never did prince more ardently ſeek occaſions to heap up riches. Avarice was his predominant paſſion, influenced even his meaneſt actions, and cauſed him to take many falſe ſteps, as will be manifeſt hereafter.

The events of this reign have ſuch a connexion with thoſe of ſome other ſtates, that it is abſolutely neceſſary to ſhew the ſituation of the affairs of divers princes. Otherwiſe the motives of Henry the ſeventh's conduct would be but imperfectly known, who made in his time a great figure in Europe, though not ſo much by his arms as policy. I ſhall begin with Bretagne.

Affairs of Bretagne. Argentré.

I have elſewhere obſerved, that Peter Landais, favorite of the duke of Bretagne, entirely governed that prince, who was old and infirm, and very much impaired in his underſtanding: That ſeveral lords of Bretagne had made a league againſt that miniſter, and intended to ſeize him; but having miſſed their aim, were expoſed to the vengeance of the favorite, who had cauſed them all to be condemned to die. In the beginning of this year 1485, Landais, in the name of the duke his maſter, levied an army to execute the ſentence, and the lords on their part took up arms in their defence. While Bretagne was thus divided, and the two parties ready to come to a battle, the condemned lords cauſed it to be repreſented to thoſe who ſerved Landais, that in the preſent affair, the intereſt not of their common maſter the duke, but of only his unworthy favorite, was concerned: That it was unjuſt to ſhed the blood of their countrymen in the quarrel of a man, who had notoriouſly abuſed his maſter's confidence: That therefore, to appeaſe at once the troubles of Bretagne, there was a much more natural and ready way than that of arms, namely, to rid themſelves of the miniſter, after which, not a man would refuſe to render due obedience to the

[b] This is a miſtake, the firſt fruits were paid to the pope, and not to the king till Henry VIII. threw off the papal authority.

duke.

duke. The lords of the duke's party deeming this expedient very reaſonable, were of opinion that it was for the intereſt of the country and the duke himſelf, that Landais, ſole cauſe of the troubles, ſhould be ſacrificed to the good of the public. Landais hearing that the lords of the two armies were contriving ſomething againſt him, cauſed a declaration to be drawn, wherein the duke ordered that all perſons of his own army, who held intelligence with the proſcribed lords, ſhould be deemed traitors and rebels. But this only ſerved to haſten his ruin. The chancellor, who was in the plot againſt him, refuſed to ſeal the declaration, and informed the lords of it, who reſolved to have no further regard for the favorite. So, without giving him time to take other meaſures, they went in a body to the palace, and ſeized Landais in the duke's own apartment, who was forced to deliver him on condition they would ſpare his life: but that was not their intention. On the contrary, they brought him to a ſpeedy trial, and convicting him of a thouſand crimes, made him atone for them on the gallows, before the duke was informed of the ſentence. How much ſoever the duke was troubled at the death of his favorite, he could not help granting the lords of the two armies letters of pardon. Thus Bretagne would have been reſtored to her former tranquillity, had not the duke imprudently concerned himſelf with the troubles of the court of France, which proved the ruin of himſelf and dukedom. This is what muſt now be ſhown, ſince it was the occaſion of the war which broke out between Charles VIII. and the duke of Bretagne, and wherein Henry VII. was concerned. H. VII. 1485.

Affairs of France. Mezerai.

Lewis XI. king of France, dying in the year 1483, left the government of the perſon of Charles VIII. his ſon and ſucceſſor, to his daughter Ann, wife of Peter de Bourbon lord of Beaujeu. Charles was fourteen years old, and conſequently of age according to the ordinance of Charles V. But as he had been ill educated [w], the king his father thought him uncapable of governing. The moment Lewis XI. was in his grave, Lewis duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, refuſed to acknowledge Ann of Beaujeu for the king's governeſs; affirming, a woman had no right to meddle with the affairs of the kingdom. The ſtates being aſſembled at Tours in January 1484, ended the diſpute by their authority. They confirmed the late king's will, and ordered the duke of Orleans ſhould be preſident of the council in the king's abſence.

[w] And was of a very infirm conſtitution. P. Daniel, tom vi, p. 573.

Whilſt

H. VII. 1485. Whilſt the ſtates of France were aſſembled, the lords of Bretagne made their firſt attempt upon Landais before-mentioned, which proved unſucceſsful. The ſentence which was given againſt them creating a dread of the favorite's revenge, they applied to Ann of Beaujeu to obtain the king her brother's protection. On the other hand, Landais ſeeing his enemies had recourſe to the lady Ann, thought he could not do better than rely upon the aſſiſtance of the duke of Orleans. To that end, he intreated him to come to the court of Bretagne, putting him in hopes, the duke would give him in marriage Ann his eldeſt daughter and preſumptive heir. The duke of Orleans had eſpouſed againſt his will, Joanna daughter of Lewis XI. but had made againſt this forced marriage a ſecret proteſtation, which he meant to uſe in order to annull it at a more favorable juncture. So, pleaſed with the hopes Landais had inſpired him with, he came to Bretagne, where he was extremely careſſed. But he could make no long ſtay there, being obliged to aſſiſt at the king's coronation, which was performed in June this year. Probably, whilſt he was in Bretagne, he concerted meaſures with the duke and his favorite to diſturb the government of Ann of Beaujeu, who was become abſolute miſtreſs of the king her brother's perſon and affairs.

Shortly after, the duke of Orleans forming a league againſt the court, and retiring to Boiſgency, demanded that the ſtates of France might be aſſembled. He intended to annull the regulation, with reſpect to the government of the king's perſon. But Ann of Beaujeu cauſed the king to march againſt him with ſuch expedition, that he was forced to accept of ſuch terms as were granted him, becauſe his friends were not yet ready to aſſiſt him. By the agreement, the earl of Dunois and Longueville, who was conſidered as his chief adviſer, was baniſhed to Aſt in Piedmont, a town belonging to the duke of Orleans, with a command not to ſtir from thence without the king's expreſs licence.

The duke of Orleans being thus compelled to diſmiſs his troops, cauſed the greateſt part to liſt in the duke of Bretagne's army againſt the condemned lords. On the other hand, Ann of Beaujeu ſent likewiſe to the barons part of the king's troops. Landais's death, which happened ſoon after, was not capable to make the duke of Orleans deſiſt from his projects. He ſtood in need of the duke of Bretagne to ſupport him againſt the court, and even hoped one day to marry his daughter. On the other ſide, the duke of Bretagne having been greatly perſecuted by Lewis XI. and knowing Ann of Beaujeu was

of

of the ſame character, and followed the ſame maxims, believed he could not do better than reſt upon the aſſiſtance of the duke of Orleans. So, after ſome private negotiations, theſe two princes formed a league together, into which came John de Chalon prince of Orange, nephew to the duke of Bretagne, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Dunois, the duke of Lorrain, and ſeveral other princes and lords. Some time after, the earl of Dunois returned into France without leave, and withdrew to his ſeat at Partenay in Poictou. The king was yet ignorant of the duke of Orleans's deſigns. But the earl of Dunois's return convincing him ſome plot was contriving in favour of that prince who was gone to Blois, he ſent him a poſitive order to repair to court. The duke obeyed upon a ſecond ſummons; but next day being informed ſome ill was intended him, feigned to go a hunting, and retired into Bretagne, where he was quickly followed by the prince of Orange and the earl of Dunois. This was in the beginning of the year 1486. We muſt now ſee what paſſed in the Netherlands. H. VII. 1485.

Affairs of the Low-Countries.

Since the death of Maria of Burgundy, Maximilian of Auſtria her huſband had been involved in troubles, on account of the guardianſhip of Philip her ſon, became ſovereign of the Low-Countries by the death of the ducheſs his mother. Brabant, Holland, and Zealand, had willingly received him for guardian; but Flanders and Hainault refuſed to obey him as ſuch.

The obſtinacy of the Flemings obliged Maximilian to make peace with Lewis XI. upon theſe terms: that the dauphin Charles, ſon of Lewis, ſhould marry Margaret daughter of Maximilian, as ſoon as they were of ſuch an age: that Margaret ſhould have for dower, Artois, French Comté, Macon, Auxerre, and be educated at the court of France. Purſuant to this treaty, Lewis kept theſe provinces which he had already ſeized, and took Margaret home, till the marriage could be conſummated.

In 1485, Maximilian ſucceſsfully made war upon the Liegeois. That ſame year Hainault owned him for guardian of his ſon Philip.

In 1484, the Flemings ſtill perſiſting in their refuſal to acknowledge Maximilian for guardian, appointed governors for Philip, of whom Adolphus de Cleves, lord of Ravenſtein, was the chief. Their obſtinacy occaſioned between them and Maximilian a war, in which Charles VIII. took part by aſſiſting the Flemings.

This

H. VII. 1485. This war ended in January 1485, in a treaty, importing, that the Flemings ſhould acknowledge Maximilian for guardian of his ſon, upon the expreſs condition that he ſhould not remove him from Flanders till of age. The treaty being ſigned, Maximilian made his entry into Gaunt, where a few days after was a ſedition, but which was happily appeaſed. During the reſt of the year, the Low-Countries enjoyed a tranquillity which afforded Maximilian time to take a journey into Germany, to be elected king of the Romans. Let us now ſpeak of the Spaniſh affairs.

Affairs of Spain. Henry IV. ſirnamed the Impotent, king of Caſtile, died in 1474, leaving only a daughter called Joanna, who was univerſally believed to be ſuppoſititious. For which reaſon, Iſabella ſiſter to Henry, and Ferdinand prince of Arragon her huſband, took poſſeſſion of the throne of Caſtile. They had a fierce war to maintain againſt Alphonſo king of Portugal, who being affianced to Joanna, ſuppoſed daughter of Henry IV. pretended to the crown of that kingdom. The war ended in 1479, to the advantage of Ferdinand and Iſabella, who compelled Alphonſo to deſiſt from his pretenſions. By the treaty upon that occaſion, it was agreed, that Alphonſo, the king of Portugal's grandſon, ſhould marry Iſabella daughter of Ferdinand, when the parties were of age to conſummate the marriage.

John king of Arragon died that ſame year, leaving to his ſon Ferdinand the kingdom of Arragon, with a war to maintain againſt France, the occaſion whereof was this. King John had mortgaged to Lewis XI. Rouſſillon and Cerdagne for three hundred thouſand crowns. Afterwards, the inhabitants of Perpignan revolted from the French, whoſe dominion did not pleaſe them. Upon the news, John came to Perpignan, to try to perſuade them to remain in ſubjection to the French, till he could redeem Rouſſillon by payment of the mortgage. But whilſt he was labouring to appeaſe them, Lewis XI. cauſed the place to be beſieged, and John himſelf was ſhut up. The ſiege laſted four months, and at laſt, Ferdinand ſon of John, coming to his relief, obliged the French to retire. Shortly after, John being gone from Perpignan, Lewis ordered the place to be re-inveſted, and after a long ſiege became maſter of it. From that time the king of Arragon pretended, the king of France ought to reſtore Rouſſillon, without receiving the money lent, either becauſe of his expence in protecting his ſubjects, or becauſe the French had levied large ſums upon the mortgaged countries. But the king of France did not think himſelf obliged to this reſtitution, unleſs

leſs he was paid the three hundred thouſand crowns he had lent. H. VII. 1485.

In 1485, Charles VIII. ſent an ambaſſador to Ferdinand, who refuſed to receive him, without a poſitive power to reſign Rouſſillon and Cerdagne.

About the latter end of that year was born Catherine daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, who was afterwards queen of England, and will have a great ſhare in this hiſtory. Ferdinand and Iſabella had ſeveral other children, namely, Iſabella affianced to the prince of Portugal, John born 1477, and Joanna born in 1479.

I ſhall cloſe this digreſſion with the affairs of Scotland. James III. continued to govern his kingdom with oppreſſion and violence, regardleſs of the affection of his ſubjects. I have before obſerved, the duke of Albany his brother ſurrendered Dunbar to the Engliſh, and after the death of Edward IV. retired into France, where he ended his days at a tournament. From that time the Engliſh kept poſſeſſion of that place, though Richard III. promiſed to reſtore it. This promiſe being unperformed when Henry VII. aſcended the throne of England, James reſolved to recover Dunbar by force of arms. For that purpoſe, about the end of this year, or perhaps the beginning of the next, he beſieged and took the town. The ſeaſon, and the important affairs which Henry had in the beginning of his reign, permitted him not to prepare for its relief. Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

Such was the poſture of the affairs of the ſtates with whom Henry VII. had any concerns during the courſe of his reign. It is time now to return to our hiſtory.

How great an averſion ſoever the king might have in his mind to the houſe of York, he had too ſolemnly promiſed to marry the princeſs Elizabeth not to perform his word. Beſides, this marriage was neceſſary to amuſe the Engliſh, who ſtill flattered themſelves, that the king's intention was to confound his rights with thoſe of the houſe of York, notwithſtanding his precautions to hinder her being mentioned in the act of ſettlement. The nuptials were ſolemnized the 18th of January, with much greater demonſtrations of joy on the people's part, than on the king's. There was much leſs ſatisfaction expreſſed on the days either of the king's entry or coronation: which was a clear evidence of the people's affection for the houſe of York, and particularly for the family of Edward IV. But this was not to be thought very ſtrange. The houſe of Lancaſter, of which there remained no branch but what was deſcended from the daughters, had been forgot during 1486. The king's marriage. Jan. 18. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

H. VII. 1486. during the reigns of the kings of the houſe of York. Though Henry reſted upon his deſcent from the houſe of Lancaſter, he was known to be grandſon of a Welſh gentleman, and his mother to be ſprung only from a baſtard of that houſe, whom the credit of his father, and the circumſtances of the times had cauſed to be legitimated. As for the princes and princeſſes deſcended from the lawful daughters of John of Gaunt, as they happened to be in Portugal, Caſtile, and Arragon, and were unknown in England, it was not ſurprizing there was no great inclination for them. Henry did not like to ſee the people's joy for his marriage. He perceived Elizabeth had a greater ſhare in it than himſelf, and that conſequently he was thought really king only in right of his queen. This conſideration inſpired him with ſuch a coldneſs for her, that he never ceaſed to give her marks of it ſo long as ſhe lived. He deferred her coronation two whole years, and doubtleſs, would have done ſo for ever, if he had not thought it prejudicial to him to perſiſt in refuſing her that honour. Nay, perhaps he would have dealt with her, as Edward the Confeſſor had formerly done by his queen, daughter of earl Goodwin, had not the deſire of children cauſed him to overcome his averſion. He had conceived ſo mortal a hatred to the whole houſe of York, that he loſt no opportunity to humble the Yorkiſts, behaving always to them not as a juſt king, but like the head of a party. In the courſe of his hiſtory will be ſeen divers proofs of his diſinclination to that houſe.

The king's coldneſs for the queen.

His mortal hatred to the houſe of York.

A three years truce with France. Act. Pub. xii. p. 281.

The day before the king's marriage was ſolemnized at London, his envoy at Paris had concluded with the court of France a three years truce, which was to expire January the 17th, 1488-9. Charles VIII. who began to form projects againſt Bretagne, willingly conſented to the truce, to tie up the hands of the king of England, and to hinder him from aſſiſting that dukedom. On the other ſide, Henry, who was ignorant of his deſigns, believed it could not but turn to his advantage to live in a good underſtanding with that monarch, becauſe he thereby rendered himſelf more formidable to his domeſtic enemies, who could no longer expect any diverſion from that quarter.

The earl of Derby made high-conſtable. Ib. p. 295.

Shortly after, the king made Thomas Stanley earl of Derby high-conſtable, and William Stanley his brother lord chamberlain. Theſe, of all the kingdom, were the two perſons the king was moſt indebted to, ſince they enabled him to gain the victory of Boſworth, which procured him the crown.

p. 296. The lord D'Aubeney was made governor of Calais for ſeven years.

Henry and Elizabeth being ſprung from the ſame ſtock, namely, Edward III. had wanted a diſpenſation to marry, becauſe they were couſins in the fourth degree. It was the biſhop of Imola, Legate à Latere in England and Scotland, that had granted the diſpenſation by virtue of his commiſſion, which empowered him to grant that favour to any twelve perſons he ſhould pleaſe. The king thought at firſt this diſpenſation was ſufficient, and without farther reflection conſummated his marriage. Afterwards he conſidered, occaſion might be taken from thence to queſtion the validity of his marriage, and to maintain, that a power granted for twelve perſons in general, could not be extended to ſovereigns. To prevent therefore any ſuch objection, he deſired pope Innocent VIII. who then ſat in the papal chair, to grant him a diſpenſation immediately from himſelf, and peculiarly adapted to his caſe. Whereupon the pope ordered a bull to be drawn accordingly. But as the bull was dated March the 13th, about two months after the marriage, and mentioned not the conſummation, or the legate's diſpenſation, Henry deſired to have another with theſe two articles inſerted, which was granted him the July following. This ſhows how careful he was to prevent whatever would afford his enemies a pretence to diſturb him. But a precaution he took at the ſame time, makes this appear ſtill plainer.

H. VII. 1486.

Diſpenſation for the king's marriage. March 10. p. 294, 313.

Two more upon the ſame account. p. 294. p. 313.

With the firſt diſpenſation he received a bull, confirming the act of ſucceſſion made by the parliament. The pope declared, "He had heard, that though the crown of England was fallen to Henry, not only by conqueſt and an unqueſtionable hereditary right, but moreover by the unanimous conſent of the nobles and people, and by an act of parliament[x]; and though undoubtedly and rightfully it belonged to him and the heirs of his body, yet, to put an end to the troubles which had long diſtracted the kingdom, he was deſirous to marry Elizabeth of York, eldeſt daughter and heir of king Edward IV. of glorious memory: that therefore having conſidered, with his brothers the cardinals, his intention in the ſpirit of charity, he had granted the diſpenſation neceſſary for the marriage, and pronounced the children that ſhould be born of it lawful, and capable of ſucceeding to their father and mother: that he had grant-

The bull confirming the act of ſettlement. March 27. Act. Pub. xii. p. 297.

x ——"Non modo jure belli ac notorio & indubitato proximo ſucceſſionis titulo, verum etiam omnium prælatorum, procerum, magnatum, nobilium totiuſque ejuſdem regni Angliæ plebis electione & voto, necnon decreto ſtatuto & ordinatione ipſius Angliæ regni trium ſtatuum in ipſorum conventu, parliamento nuncupato." Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 297.

H. VII. 1486.

" ed this favour, not at the requeſt of Henry or Elizabeth, " or any other in their name, but of his own motion, certain " knowledge, and pure generoſity, as it was more largely " expreſſed in the letters of diſpenſation, to which he gave " the ſame force as if they were inſerted word for word in " theſe preſents: that therefore he decreed, declared, and " pronounced lawful, the ſucceſſion of the children iſſu- " ing from this marriage, and confirmed the act of parlia- " ment concerning king Henry's title, and the ſucceſſion of " his children, ſupplying by his apoſtolical authority, all de- " fects of right or fact that might therein occur. . .

" That of his own motion, and by his authority, he ad- " moniſhed and required all the people of England, and all " the ſubjects of king Henry, of what rank ſoever, to obey " that prince, and expreſly forbid them to raiſe diſturbances " about the ſucceſſion, or upon any other account whatſo- " ever, or to infringe in any manner the diſpenſation, de- " claration, and act of parliament.

" That he pronounced ipſo facto excommunicate all per- " ſons that ſhould raiſe any ſuch diſturbances, or infringe " the foreſaid letters and acts, to be abſolved only by the " holy ſee, or ſuch as ſhould be impowered by her, unleſs at " the point of death.

" That if Elizabeth ſhould happen to die before Henry " without iſſue, he decreed, agreeably to the foreſaid act of " parliament and confirmation, that the children of Henry " by any other lawful wife ſhould ſucceed him by hereditary " right, pronouncing excommunicate, as above, all perſons " that ſhould oppoſe the ſucceſſion of his children. Grant- " ing on the contrary his benediction and plenary indulgence " for all their ſins, to thoſe who ſhould, in that caſe, aſſiſt " Henry or his poſterity.

" Moreover, he enjoined all archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, " deans, archdeacons, curates, rectors, priors, and ſuperiors " of monaſteries, upon the penalties expreſſed in the holy " canons, to excommunicate publicly, and to pronounce " excommunicate, whenever they were required, all perſons " that ſhould breed any diſturbances upon that account, or " oppoſe in any manner whatever the execution of the ſaid " acts, notwithſtanding all conſtitutions and ordinances apo- " ſtolical to the contrary," &c.

Remarks on this bull.

Nothing ſhows more how much Henry was himſelf convinced of the weakneſs of his title, than his procuring the pope's confirmation. This precaution was not only needleſs,

but even unlawful, ſince it was directly againſt the ſtatutes of Præmunire, of which the Engliſh were ſo jealous. Accordingly, he had taken care to have it ſaid in the bull, that the pope granted the diſpenſation of his own motion, and without any previous requeſt; a clauſe evidently falſe. It is certain, the bull of diſpenſation ran in expreſs terms, that the pope granted it upon what was repreſented to him by Henry and Elizabeth. Beſides what the pope affirmed, that the crown of England was fallen to Henry by hereditary right, that heap and confuſion of the other titles, namely, the conſent of the nobles and people, the act of parliament, the king's marriage with Elizabeth; all this, I ſay, correſpond ſo exactly with Henry's uncertainty concerning his title, that doubtleſs, it proceeded not from the pope's own knowledge, but rather from the king himſelf, who had as it were dictated how the bull ſhould be worded. In fine, the pope would never have thought of confirming the act of ſettlement, if he had not been requeſted. But it was not convenient the king ſhould appear to have deſired ſuch a bull, ſince nothing could be more diſagreeable to the Engliſh. For taking ſuch a ſtep, even before the ſtatute of Præmunire was enacted, king John entirely loſt the affection and confidence of his barons, with the crown which he meant to ſecure by that expedient. Henry III. was like to undergo the ſame fate for taking precautions of this nature. Accordingly, it will hereafter be ſeen, that this bull was not capable of hindering the king's being frequently moleſted. The Engliſh were not, as formerly, ſuch bigots as to imagine the pope's authority could give Henry a title which he really had not. H. VII. 1486.

Though the king had happily attained his ends, with reſpect to the act of ſettlement and ſucceſſion, he knew however what the parliament had done was not agreeable to the ſentiments of the people. He had been called into England to deliver the nation from the tyranny of Richard III. and not to diſpoſſeſs entirely the houſe of York. This is ſo true, that in caſe the Yorkiſts had not joined with him, in order to preſerve the crown in that houſe, by his marriage with Elizabeth, the Lancaſtrians would never have been able to raiſe him to the throne. The queen, widow of Edward IV. the duke of Buckingham, the lord Stanley, were not friends of the houſe of Lancaſter, though private enemies to the perſon of Richard. To theſe however, Henry was chiefly indebted for his greatneſs. If the people had been conſulted, and at liberty to chuſe a ſovereign, Richard III. indeed would have been diſpoſſeſſed, but Elizabeth placed on the throne, and the earl of

The king's uneaſineſs with regard to the houſe of York. Bacon.

H. VII. 1486. Richmond left in his exile in Bretagne. Henry therefore was conſidered only as the inſtrument of their deliverance from the dominion of a tyrant. But as it was reaſonable to reward him, the giving him a ſhare of the royal dignity, by means of his marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, was thought a great recompenſe. And if it was readily agreed, that his right from the houſe of Lancaſter ſhould be united with Elizabeth's, it was rather to avoid freſh troubles by that expedient, than out of a belief of the lawfulneſs of his title. He had himſelf gladly accepted the propoſal, and upon that foundation it was that he formed his enterprize; otherwiſe he would have doubtleſs met with leſs aſſiſtance and much greater oppoſition. But he had no ſooner gained the battle of Boſworth, but he formed the deſign of reigning in his own right only, and excluding entirely the houſe of York, wherein he deceived the expectation of the Engliſh, and abuſed their confidence. This is what he had always in his thoughts, though he concealed his uneaſineſs with all poſſible care.

The king's progreſs into the north. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

As the houſe of York had moſt adherents in the northern counties, Henry reſolved to take a progreſs into thoſe parts. He hoped that his preſence, with ſome acts of grace and favour he might have occaſion to diſpenſe, would be capable of producing a good effect. With this view, he departed towards the middle of the ſpring, and kept his Eaſter at Lincoln. During his ſtay in that city, he heard the lord Lovel, one of Richard the Third's favourites, Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, brothers, who had refuſed to accept of the general pardon, were gone out of ſanctuary [y], but to what place was unknown. As he was ignorant what their deſign could be, he continued his journey to York. Shortly after, he received more certain intelligence concerning the fugitives. He was told, the lord Lovel was advancing towards York at the head of three or four thouſand men, and that the Staffords were in arms in Worceſterſhire before the city of Worceſter. This news gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs. He ſaw himſelf in that part of the kingdom where he knew he was not beloved, and where it was not eaſy to raiſe forces. Beſides, he had reaſon to fear the lord Lovel had correſpondents in York, and among the nobility of the county, conſequently there was no time to loſe. He muſt ſpeedily reſolve either to quit York, or take ſome courſe to oppoſe the rebels. In this ſtrait, he choſe to ſeem unconcerned, perceiving that flight could not but produce a very ill effect. So, without ſhowing any fear,

Rebellion of the lord Lovel and the two Staffords.

The king is at a great loſs at York.

He raiſes ſome troops.

[y] At Colcheſter, where they had been ever ſince the battle of Boſworth. Hall, fol. 4.

he

he armed ſuch of his followers as were moſt proper to bear arms, and commiſſioned ſome truſty friends to raiſe men in and about York with all poſſible diligence. He was ſo fortunate, and ſo faithfully ſerved as to aſſemble in a ſhort time three thouſand men, of whom he gave the command to his uncle the duke of Bedford. But theſe troops were ſo ill armed, and in ſuch diſorder, that they were not much to be relied on. Beſides, they were raiſed in a county where the inhabitants were not well affected to the king. For this reaſon, Henry expreſly charged the duke of Bedford to avoid fighting if poſſible, till reinforced, and to proclaim, in his name, pardon to all that would lay down their arms. This precaution ſucceeded to his wiſh. The duke of Bedford approaching the male-contents, ordered the proclamation to be publiſhed in terms denoting great ſuperiority and confidence. It had however, little effect on the rebels. But the lord Lovel their commander, fearing they would accept of the pardon, forſook them firſt. He retired all alone, and hid himſelf in Lancaſhire, at his friend Sir Thomas Broughton's, and ſhortly after paſſed into Flanders to the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy. His army being without a leader, ſubmitted to the king's mercy. The Staffords who were beſieging Worceſter, hearing what paſſed in the north, raiſed the ſiege, and abandoning their troops, took ſanctuary in the church of Colnham, a little village near Abington. But that church enjoying no peculiar privilege, it was judged in the King's-Bench not to be ſufficient ſanctuary for traitors. So the two brothers being taken thence by force, Humphrey the eldeſt was ſent to London to be executed at Tyburn; but Thomas, as being ſeduced by his brother, was pardoned. This rebellion, the firſt in this reign, was like a blaze which laſted not long. It was quenched with the blood of one ſingle perſon. We ſhall ſee hereafter, others which coſt the king more to extinguiſh the flames.

H. VII. 1486.

The duke of Bedford diſperſes the rebels.

Lovel flies.

One of the Staffords executed.

On the 3d of July, the Scotch ambaſſadors, who had been ſome time in London, concluded a truce with Henry, which was to end that day three years. Act. Pub. xii. p. 285.

Cardinal Bourchier archbiſhop of Canterbury died about this time. The king, deſigning to procure the archbiſhoprick for Dr. Morton biſhop of Ely, gave him the cuſtody during the vacancy, thereby declaring his intention, that no other biſhop might make an intereſt for the nomination. Accordingly Morton was elected ſome time after, but received not the pope's bulls till December.

Death of Cardinal Bourchier. Morton ſucceeds him. p. 302, 317.

H. VII. 1486. July the 22d, John de Bouteillier, lord Maupertuis, ambaſſador of Francis II. duke of Bretagne, concluded at London with the king, a truce, or rather a prolongation of the truce, which ſtill ſubſiſted between England and Bretagne, till the death of one of the two princes. But the trade between the two nations, which was ſettled by ſeveral articles of the treaty, was to laſt till the death of the ſurvivor.

Truce prolonged with Bretagne. p. 303—312.

Birth of prince Arthur. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

September the 20th, the queen was delivered [a] of a prince, though ſhe had been but eight months with child. The king would have the new-born prince called Arthur, in memory of the famous Britiſh monarch, of whoſe race he deſired to be thought. The family of the Tudors being Britiſh or Welſh, it was not unlikely that Henry deſigned by naming his ſon Arthur, to inſinuate his being deſigned from that illuſtrious monarch. It is certain, however, this report was not ſpread, nor genealogies forged to confirm it, till after the time we are ſpeaking of. Thoſe who governed the ſtate during Henry the Sixth's minority, were very far from this opinion, ſince, after the death of Catherine of France, the prince's mother, they ordered Owen Tudor grandfather of Henry VII. to be ſent to the Tower for preſuming to marry the queen. Nay, ſome affirm, he was beheaded.

Murmurs of the people.

The king's proceedings to deprive the houſe of York of their rights, had very much diſſatisfied the people, who expected quite another thing. They who had called in Henry had been in hopes, that the titles of the two houſes being mixed by his marriage with Elizabeth, there would be no more diſtinction between Yorkiſts and Lancaſtrians, but all might equally expect the places in the king's diſpoſal. Theſe hopes were further confirmed by the birth of prince Arthur, in whoſe perſon were united the litigious rights of the two houſes. But it was ſeen with extreme concern, that the king ſtill conſidered the houſe of York as rivals and enemies, and that his jealouſy reached to the queen herſelf, whoſe intereſt ſhould have been as dear to him as his own. For, not content to ſhew by his continual coldneſs, and by ſeveral mortifications, the little kindneſs he had for her, he had given her a very ſenſible mark of it, in deferring her coronation, as if ſhe had been unworthy to ſit on the throne with him. Nay, after ſhe had brought him a ſon, her coronation was no more talked of than when they were firſt married. This conduct plainly ſhowed, the houſe of York was ſtill odious to him, and that he feared to take any ſtep which might give the

[a] At Wincheſter, Hall, fol. 5. Stow, p. 471.

people

people occaſion to believe ſhe had ſome right to the crown. It was impoſſible but this affectation ſhould cauſe great concern in the Yorkiſts, who were much more numerous than the Lancaſtrians. H. VII. 1486.

The diſcontent being almoſt univerſal, ſome malicious perſons ſpread a report, that the king intended to put to death the earl of Warwick, priſoner in the Tower, and the only remaining male of the houſe of York. Their deſign was, no doubt, to compare Henry with Richard III. who had taken away the lives of his two nephews to ſecure the crown, and to intimate to the people, that in changing kings, they had only received one tyrant for another. Moreover, it was openly rumoured, that one of Edward the Fourth's ſons was ſtill alive, having as it were miraculouſly eſcaped his uncle's cruelty. All this plainly tended to ſound the people's inclinations. The king himſelf, whether he was the author of the rumour, as his hiſtorian affirms, or only fomented it by his carriage [a], was not ſorry the people ran after a phantom, becauſe it hindered them from too firmly adhering to the perſons of the houſe of York, which really exiſted. Mean while, as the eagerneſs wherewith the people ſwallowed the falſe report, was a clear evidence how ready they would be, if a favourable opportunity offered, to liſt againſt the king, ſo it gave occaſion to the project I am going to ſpeak of.

It is rumoured that the king deſigned to put Warwick to death, Bacon. Hall. and that one of Edward's ſons was alive.

A certain Oxford prieſt, Richard Simon, perceiving the people's joy at the falſe report of one of Edward the Fourth's ſons being alive, took it into his head to put upon the world for Richard duke of York, brother of Edward V. a young man named Lambert Simnel, a baker's ſon, whom he trained up in his houſe, and believed proper to act ſuch a part. He was about the duke of York's age [b], of good natural parts, and in all his behaviour had ſomething grand, and above his birth. Simon had ſcarce begun inſtructing his pupil, when another rumour was ſpread, that the earl of Warwick had made his eſcape out of the Tower. The news, though falſe, cauſed among the people ſo general a joy, that the prieſt thought fit to alter his project, and make Simnel paſs for the earl of Warwick. Simnel's age agreed better with the earl's, and the circumſtance of his eſcape was ſuitable to the plot.

Project of a prieſt. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

He makes Simnel paſs for the earl of Warwick.

[a] The lord Verulam only ſays, "Neither was the king's nature and "cuſtoms greatly fit to diſperſe theſe "miſts, but contrariwiſe, he had a "faſhion rather to create doubts than "aſſurance," p. 583.

[b] About fifteen years old. Bacon, p. 583.

H. VII. 1486. His pupil was to be well inſtructed for that purpoſe, ſince he was not to perſonate a young man taken out of his cradle in his infancy, and concealed in ſome private place, but a prince well known, and brought up in the court of Edward IV. The earl was about twelve years old when impriſoned by Richard III. Simnel therefore was to learn to talk pertinently of Edward's court, and to know particularly the lords and ladies that frequented it, as well as the king and queen. This gives occaſion to preſume, that the prieſt was himſelf inſtructed by perſons well informed, and that the plot was ſuggeſted to him. For, though he had the aſſurance to form ſuch a deſign, it is not likely he could inſtruct his pupil in many particulars, which he was neceſſarily to know. At leaſt, it is certain, the king imagined, the queen his mother-in-law, and other friends of the houſe of York, were the real authors of the contrivance, and only made uſe of the prieſt as an inſtrument to execute their deſigns. The queen-dowager was extremely intriguing. It was ſhe that had ſet on foot the project in favour of the king when in Bretagne, and thereby ſhown her credit with the Yorkiſts. Beſides, ſhe could not but be very much diſpleaſed with the king's coldneſs to her daughter, and his refuſing to have her crowned. This alone was ſufficient to cauſe the king to ſuſpect her. But perhaps, there was more than bare ſuſpicion.

The king ſuſpects the queen-dowager. Baron.

The prieſt carries Simnel into Ireland. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

Be this as it will, Simon, or thoſe that employed him, not thinking proper to produce Simnel firſt in England, where he might be examined too cloſely, and by perſons too knowing, judged it convenient that he ſhould act his firſt ſcene in Ireland, where Simon the prieſt accompanied him. In all appearance, ſome meaſures had been taken for his reception in that country. Since Henry's acceſſion to the throne, he had very much neglected the affairs of that iſland, reckoning that being maſter in England, the Iriſh were not to be feared. Indeed, he made the duke of Bedford governor of Ireland, in the room of the earl of Lincoln, nephew of Richard III. but had continued the ſame deputy, the ſame chancellor, and all the reſt of the officers placed there by Richard. So, the duke of Bedford being ſtill in England, Thomas Fitz-Gerald earl of Kildare commanded in Ireland as deputy, and his brother was chancellor [c].

Bacon.

Simnel is received and proclaimed king. Hall. Hollingſh. Bacon.

It is more than probable, that the earl of Kildare was in the plot, and had even begun to take meaſures to cauſe

[c] Sir James Ware ſays, the earl was called Gerald Fitz Gerald, and the chancellor, Thomas.

Lambert

Lambert Simnel, the pretended earl of Warwick, to be acknowledged in Ireland. Ever ſince June laſt, Henry had received notice that ſomething was contriving againſt his ſervice in that country, though he knew not the particulars. Upon this information, he ſent for the deputy to court, but the earl found means to cauſe the council of Ireland to write to him, that the deputy's preſence was abſolutely neceſſary in the Iſland. Simnel being arrived at Dublin, addreſſed himſelf to the earl of Kildare as earl of Warwick, and informed him how he eſcaped out of the Tower. If the earl of Kildare had not been in the plot, or at leaſt wiſhed the thing to be as Simnel related it, he would doubtleſs have ſeized the pretender. It was his duty, as he commanded in Ireland in the king's name. But inſtead of taking that courſe, he left him at liberty, and ſo ordered it, with his brother the chancellor's help, that the arrival of the pretended earl of Warwick was divulged without their appearing to be concerned. They would firſt ſee how the people would be affected with the news. The impreſſion it made, was as great and as ſudden, as the authors of the plot could deſire. When it was known in Dublin, that the earl of Warwick was arrived, the people expreſſed ſo great joy, that the deputy and chancellor believed there was no danger in acknowledging the pretender. So, after a conference with their friends and confidents, they ſolemnly waited upon him at his lodging, and conducted him with great pomp to the caſtle, where he was treated like a prince [d]. Simnel received the reſpect that was paid him with a countenance and carriage that by no means ſavoured of the meanneſs of his birth. In a few days he was proclaimed in Dublin king of England, and lord of Ireland, by the name of Edward VI. The Iriſh regarded not the attainder of the duke of Clarence his pretended father, having newly learnt by the example of Henry himſelf, that the advancement to the throne cancels all defects.

H. VII. 1486. Hall.

The news of ſo unexpected an event made the king very uneaſy, becauſe it ſtruck upon that ſtring which he ever moſt feared; namely, his title, of the goodneſs whereof he was not himſelf thoroughly ſatisfied. Indeed, the victory of Boſworth had given him an opportunity to decide the queſtion himſelf in his favour. But he was very ſenſible, that if the titles of the two houſes came once more to be put in the balance, he ſhould want a ſecond victory to confirm his,

The king is embarraſſed. Hall. Bacon.

[d] They alſo ſent meſſengers to England, to deſire the moſt conſiderable perſons, whom they knew to be well affected to the houſe of York, to ſupply the young pretended king with money. Hall, fol. 7.

whilſt

H. VII. 1486. whilſt the houſe of York would have reaſons more than ſufficient, if their affairs took a proſperous turn. In the next place, Ireland, where the pretended earl of Warwick was retired, was a country wholly devoted to the houſe of York, and conſequently it was not eaſy to attack the rebels there. For that purpoſe, it would be neceſſary to lead thither a numerous army, which could not be done without immenſe charge. In fine, it was to be feared, the flames which began to appear in Ireland, would reach England, and that there was a ſecret correſpondence between the Iriſh and Engliſh. In this perplexity, he called a council of his moſt intimate friends[e], privately to conſult with them upon what was to be done in the preſent emergency. It is to be preſumed, that he told them, the queen dowager his mother-in-law had raiſed the ſtorm, whether he had any proof, or it was only a ſuſpicion thought by him to be well-grounded.

A ſecret council. Hall. Bacon.

Be this as it will, preſently after the council, he ordered his mother-in-law to be confined in the nunnery of Bermondſey in Southwark. Moreover he ſeized all her eſtate, which was very conſiderable. But as he did not care to diſcover to the public the reaſon of that rigorous uſage, becauſe he could not perhaps give ſufficient proof of her crime, he cauſed it to be reported, that ſhe was thus puniſhed for delivering her daughters into the hands of Richard III. This pretence rendered his action ſtill more enormous with the people. They could not help thinking it very ſtrange, that the queen dowager ſhould be ſo ſeverely puniſhed for a fault, which might rather be deemed a weakneſs than a premeditated malice. In the next place, it could not be conceived, why the king had ſo long neglected to inquire into this pretended crime. In the third place, ſince he had married her daughter, he ſeemed to have owned that ſhe was innocent, or at leaſt had forgiven her. Laſtly, all knowing her to have been one of the principal inſtruments of his advancement to the throne, they could not but abhor his ingratitude. This ſevere uſage was thought to be a plain indication of a ſettled deſign, to uſe all pretences to complete the ruin of the houſe of York and its adherents. But it was not only compaſſion for the queen's ſufferings, which gave riſe to theſe reflections; her example ſtruck terror into all the kingdom, there being very few families but what were guilty, either of having aſſiſted Richard III. or of not having oppoſed him. When it was conſidered,

Henry confines his mother-in-law to a monaſtery and ſeizes her eſtate. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

[e] At the Charter-houſe at Shene, Bacon, p. 584. now called Richmond. Hall, fol. 7.

there-

therefore, that the king's mother-in-law was reduced to this ſad condition, for not having been willing or able to reſiſt the tyranny of the late king, every one was afraid of being called to account for the like crimes, which were ſuppoſed to be buried in oblivion. Notwithſtanding all this, the queen dowager was confined to the day of her death, which happened not till ſome years after[f]. H. VII. 1486.

She dies in confinement.

It was thought at firſt that the queen dowager's misfortune proceeded from the cauſe publiſhed by the king. But it was quickly perceived to be the effect of the decrees of the ſecret council called by the king upon Simnel's affair. Shortly after, purſuant to another decree of the ſame council, the king ordered the true earl of Warwick to be ſhown in public, who was led through the principal ſtreets of London, and then conducted in ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's, where multitudes were aſſembled to ſee him. There, all had time allowed them to view him attentively. Nay, he was made to talk with them that knew him beſt, and particularly with ſuch as were known to be well affected to the houſe of York; after which, he was again conveyed to the Tower. But the Iriſh maintained that the earl of Warwick, ſhown at London, was an impoſtor, and their's at Dublin the true earl. They even took occaſion from thence to exclaim againſt the king, for proſtituting the ceremony of a proceſſion to ſuch an impoſtor. The king fearing the miſchief would gain ground, thought to ſtop it, by proclaiming a general pardon to all that ſhould quit the rebels, and by promiſing a reward to thoſe that ſhould diſcover the ſecret of the plot. At the ſame time he ſent orders to guard the ports, that the male-contents of England might not paſs over and join their friends in Ireland. But all this was not capable to break the meaſures of his enemies.

The earl of Warwick is ſhewn in public. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

Bacon.

It was not only in Ireland that troubles were preparing for him. The readineſs wherewith ſome Engliſh lords and gentlemen embraced the opportunity to endeavour his ruin, plainly ſhowed, the conſpiracy had been laid ſome time before in England. Indeed, it is not likely, a ſingle prieſt ſhould have formed ſuch a project, without imparting it to perſons more able than himſelf to accompliſh it. Be this as it will, John earl of Lincoln, declared by Richard III. his uncle, preſumptive heir of the crown, was the firſt that openly appeared to maintain the intereſts of the pretended earl of Warwick. He was ſon of John de la Pole earl of Suffolk, and Elizabeth

The earl of Lincoln goes over to the dutcheſs of Burgundy. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

[f] She was buried at Windſor, by her husband king Edward IV. She completed the founding of Queen's college in Cambridge, begun by Margaret, king Henry VI's queen. Hall. fol. 4. Bacon p. 585.

ſiſter

H. VII. 1486. sister of Edward IV. and Richard III. The earl however seemed to act contrary to his own interest in siding with the earl of Warwick, who was nearer the throne than himself. But as probably he was not ignorant, the person in Ireland was a cheat, he did not question that he should easily destroy him, when he had made him his instrument to dethrone Henry. So, upon the first news of Simnel's being received and proclaimed king at Dublin, he embarked for Flanders to concert with the dutchess dowager of Burgundy the means to accomplish his undertaking.

Disposition of the dutchess with regard to the king. Bacon.

Since the death of Charles duke of Burgundy, Margaret of York his widow, sister of Edward IV. and Richard III. lived in Flanders where her dower was assigned her. As she had no children by the duke her husband, she carefully attended the education of the archduke Philip, son of Maximilian of Austria, and Maria of Burgundy her daughter-in-law. She had with extreme concern seen the revolution which restored the house of Lancaster to the throne, in prejudice of the house of York. She would however have been patient, if Henry VII. in uniting the two houses by his marriage with Elizabeth, had held the balance even, and dispensed his favours impartially to the friends of both parties. But she altered her mind, when she saw Henry delayed marrying her niece till the crown was adjudged to himself, without any mixture of the title of the house of York. She could not see without trouble, that even after his marriage he refused to let Elizabeth be crowned, an honour no queen of England had been debarred of since the conquest; and that the birth of a son had not induced him to do her that justice. So, perceiving his hatred of the whole house of York was implacable, she did not think herself obliged to have any regard for him. On the contrary, she believed, she might without scruple labour his ruin. Indeed, it is uncertain whether this princess was concerned in the priest's and Simnel's plot before Ireland declared for him. It is however very likely, she had helped to conduct it with the queen dowager, the earl of Lincoln and some other friends of the house of York. For, the earl of Lincoln's voyage into Flanders, upon the first news of Simnel's arrival in Ireland, gives occasion to presume, he held private intelligence with the dutchess of Burgundy, and from her expected the success of the enterprize. The lord Lovel, who was in Flanders before him, was likewise in the plot as well as Sir Thomas Broughton, who staid in England to send them notice of what was transacting there.

Whe-

Whether the dutcheſs of Burgundy contrived the plot herſelf, or was only informed of it by the earl of Lincoln, ſhe readily embraced an opportunity, which inſpired her with hopes of defeating Henry's eſtabliſhment. Having adviſed with the earl of Lincoln, lord Lovel, and ſome other fugitives, ſhe promiſed to furniſh them with two thouſand veteran German ſoldiers, under the command of Martin Swart an officer of note, with whom they ſhould paſs into Ireland to ſtrengthen the new king's party. She did not at all doubt but theſe ſuccours coming from a foreign country would encourage the Yorkiſts to take up arms in England. In this ſituation were the king's affairs about the end of the year 1486. But before we proceed to the occurrences of the next year, we muſt briefly ſee what had paſſed in the neighbouring countries, eſpecially in France and Bretagne during the courſe of this year. H. VII. 1486. She promiſes to aſſiſt the earl of Lincoln. Hall. Bacon

I left the duke of Orleans in Bretagne with the prince of Orange and the earl of Dunois. Theſe princes were no ſooner in that country, but many of their friends came and joined them, and even brought them ſome troops. The duke of Bretagne was old and infirm both in body and mind. Since the death of Landais he did not know who to truſt with the adminiſtration of his affairs, as he could not conſider his barons but as ſo many enemies, though he granted them a pardon. The duke of Orleans finding him thus embarraſſed, gained ſuch an aſcendant over him, that he governed Bretagne as if he had been the ſovereign. The advantages he enjoyed in that country, where almoſt every thing was in his diſpoſal, drew thither many Frenchmen, who came to offer him their ſervice. Mean while, the duke of Bretagne aſſembled the ſtates, and cauſed his eldeſt daughter Ann to be declared heireſs of the dutchy, and in caſe ſhe died without iſſue, it was decreed, her younger ſiſter Iſabel ſhould ſucceed her. Affairs of Bretagne. Argentré.

The lords of Bretagne newly reconciled to their ſovereign, perceiving, the duke of Orleans ruled abſolutely in the duke's name, and that the French flocked to him in ſwarms, began to entertain ſuſpicions of their prince. They were afraid, he had ſent for all theſe ſtrangers to help him to be revenged of them for their outrage upon his favorite. In this belief, they aſſembled at Chateaubriant to conſult what was to be done to prevent the danger with which they thought themſelves threatned. They were headed by the lord of Rieux marſhal of Bretagne. Charles VIII. who was apprehenſive, the duke of Orleans intended to make uſe of the duke of Bretagne's forces

to

H. VII. 1486. to raiſe freſh troubles in France, thought it his intereſt to cheriſh the Bretiſh lords diſcontent. He hoped thereby to hinder the duke of Bretagne from aſſiſting the duke of Orleans. To that end, he ſent to the barons aſſembled at Chateaubriant, Andrew d'Epinay commonly called the cardinal of Bourdeaux, with an offer of his protection. The offer was gladly received by many of them, ſome of whom perhaps were already gained by the court of France. Others foreſeeing the inconveniences that might follow were for rejecting it. They alledged the ſeveral attempts of Charles's Predeceſſors to become maſters of Bretagne, and how dangerous it was to admit the French into the country. In fine, to prevent this miſchief, it was agreed, that a treaty ſhould be made with the king of France, to determine the number of men he was to find them, and to ſet bounds to his pretenſions. Purſuant to this reſolution, they ſigned with the cardinal a treaty, importing that the king ſhould ſend them an aid not exceeding four hundred lances, and four thouſand foot, that he ſhould not take or beſiege any place, neither make any demands upon the dutchy before duke Francis's death. Charles ratified the treaty, but as he afterwards ſhowed not with deſign to obſerve it.

The cardinal of Bourdeaux being returned to the king, told him, that during his ſtay at Chateaubriant, he had learnt that the prince of Orange was ſecretly treating of a marriage between Maximilian of Auſtria, and Ann, eldeſt daughter and heireſs of the duke of Bretagne. This diſcovery obliged king Charles to form the project of ſeizing Bretagne, if perhaps it was not quite formed already. The poſture of the affairs of Europe was extremely favourable. Ferdinand and Iſabella king and queen of Arragon and Caſtile little regarded the preſervation of Bretagne. Beſides, they were then employed in their wars with the Moors of Granada. But though Charles might have feared that Ferdinand would enter into ſome league for the duke of Bretagne's defence, he had an infallible way to prevent him: and that was, to reſtore him Rouſſillon, which was of much leſs conſequence than Bretagne to the crown of France. Henry VII. who had a manifeſt intereſt to oppoſe that enterprize, was embarraſſed with affairs that probably would hinder him from medling with thoſe of others. It was preciſely at the time, when the earl of Warwick began to appear in Ireland. As for the Low-Countries, Charles had not much to fear from thence. Philip the Sovereign was ſtill a minor. Maximilian his father and guardian, who governed theſe provinces in his name,

was

was but little regarded. Though he had made peace with the Flemings, there was however a mutual diſtruſt, which would not ſuffer him to ſend his forces out of the country. Beſides, the war with France was renewed this year on account of Terouenne, ſurprized in full peace by the governor of Douay. In ſhort, though Maximilian was the emperor's Son, and choſen king of the Romans in February this year, he was always in extreme want of money, his new dignity having made no addition to his power [g]. H. VII. 1486.

In the beginning of the year 1487, Henry concluded with Maximilian a treaty wholly relating to trade, and which was only proviſional, till certain Articles could be ſettled, upon which the Engliſh and Flemings with difficulty agreed. The trade between England and the Low-countries was ſo neceſſary for the ſubject of both princes, that it could not be interrupted without both being ſufferers. But for that very reaſon each ſtrove to reap ſome advantage from the ſituation of affairs, which rendered the treaties very difficult. 1487. Treaty of commerce with the Low-countries. Jan. 2. Act. pub. xii. p. 318. —320.

The biſhop of Exeter being tranſlated to Wincheſter, the king promoted to the vacant ſee, Richard Fox, who was already keeper of the privy-ſeal. Of all the courtiers, he was the perſon in whom the king placed the moſt confidence, next to the archbiſhop of Canterbury. Fox is made biſhop of Exeter. p. 322.

Mean while, Henry was not eaſy ſince the earl of Lincoln's retiring into Flanders. He knew the dutcheſs of Burgundy to be haughty and enterprizing [h], and powerful enough to aſſiſt ſuch as would attempt to diſturb him. The earl of Lincoln's retreat into Flanders, preſently after Simnel's arrival in Ireland, left him no room to queſtion, there was a deſign formed between the earl and the dutcheſs of Burgundy, to ſupport the pretended earl of Warwick. So, fearing the ſtorm would divide and fall upon him both from Flanders and Ireland, he reſolved to have two armies, under the command of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford, to be ready at the ſame time to oppoſe the deſcent of the Flemings and the Iriſh, if they ſhould think of attacking England. Mean while, as he was not afraid of an invaſion before ſummer, he reſolved to improve the leiſure the winter ſeaſon afforded him in taking a progreſs into the eaſtern counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. There was moſt danger from thoſe parts, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of the Low-Countries. When he was. The king takes meaſures to oppoſe his enemies. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh. Stow. He viſits Norfolk and Suffolk. Hall. Bacon. &c.

[g] This year, on November 27, king Henry granted Bernard Andrews, his poet laureat, an annuity of ten marks. Rymer's Fœd. tom. 12. p. 317.

[h] The lord Bacon obſerves, ſhe had the ſpirit of a man, and the malice of a woman. p. 585.

come

H. VII. 1487. come to St. Edmunſbury, he heard, that the Marquiſs of Dorſet was haſtening to clear himſelf of ſome imputations laid to his charge, and to offer his ſervice. But the king believing that after what he had lately done to the queen dowager, the marquiſs her brother could have no great affection for him, refuſed to receive him, and ſent the earl of Oxford to meet him with orders to carry him to the Tower. He let him know however, that after the troubles were appeaſed he ſhould willingly heâr him, and if he cauſed him to be arreſted, it was purely to provide for his own ſafety, by preventing his hearkening to thoſe that might give him ill advice[i]. Then he came to Norwich[k], from whence he went in pilgrimage to our lady of Walſingham[l], after which he returned to London[m].

He retires to London.

The earl of Lincoln arrives in Ireland. May. Simnel is crowned at Dublin. J. Ware.

It was not till the beginning of May, that the earl of Lincoln, the lord Lovel, and Martin Swart, ſailed for Ireland, with the two thouſand Germans raiſed by the Ducheſs of Burgundy at her own expence. Preſently after their arrival at Dublin, they proceeded to the coronation of the pretended king, which was performed with great ſolemnity, in the preſence of the earl of Kildare, the chancellor, and the reſt of the great officers. He was crowned with a crown taken from the head of the virgin's ſtatue in St. Mary's church. There were but two or three biſhops that refuſed to acknowledge the new king[n]. The hiſtory of Ireland ſays, that the pretended ſovereign ſummoned a kind of Parliament, where the clergy granted the pope a ſubſidy, for fear the court of Rome ſhould take occaſion from theſe proceedings to trouble them.

Hiſt. Irel.

He reſolves to paſs into England. Bacon.

The coronation being over, a great council was held to conſult what was next to be done. Their ſucceſs in Ireland, where not a ſword was drawn for Henry, made them expect great matters in England. The leaders fancied, they were in a much better condition to overthrow Henry, than Henry himſelf was when he paſſed into England to overthrow Richard III. They ſcarce doubted of ſucceſs, being ſure, as they imagined, the Engliſh for the moſt part would riſe in their favour. However, ſome were for making Ireland the

[i] Adding, that he ſhould always be able, (when he cleared himſelf) to make him reparation. Bacon, p. 586.

[k] Where he kept his Chriſtmas. Hall, fol. 9.

[l] This place was once famous throughout England for pilgrimages to the virgin Mary. For in thoſe days, whoever had not made a viſit and an offering to our lady of Walſingham, was looked upon as impious and irreligious. Camb. in Norfolk.

[m] By the way of Cambridge. Hall, fol. 9. Hollingſh. p. 1430.

[n] Namely, the archbiſhop of Caſhel and Tuam, and the biſhops of Clogher and Oſſory. Rymer's Fœd. tom. 12. p. 332.

ſent

feat of the war. They alledged, as the chief reaſon, that Henry would never venture to come over in perſon, or in caſe he quitted England, his abſence would occaſion in the kingdom inſurrections which would greatly promote the affairs of the new king. Had this advice been taken, Henry would have been very much embarraſſed. In that caſe, he muſt have had two ſtrong armies on foot, one to ſubdue Ireland, the other to keep all quiet in England. It is eaſy to ſee that at ſuch a juncture it would not have been prudent to leave England without troops, both by reaſon of the correſpondents, the rebels might have there, and the neighbourhood of the ducheſs of Burgundy, who would not have taken advantage of ſuch a neglect. Accordingly, Henry, as I obſerved, had already reſolved to have two armies. But others on the contrary repreſented, that Ireland was not able to pay the German troops, much leſs maintain a long war. That beſides, the ſtanding upon the defenſive in Ireland was not the way to dethrone Henry, but the attacking him in England, where it was likely, they would meet with many friends. This advice was ſtrengthened by another reaſon, which was not alledged, but however was the real motive thereof, namely, that the Germans and Iriſh were in hopes of making their fortunes in England, whereas in Ireland, they had ſcarce wherewithal to ſubſiſt. So, it was reſolved to paſs immediately into England, in the ſame veſſels that had tranſported the Germans. Mean while, Henry hearing of the earl of Lincoln's arrival in Ireland with the foreign troops, was no longer embarraſſed, ſince he had only to defend himſelf from one quarter. So, giving orders, that all his forces ſhould aſſemble near Coventry, he repaired in perſon to that city, which lies in the center of the kingdom, till he had certain advice of the deſigns of his enemies.

H. VII. 1487.

Henry aſſembles his army at Coventry. Hall.

Some time after, he heard that Simnel was landed in Lancaſhire[o], in company with the earls of Lincoln and Kildare, the lord Lovel and the German general. Sir Thomas Broughton joining the rebels with a ſmall body of Engliſh, they all marched together towards York, without committing any act of hoſtility in their rout, in order to draw the people to their ſide. But they found themſelves deceived in their expectation. Not a man, except what Broughton had brought, took up arms in their favour, the Engliſh not liking at all to receive a king at the hands of the Iriſh and Germans. The earl of Lincoln, who commanded the army, had reſolved to

Simnel arrives in England. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

o. He landed at the Pyle of Fowdrey near Lancaſter. Hall, fol. 9.

H. VII. 1487. avoid fighting, in expectation of being joined by great numbers of male-contents. But ſeeing the people's coldneſs, he thought he ſhould come to a battle as ſoon as poſſible, leſt his army, which was but eight thouſand ſtrong, ſhould diminiſh inſtead of increaſing. So changing his rout on a ſudden, he marched towards Newark, in hopes to become maſter of that place before the king ſhould arrive.

Bacon. Hall. The earl of Lincoln reſolves to fight.

Mean while, Henry was advanced as far as Nottingham, where he held a council of war. He had yet drawn together but ſix thouſand men, and for that reaſon ſeveral adviſed him to decline fighting till the reſt of the troops which were expected, had joined him. But he was of another opinion. As he could not believe that the earl of Lincoln had formed ſuch an enterprize, without aſſurances of being aſſiſted, he judged it requiſite to give him battle without delay. Two days after he ſaw his army reinforced with five or ſix thouſand men [p], whereupon all the reaſons againſt the reſolution he had taken, entirely vaniſhed. As ſoon as he had reviewed the new troops, he detached ſeveral parties of light-horſe to diſcover the earl of Lincoln's deſigns; and being informed he was advancing towards Newark, reſolved to prevent him. To that end he marched with ſuch expedition, that he encamped between the enemies army and Newark. The earl of Lincoln advanced that day to a little village called Stoke, where he encamped on the ſide of a hill. Next morning, being June the 6th [q], Henry offered him battle, leaving only in the plan a ſpace to ſerve for the field. But he was debarred of one great advantage, in that the ground being narrow, would not allow him to extend the front of his army, which was more numerous than that of the enemy. For which reaſon he was forced to draw up his army into three lines, having taken care to place in the firſt all his beſt troops to the number of ſix thouſand men. Probably the earl of Lincoln had deſignedly choſen that ground, in hopes, that if he could defeat the king's firſt line, they would fall foul on the reſt of the army and put them in diſorder, as it happened to Richard III. in the battle of Boſworth. And indeed, it was the king's firſt line only that fought. They ſtood for three hours the efforts of the Germans, who being uſed to war, and well diſciplined, fought with great order, and inſpired the Iriſh with courage.

The king marches to Nottingham. Hall. Bacon.

Battle of Stoke. June 6. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

The king gets the victory.

[p] With them came George Talbot earl of Shrewſbury, the lord Strange, Sir John Cheney, and of other knights and gentlemen at leaſt three-ſcore and ten. Bacon, p. 587. Polydore Virgil hath a liſt of them. Vit. Hen. VII.

[q] Hall, Stow, and Hollingſhead ſay it was the 16th; and Sir J. Ware the 20th.

At

At length the earls of Lincoln and Kildare[r], and Martin Swart being ſlain on the place, and moſt of the Germans killed or wounded, the Iriſh took to flight, not being able alone to reſiſt the Engliſh. It is ſaid, there were at leaſt four thouſand killed on the ſide of the rebels, and half of the king's firſt line. Which ſhows with what obſtinacy it was fought on both ſides[s]. H. VII. 1487. The earl of Lincoln ſlain. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Among the priſoners were found the new king of Ireland, become Lambert Simnel as before, and the prieſt his companion and inſtructor. Henry, either out of generoſity or policy, was pleaſed to give Simnel his life, and to honour with the office of turn-ſpit in his kitchen, the perſon that had boldly aſpired to the throne, and even worn a crown. Some time after he was preferred to be one of the king's faulconers, in which office he died. As for the prieſt, he was immediately committed cloſe priſoner, and heard of no more. Some imagined he was privately put to death, others, that the king was pleaſed to ſpare his life, in order to learn the moſt ſecret circumſtances of the conſpiracy, and perhaps, to confront him with the guilty, if there was occaſion. However it does not appear in hiſtory, that Henry made any diſcovery by that means; at leaſt, there was nothing divulged. If the queen dowager was in the plot, ſhe could not be more rigorouſly puniſhed than ſhe was already, unleſs ſhe was brought to the ſcaffold. As for the ducheſs of Burgundy, ſhe had no occaſion to fear any proceedings againſt her. It is ſaid the king was extremely ſorry for the death of the earl of Lincoln, which robbed him of the ſatisfaction of knowing all the particulars of the plot. As for the lord Lovel, ſome ſay he was drowned in attempting to ſwim the Trent; others affirm, he was ſlain in the battle. Some again report, that he ſpent the reſidue of his life in a cave. Be this as it will, he appeared no more from that time. Simnel is taken and made the king's ſcullion, then faulconer. Hall. The prieſt is impriſoned. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh. The lord Lovel appears no more. Hall. Bacon.

Preſently after the battle the king marched to Lincoln, where he made ſome ſtay, and then went to York. In his way, were tried many perſons accuſed of holding intelligence with the rebels. It is true, moſt of them were puniſhed only by fines, the king's ſole aim being to fill his coffers: and therefore he choſe rather that theſe trials ſhould be ended by Several ſuſpected perſons are fined. Bacon. Hall. Hollingſh.

[r] Sir James Ware ſays, it was Thomas Fitzgerald, who according to him is erroneouſly called the earl, that was killed.

[s] In this battle Sir Thomas Broughton is ſaid by our hiſtorians to fall alſo; but Camden ſays, it is a miſtake, and that he eſcaped to Witherſlack, a manor of his in Weſtmoreland, where he lived a good while incognito among his tenants, and where he died and was buried; his grave being known, and to be ſeen at this day. Camden. Lancaſh.

H. VII. 1487. commiſſioners of his own appointing, or by a court martial, than by the uſual courſe of juſtice, which was not ſo favorable to his deſign. For, in accuſations of this nature, the laws of England admit of no medium between death and abſolute diſcharge, and the king would have neither. But commiſſioners and court martials are not ſo ſtrictly confined to the letter of the law [t], but judge in a more arbitrary manner. Therefore the frequent incroachment, of what is called in England the martial law, upon the privileges of the people, has been the cauſe of reducing it within juſt bounds, ſo that it cannot take place but by an act of parliament made for that purpoſe [u]. As for adminiſtring juſtice by commiſſioners, it is true the king has ſtill that prerogative, but then he ſeldom uſes it, and in certain caſes only by commiſſions of Oyer and Terminer [w], as they are called. It is certain, Henry upon this occaſion diſcovered his covetous and ſelfiſh temper. He pretended to favour the guilty in ſparing their lives: but this clemency was more than balanced by his ſeverity, in ſtripping them of their poſſeſſions. The crime they were charged with was not of having aſſiſted the rebels, but of having raiſed and diſperſed a report ſome days before the battle, that the royal army was cut in pieces. The king ſuppoſing that ſuch a report was ſpread only to diſcourage his friends, and hinder them from bringing him troops, made ſtrict inquiry after thoſe that were ſuſpected of this new ſort of crime. As his ſole aim was to make an advantage of the fines and confiſcations, the perſons commiſſioned for judges were more ready and leſs ſcrupulous to favour his deſign, than if the lives of the parties accuſed had been at ſtake. It may be eaſily gueſſed the king made choice of the fitteſt perſons for his purpoſe. His hiſtorian ſays, that Henry's progreſs to Lincoln and York, was more like an itinerary circuit of juſtice, than a king's progreſs to viſit his counties.

Bacon.

Bull in favour of the rebels. Aug. 5. Act. Pub. xii. p. 324.

When the king had drawn what he wanted from the guilty or ſuſpected perſons, he ſent for a papal commiſſion, to impower the archbiſhop of Canterbury to abſolve thoſe that had incurred the penalty of excommunication decreed by the bull before-mentioned. The pope in the commiſſion took for granted, that they who had attempted to diſturb Henry in the

[t] Martial Law depends upon the juſt but arbitrary power and pleaſure of the king, or his lieutenant. See Jacob ſub voce Martial Law.

[u] The putting any man to death by martial law, in time of peace, was adjudged to be againſt Magna Charta, and murder. 3 Inſtit. 52. But temporary acts of parliament have of late enabled our kings to hold courts martial in time of peace. See 4 and 5 Will. and Ma. c. 13.

[w] Two old French words, ſignifying to Hear and Determine.

poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of the crown, were ſtruck with remorſe, and there- H. VII.
fore he was willing, from a motive of charity, to eaſe their 1487.
conſcience. But it was evident, that this was only for a fur-
ther ſupport of the king's title.

At the ſame time Innocent VIII. ſent a bull to reſtrain a little the privileges of ſanctuary. It ran, that if thieves, murderers, robbers, regiſtred as ſanctuary-men, ſhould ſally out and commit freſh offences, and enter again, in ſuch caſe they might be taken out of their ſanctuaries by the king's officers. That as for debtors who had taken ſanctuary to defraud their creditors, their perſons only ſhould be protected, but their goods out of ſanctuary ſhould be liable to ſeizure. As for traitors, the king was allowed to appoint them keepers in their ſanctuaries to prevent their eſcape. Certainly it was a great abuſe to make churches ſerve to protect villains. It had been long complained of in England, and probably the king had applied for a reformation, but could obtain only what we have juſt ſeen. Alexander VI. confirmed this bull in 1493. Another concerning ſanctuaries. Bacon.

In the king's progreſs to Lincoln and York, he had frequent occaſion to perceive that his partiality to the houſe of York, and injurious treatment of his queen in refuſing to have her crowned, were the main ſprings of the people's diſcontent. So, contrary to his inclination, and with a ſole view to prevent future troubles, he reſolved at laſt to do her that juſtice. He came to London the beginning of November, where he made a triumphant entry. Next day he went in proceſſion to St. Paul's, and had Te Deum ſung for his victory over the rebels. He was very glad to render it as conſpicuous as poſſible, in order to ſtrike terror into his enemies. Then he commiſſioned the duke of Bedford to execute the office of high-ſteward at the queen's coronation, which was performed on the 25th of November, with the uſual ſolemnities. The queen was then one and twenty years old, and had now been married two years. So the king's affected delay of her coronation, could not but be deemed a conſequence of a ſettled deſign to humble the houſe of York, and the queen in particular, whom the king conſidered as his rival. Accordingly, as it was eaſily perceived that his reſolution to have her crowned immediately after Simnel's affair was the effect of his fear, he was not thanked for it, becauſe he was believed to do it with regret. He likewiſe releaſed the marquiſs of Dorſet without examination, probably to give the people ſome ſatisfaction. He intended to have it thought an act of grace, and withal to leave the marquiſs in the fear of being ſtill called to an account. But it is to be preſumed, that ſince he The queen is crowned. Nov. 25. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Act. Pub. xii. p. 328. Marquiſs of Dorſet ſet at liberty. Bacon. Hollingſh.

H. VII. 1487. was ſo little inclined to ſhow mercy to the Yorkiſts, he wou'd not have diſcharged the marquiſs ſo eaſily, had there been proofs to convict him.

Embaſſy to the pope. Bacon.

Towards the end of the year, Henry ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to the pope, wherein the ambaſſador that was ſpokeſman diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his exceſſive encomiums of the king his maſter. His praiſes would have paſſed for extravagant, if his commendations of the pope had not made them ſeem very moderate.

Troubles in Scotland. Buchanan. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

During the king's ſtay at York *, after the battle of Stoke, public diſturbances in Scotland gave him an opportunity to enter into a negotiation with James III. from which he hoped to reap ſome advantage. I have ſpoken of James's character in the reign of Edward IV. and ſhown how odious he had rendered himſelf to his nobles, even to their being forced to hang his favorites. The war made upon him by Edward IV. and his danger of being dethroned, ſeemed to have ſomething moderated his paſſions, or at leaſt obliged him to ſhow them leſs. But the death of prince Alexander his brother, and of Edward IV. and the troubles in England during the reign of Richard III. giving room to believe he had nothing more to fear, he returned to his former courſes. Without reflecting on the riſk he had run, he entirely gave himſelf up to a new ſett of favorites, men of mean birth, and no leſs odious to the nation than the former. But this was a trifle in compariſon of the deſign he afterwards formed. As he harboured in his breaſt a violent deſire of revenge upon the great men who had offended him, he reſolved to diſpatch at once all thoſe whom he conſidered as his principal enemies. To that end he careſſed them exceedingly, and became very familiar with them, the better to ſurpriſe them. When by this diſſimulation he had drawn almoſt all of them to court, he communicated his deſign to the earl of Douglaſs, and told him, he did not intend to neglect ſo fair an opportunity of deſtroying all his enemies at once. Douglaſs feigned to approve his reſolution, but privately warned the lords of their danger, and retired with them from court. The king being diſappointed, reſolved to execute his deſign by open force, and levied troops for that purpoſe; but the lords likewiſe armed for their defence. As all mutual confidence was deſtroyed, and nothing to be expected from an agreement with ſuch a prince, they found means to gain his ſon, by making him apprehenſive, they were going

* Hall and Hollingſhead ſay, that it was during his ſtay at Newcaſtle, where he ſpent the reſt of the ſummer. fol. 11. p. 1432. Stow, p. 472.

to

to deliver Scotland to the king of England, if he would not put himſelf at their head. As ſoon as the prince had joined the lords, their party grew ſo powerful, that the king beginning to repent his enterprize, propoſed an agreement. But he was told, there was no other way to a reconciliation, than the king's reſignation of the crown to his ſon. All hopes of peace vaniſhing upon that propoſal, James ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Edinburgh, from whence he diſpatched ambaſſadors to the pope, and the kings of France and England, to deſire their aſſiſtance. H. VII. 1487.

It was in September, whilſt Henry was at York, that the ambaſſadors of Scotland came to him, under colour of treating of ſome differences concerning the fiſhery of the river Eſke. Henry, who had an admirable talent of turning all things to his advantage, thought this a good opportunity to be rid at once of the queen his mother-in-law and her two daughters, by marrying them in Scotland. For that purpoſe he ſent to king James, Richard Fox biſhop of Exeter, and Sir Richard Edgecomb, who agreed with him[y] upon the following articles, with their maſter's good pleaſure. Treaty of Henry with the king of Scotland. Act. Pub. xii. p. 325, —327.

I. That purſuant to a former agreement, the marquiſs of Ormond, a Scotchman, ſhould marry Catherine, the third daughter of Edward IV. Several matches agreed upon. Nov. 28. p. 329. Hall.

II. That king James ſhould eſpouſe Elizabeth widow of Edward IV. and mother to the queen of England.

III. That James duke of Rothſay, eldeſt ſon of the king of Scotland, ſhould marry another of Edward IV's daughters.

IV. That the king of England ſhould reſign for ever to the king of Scotland, the town of Berwick.

V. That, in order to ſettle the articles and conditions of the three marriages, commiſſioners on both ſides ſhould meet at Edinburgh the 24th of January next, and another aſſembly be held upon the ſame ſubject in May.

VI. That the two kings ſhould have an interview in July.

VII. Laſtly, That the truce concluded between the two kingdoms being to expire July the 3d, 1488, ſhould be prolonged to the 1ſt of September 1489.

As for the ſuccours which James expected from Henry, they were not mentioned in theſe preliminaries. Probably, king James's ambaſſadors were ſatisfied with a verbal promiſe.

Henry ratified theſe articles the 20th of December, but the king of Scotland's ratification is not with Henry's in the Collection of the Public Acts. Perhaps James was prevented p. 331.

y On November 28. Rymer's Fœd. tom xii. p. 329.

H. VII. 1487. by the troubles in his kingdom, which daily increaſed, and cauſed this project to vaniſh into air, as will be ſeen under the next year.

Affairs of the Low-Countries. P. Daniel.

The war continued all this time in the Low-Countries between Charles VIII. and Maximilian, to the advantage of the firſt, whoſe troops ſurprized St. Omer and Terouenne. Some time after, Maximilian having cauſed the lord Ruffingheim to be carried away and conducted to Wilvorde, the priſoner found means to eſcape and retire to Gaunt. Upon his arrival, he excited the Gantois to revolt, and take up arms againſt Maximilian. This war was of very great conſequence with regard to the affairs of Bretagne, of which it is neceſſary at preſent to give a particular though brief account, becauſe they are to be the ſubject of the hiſtory of the five following years.

Affairs of Bretagne. Argen. Hall. Bacon.

The king of France and the lords of Bretagne had treated together with very different views. The lords imagined, it was an excellent means to ſecure them from the deſigns of their duke; and Charles perceived, it was an infallible way to conquer Bretagne.

Charl. VIII. makes great progreſs in Bretagne.

In the beginning of the ſpring 1487, Charles ſent four armies into Bretagne, from four different quarters. The firſt alone was ſix thouſand ſtrong, which exceeded already the number he had promiſed to find by the treaty. Upon news of the invaſion, the duke of Bretagne ſeeing himſelf forſaken by almoſt all his barons, retired into the center of his country, being accompanied by the duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, the earl of Dunois, and ſome other French lords of the duke of Orleans's party. He ſtaid ſome time at Maletroit, where he very haſtily aſſembled an army of ſixteen thouſand men, ill-armed, and undiſciplined, by reaſon of the long peace Bretagne had enjoyed.

The duke's court was in ſo great conſternation, that none knew what courſe to take to reſiſt ſo formidable an invaſion. Indeed, means were found to engage the lord d'Albret, then in Navarre, to take the duke's part, on promiſe of a marriage with the princeſs Ann, heireſs of Bretagne. The duke himſelf, and all the reſt of the lords, the duke of Orleans excepted, gave it under their hands to procure him that marriage, but without intention to perform their word. The duke of Bretagne did not think him conſiderable enough for his daughter. The earl of Dunois deſigned to marry the young princeſs to the duke of Orleans, and the prince of Orange was privately labouring to procure this rich match for the king of the Romans. Thus the engagement was only intended to perſwade

perſwade the lord d' Albret to withdraw two troops of men at arms, which he had in the French army, and ſend them into the duke of Bretagne's ſervice. Poor refuge upon ſo preſſing an occaſion! H. VII. 1487.

Mean while, the French being joined in one body, advanced into the country, and laid ſiege to Ploermel. The duke of Bretagne immediately marched to the relief of that place, but had the mortification to ſee himſelf forſaken by his army, of which there remained not with him above four thouſand men. Surprized at this unexpected accident, he retired to Vannes. But the French, now maſters of Ploermel, purſued him ſo briſkly, that he was obliged to embark in great diſorder, and ſhut himſelf up in Nantz. The French taking advantage of this conſternation, took Vannes and Dinant, and then beſieged Nantz. Some time before, the duke had ſent the earl of Dunois to England to deſire aſſiſtance. But though the earl had embarked four ſeveral times, contrary winds had ſtill hindered him from purſuing his voyage. Mean while, the marſhal de Rieux head of the male-contents, perceiving king Charles ſo ill obſerved the treaty, complained of it in ſtrong terms. But inſtead of receiving any ſatisfaction, he was told, that great offence was taken at his boldneſs.

Embaſſy of France to Henry about Bretagne. Bacon. Hall. Hollingſh.

Whilſt Charles was employed in the ſiege of Nantz, he heard, the king of England had obtained a ſignal victory over his enemies, and the affair of the pretended earl of Warwick was entirely ended. 'Till then he had believed him ſo embarraſſed at home, that he had not vouchſafed to ſay any thing to him concerning the war with Bretagne. But when he knew him freed from his troubles, he ſent ambaſſadors to try to divert him from any deſign he might have to interpoſe in that affair.

The French ambaſſadors diſcourſe to the king.

The ambaſſadors found the king at Leiceſter, where they had their audience. They told him, that the king their maſter conſidering him as his beſt friend, had ſent them to impart to him the ſucceſs of his arms in Flanders, and withal to congratulate him upon his victory over his rebellious ſubjects: That they were moreover charged to tell him, that the king their maſter was forced to enter into a juſt war with the duke of Bretagne, who had received the duke of Orleans, declared enemy of France, not to protect him, but ſolely with a view to aid him to raiſe commotions in the kingdom, by lending him the aſſiſtance of his arms: That the king of France could not omit taking proper meaſures to prevent his pernicious deſigns, and therefore his war with the duke of Bretagne was properly defenſive only, though he had cauſed

an

H. VII. 1487. an army to enter his dominions: That he that gave the firſt blow, was not to be deemed the aggreſſor, but he that gave the provocation: That the duke of Bretagne could not deny that he had harboured in his dominions, nay, in his very court, French rebels, and formed plots with them very prejudicial to France, without being able to complain of any injury: That therefore the king their maſter hoped from his wiſdom and juſtice, that before he concerned himſelf in the war, he would weigh the ill conſequences of a protection given to rebellious ſubjects, contrary to the law of nations, and the moſt ſolemn treaties, particularly by a Homager: That if he was obliged to the duke of Bretagne, on the other hand, he had not, doubtleſs, forgot the aid he had received from the king of France, when the duke of Bretagne had not only abandoned him, but was even going to deliver him to his enemy: That this aid was given contrary to the intereſt of France, ſince it would be better for her, that a tyrant, odious to all his ſubjects, ſhould reign in England, than ſuch a prince as himſelf: That therefore, the king their maſter hoped, he would not undertake the defence of the duke of Bretagne in ſo ill-grounded a quarrel, but on the contrary, aſſiſt his real friend, or at leaſt, ſtand neuter.

The king's anſwer. Hall. Bacon.

The ambaſſadors avoiding, as a rock, to ſpeak of their maſter's deſign to conquer Bretagne, the king thought not proper to mention it in his anſwer, though it was not difficult to perceive it through all their diſguiſes. He contented himſelf with telling them, that of all perſons, he was moſt obliged to the king of France, and the duke of Bretagne. For which reaſon he was extremely deſirous to give them both real marks of his gratitude. That therefore he would, on the preſent occaſion, diſcharge the duty of a true friend, by endeavouring amicably to end their differences, and very ſpeedily ſend them ambaſſadors to offer his mediation.

The king has a wrong notion of the war of Bretagne. Ibid.

Henry was not ſo blind, but he ſaw the king of France's intent. But unhappily for Bretagne, he was poſſeſſed with a notion, that Charles would never be able to execute his deſigns. His belief was founded upon the forces of Bretagne, which had hitherto ſucceſsfully reſiſted France; upon the natural levity of the French, who are eaſily diſcouraged by difficulties; upon the trouble the duke of Orleans could raiſe in the kingdom, by means of his friends; and upon the diverſion the king of the Romans could make in Flanders. Purſuant to this notion, which appeared afterwards to be very wrong, he reſolved to become only mediator, without ſending any effective ſupplies to the duke of Bretagne. He did not doubt that

that king Charles would conſent to an accommodation, for fear of drawing upon him the arms of England. Indeed, it was evidently the intereſt of the Engliſh to prevent the ruin of Bretagne, and therefore Charles muſt have thought, they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to oppoſe his deſign. Accordingly, Henry building upon this foundation, that Bretagne could not be ſubdued, if England ſeriouſly eſpouſed her quarrel, and that Charles would not believe him ſo impolitic as to ſuffer that duchy to become a province of France, imagined he would readily accept of his mediation, and deſiſt from his enterprize. He hoped to reap from thence two conſiderable advantages. Firſt, the reputation of making peace between the two princes, to whom he was equally obliged. The ſecond was much more important to him. As he was naturally very covetous, and as the deſire of amaſſing riches was the chief end of all his projects, he perceived this affair would furniſh an occaſion to demand money of the parliament, under colour of aſſiſting Bretagne, and that he might keep the money without employing it [z]. H. VII. 1487.

Purſuant to this ſcheme, he ſent ambaſſadors [a] to king Charles to offer his mediation, and in caſe it was accepted, the ambaſſadors had orders to make the ſame offer to the duke of Bretagne. Charles was then employed in the ſiege of Nantz, and as he hoped to be ſoon maſter of the place, ſaw nothing more after that, capable of hindering him from entirely conquering Bretagne. So, all his endeavours tended only to manage, that the king of England ſhould not aſſiſt the duke of Bretagne before the taking of Nantz. When the ambaſſadors offered him the mediation of the king their maſter, he anſwered with great diſſimulation, he willingly conſented that the king of England ſhould act not only as mediator between him and the duke of Bretagne, but alſo as judge, and abſolute umpire of the peace. He was in hopes, either the duke of Bretagne would reject the propoſal, or if he accepted it, he ſhould poſſibly gain time till the taking of Nantz; after which, he conſidered himſelf as maſter of Bretagne. He offers his mediation to both the princes. Charles accepts of it. Hall. Bacon. Stow.

The ambaſſadors imagining they had ſurmounted the greateſt difficulty, repaired to the duke of Bretagne, who was ſhut up in Nantz, and made him the ſame offer from their maſter. The duke of Orleans told them in the name of that prince, The duke rejects it. Hall.

[z] Beſides, he was poſſeſſed with many ſecret fears touching his own people, and therefore was loth to put weapons into their hands. Bacon, p. 590.

[a] Chriſtopher Urſwick his chaplain. Ibid.

that

H. VII. 1487. that at a time when his country was invaded, and ready to be ſwallowed up by the French, he expected rather an effective ſupply from the king of England, than a mediation, which muſt be fruitleſs, ſince nothing was more eaſy than to prolong the negotiation till Bretagne was loſt: That he intreated the king to remember the favours he had received in Bretagne, and conſider of what conſequence it was to England to hinder that dukedom from becoming a province of France.

Charles makes this refuſal turn to his advantage.

The ambaſſadors returning with this anſwer to king Charles, he took occaſion to tell them, that for his part, he was very deſirous of peace, as plainly appeared by his propoſal, but was ſorry to find that the duke of Bretagne, beſet by the duke of Orleans, would never conſent, without being forced by the continuation of the war. This he artfully inſtilled into the ambaſſadors, who at their return into England, told the king, it was proper to leave the duke of Bretagne in his preſent ill circumſtances, that he might be induced of himſelf to deſire the rejected mediation.

The earl of Dunois cauſes the ſiege of Nantz to be raiſed.

Mean while, the ſiege of Nantz was vigorouſly carried on [b]. Charles, probably, would have at laſt taken the place, had not the earl of Dunois been detained in Lower Bretagne by contrary winds. Whilſt he was in thoſe parts, the inhabitants of the country hearing their duke was beſieged in Nantz, aſſembled to the number of ſixty thouſand men, with a reſolution to relieve him. The earl of Dunois perceiving them in this diſpoſition, put himſelf at their head, and approached Nantz, the French not daring to attack the undiſciplined multitude. On the contrary, they contracted their quarters for their better defence, and ſo left the earl of Dunois free to throw ſuccours into the town. Which done, he ſuddenly retired, not deſiring to fight the French army with ſuch troops. This ſo ſeaſonable a relief, obliged the French to retire, in deſpair of taking the place. The raiſing of the ſiege confirmed Henry in his belief, that the conqueſt of Bretagne was too difficult for France. So, perſiſting ſtill in his reſolution to ſtand neuter, he had not even the thought of ſending ſuccours to the duke of Bretagne. He pretended however, to have his intereſt at heart, but it was only to procure a ſubſidy from the parliament, which he had ſum-

Henry is confirmed in his wrong notion of the affair of Bretagne.

Hall.

[b] During this ſiege, *king* Charles, the better to maintain his diſſimulation, ſent Bernard lord d'Aubigney to king Henry, earneſtly deſiring him, to make an end in ſome manner or other of this war and controverſy between him and the duke of Bretagne. Accordingly, Henry diſpatched the abbot of Abingdon, Sir Richard Edgecombe, and Chriſtopher Urſwick to France. Hall, fol. 13. Bacon, p. 590. Holling. p. 1432.

moned

moned for the 9th of November. Mean while, he ſent again the ſame ambaſſadors to king Charles and the duke of Bretagne, under colour of being perfectly informed of the ſtate of the affair, in order to lay it before the parliament, though he knew beforehand what anſwer they were to bring back. H. VII. 1487.

About this time Edward lord Woodville, the queen's uncle, deſired the king's licenſe to go and ſerve the duke of Bretagne with a troop of voluntiers. Henry denied his requeſt, not thinking proper to aid one of the parties when he was offering them his mediation. Neverthe'eſs Woodville ſailed from the Iſle of Wight [of which he was governor] with four hundred men into Bretagne. This aid, though inconſiderable, made a great noiſe at the court of France. Charles publicly complained of it; but as Henry denied that the lord Woodville had carried theſe troops to the duke with his conſent, was contented with that ſatisfaction. He was very careful, at ſuch a juncture, not to quarrel with Henry for ſo ſmall a matter. Woodville carries a ſmall aid to the duke of Bretagne. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

Before the Engliſh ambaſſadors arrived in Bretagne, there had been in that country a revolution prejudicial to the king of France's affairs. The lords of Bretagne who had treated with him, plainly perceiving his intention was to conquer the duchy, made their peace with the duke, and obtained a full pardon. The marſhal de Rieux, their head, was the laſt to comply. He would firſt be thoroughly convinced of the French king's deſigns, which yet he only ſuſpected. For that purpoſe, after privately treating with the duke of Orleans, he ſent a meſſenger to the king to tell him, that the duke of Orleans offered to quit Bretagne with all his followers, and therefore, ſince the French troops had entered Bretagne only to expel that prince, he moſt humbly beſought him to recall them, purſuant to his treaty with the barons. Ann of Beaujeu, who was haughty and proud, imagining there was no need of any farther ceremony, told the meſſenger, the king had gone too far to recede, and would ſee the end of the affair. This anſwer obliged the marſhal to follow the example of the reſt of the barons, and be reconciled to the duke, who gave him the command of his army. The lords of Bretagne are reconciled to the duke. June 20.

Though Charles had raiſed the ſiege of Nantz, he continued his conqueſts elſewhere. Soon after, his troops took the town of Dol by ſtorm; whereupon the duke not thinking himſelf ſafe in Nantz, thought fit to retire to Rennes. He ſaw himſelf extremely preſſed, and yet did not hear that preparations were any where making for his relief. In this The French take Dol.

ex-

H. VII. 1487. extremity, he was perſuaded by the prince of Orange, to promiſe Ann his eldeſt daughter to the king of the Romans, though he had already promiſed her to the lord d'Albret. The prince of Orange made him believe that Maximilian, finding himſelf concerned to defend Bretagne, would not fail to come to his aſſiſtance with a powerful army. But at this very time, the revolt of the Gantois diſabled that prince to do any thing for Bretagne.

The duke promiſes his daughter to the king of the Romans September.

Henry's ambaſſadors diſcover the king of France's deſigns. Hall. Bacon.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, Henry's ambaſſadors in Bretagne had frequent occaſions to be convinced that Charles was only amuſing the king their maſter, and intended to conquer that duchy. Henry knew it ſtill better than they, but was willing, their report ſhould ſerve for foundation to demand a ſubſidy for the defence of Bretagne, though he ſtill believed the affair might be adjuſted, without drawing the ſword. His ſole aim was to make the parliament apprehenſive of the loſs of Bretagne, that they might more readily ſupply him with money, which he intended to put entirely into his coffers.

The parliament meets.

The parliament met the 9th of November, juſt after the return of the ambaſſadors. Care had been taken to divulge the report they had brought to the king, in order to prepare the commons to make a powerful effort in the defence of Bretagne. The archbiſhop of Canterbury [c], as lord chancellor, opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both houſes, to this effect:

The chancellor's ſpeech. Bacon.

"That the king thanked his parliament for the acts paſſed "in his favour at their laſt meeting: That he was ſo well "ſatisfied of their affection, that he had made it a rule to "himſelf to communicate to ſo good ſubjects all affairs, as "well foreign as domeſtic, that might happen, and that "one now occured, concerning which he deſired to have their "advice.

"That the king of France (as no doubt they had heard) "was making fierce war upon the duke of Bretagne: That "he alledged for reaſon the protection given by the duke of "Bretagne to the duke of Orleans; but others gueſſed a very "different motive: That both parties had applied to the "king, one to pray him to ſtand neuter, the other to deſire a "powerful aid: That the king having offered his mediation, "found the French king ready to treat, but without diſcon- "tinuing the war: That the duke on the contrary, though "he was very deſirous of peace, and moſt wanted it, was "averſe to a negotiation, not upon confidence of his own

[c] Dr. John Morton.

ſtrength,

" ſtrength, but upon diſtruſt of the French court's ſincerity : H. VII.
" That after ſundry embaſſies tending to an amicable deter- 1487.
" mination of this affair, the king had deſiſted from his me-
" diation, becauſe he could neither remove the duke of Bre-
" tagne's diſtruſt, nor perſuade the king of France to ceaſe
" hoſtilities during the treaty : That this being the ſtate of
" the caſe, he deſired their advice, whether he ſhould ſend
" ſuccours to the duke of Bretagne, and enter into a defenſive
" league with him againſt France."

After thus ſtating the queſtion, he alledged ſeveral arguments pro and con, his aim being, under colour of leaving the parliament free to determine what they ſhould judge proper, to make them ſenſible of the neceſſity of aiding Bretagne. This neceſſity was in effect ſo evident, that there was need but of a very moderate knowledge of the intereſts of the ſtate, to ſee of what conſequence it was to England to prevent the conqueſt of Bretagne. However, it is worth noting, that the king knowing how much it concerned the Engliſh to defend Bretagne, alledged theſe reaſons by the mouth of his chancellor, only to obtain a ſubſidy, without intending however, to employ it in ſupport of the oppreſſed prince. This will plainly appear in his whole future conduct. The parliament, according to the king's expectation, failed not to adviſe him to undertake the defence of the duke of Bretagne, and granted him for that purpoſe as large a ſubſidy as had ever been given to any former king [d] on account of a foreign war [e].

A ſubſidy granted for the aid of Bretagne.

As

[d] Polydore Virgil ſays, it was a poll-tax — " Tributo in ſingula capita " impoſito"—But, according to Stow, every man was taxed to pay the tenth penny of all lands and goods, p. 473. See alſo Hall, fol. 16. Hollingſhead, p. 1474.——In the firſt parliament of this king, the taxes granted were as follows: 1. Tunnage, which was three ſhillings on every tun of wine, of denizens; and ſix ſhillings of aliens. 2. Poundage, that is, one ſhilling in the pound of all merchandizes imported or exported; except tin, for which aliens were to pay two ſhillings. 3. The ſubſidy of wool and woolfells, which was thirty-three ſhillings and four-pence of denizens, and of aliens three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence, for every ſack of wool, and for two hundred and forty woolfells. And for every laſt of hides, denizens were to pay three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence; and aliens, three pounds thirteen ſhillings and four-pence. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 335. The clergy granted then the king a tenth. Ibid. p. 323.

[e] In this parliament, the authority of the Star-chamber, which before ſubſiſted by the antient common laws of the realm, was confirmed in certain caſes by act of parliament. This court conſiſted of counſellors, peers, prelates, and chief judges. It took cognizance of forces, frauds, advances towards heinous or capital crimes not actually committed. The other remarkable ſtatutes now enacted were theſe: 1. That if any of the king's ſervants, under the degree of a lord, did conſpire the death of the king, or any of the king's council, or lord of the realm, as the lord ſteward, treaſurer, or

H. VII. 1487. As ſoon as the parliament broke up, Henry reſumed the way of negotiation with Charles, ſtill fancying that the terrour of his arms would lead that prince to an agreement. The only means however to ſave Bretagne was to ſend thither a ſtrong aid, and declare war with France, according to the parliament's intention. But Henry had laid another plan, founded wholly upon his extreme deſire that the affair might be decided, without his being forced to expend the money lately received. He was content therefore with ſending ambaſſadors to king Charles, to notify to him the parliament's reſolution. But withal, as if he was afraid of going too far, he declared that the war on the part of England ſhould be only defenſive, and ſolely with reſpect to Bretagne.

The king keeps to the way of treaty. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh. He ſends an embaſſy to France.

Charles's anſwer. The court of France eaſily perceived by theſe proceedings, that the king of England had no great deſire vigorouſly to puſh the affair, ſince, when he ſhould have been preparing for war, he contented himſelf with ſending ambaſſies. So, Charles told the ambaſſadors, that he was always ready to accept of the king of England for arbiter of the differences between him and the duke of Bretagne; but did not intend to ſuffer himſelf to be amuſed with a treaty, which would only ſerve to give the duke time and opportunity to reſtore his affairs. That he ſhould be always willing to treat, provided it was not meant to require a truce deſtructive of his intereſts.

1488. The winter procured the duke of Bretagne a ceſſation of arms, which all the inſtances of the king of England had not been able to obtain, as it obliged the king of France to put his troops into quarters, and return to Paris. Moreover in March 1488, the marſhal de Rieux retook Vannes and Dinant, and garriſoned Ancennis and Chateaubriant. On the other hand, the lord d'Albret's two troops of men at arms deſerted the French ſervice, and joined the duke's army. But this little turn of fortune was of no long continuance. In April the king took the field again, and having retaken An-

The duke of Bretagne makes ſome progreſs. Argentré. Mezerai.

or comptroller, it ſhould be felony. This law was thought to be procured by the lord chancellor, who being a ſtern and haughty man, and finding he had ſome mortal enemies in court, provided for his own ſafety. 2. The taking and carrying away women, having lands and goods, (except female-wards and bond ſlaves) forcibly, and againſt their wills, and the abetting of it, was made felony. 3. It was ordained, that clerks convict ſhould be burned in the hand. 4. That the ſheriff ſhall certify the names of all his priſoners at the gaol-delivery. 5. That all deeds of gift made to defraud creditors ſhall be void. 6. That coſts ſhall be awarded to the plaintiff, where the defendant ſueth a writ of error before [illegible] had. See Statut. 3 Henry VII. and Bacon, p. 594.

ennis

cennis and Chateaubriant, razed them to the ground. After that, he marched to Fougeres, and beſieged at once that place and St. Aubin du Cormier. H. VII. 1488.

Mean time, the lord d'Albret having accepted the propoſal made him in the beginning of the war, came into Bretagne to ſerve the duke with a thouſand horſe. Upon his arrival, he preſſed the duke to perform his promiſe concerning the marriage. The duke, who had privately promiſed his daughters to Maximilian, being greatly embarraſſed, put the young princeſs upon declaring, ſhe would never eſpouſe the lord d' Albret, though ſhe was not then above eleven years old. This oppoſition gave the duke a pretence to elude d' Albret's purſuits, till the princeſs's obſtinacy could be conquered.

The lord d' Albret arrives in Bretagne, and preſſes the duke about his marriage. The duke evades his demand.

Mean while, the unfortunate duke finding himſelf little able to reſiſt the French, and receiving aſſiſtance neither from Maximilian nor the king of England, ſent the earl of Dunois to Charles to ſue for peace. Charles did not think fit to return a poſitive anſwer. He was willing firſt to ſee the ſucceſs of his two ſieges. On the other hand, he was in treaty with Henry for a truce which he expected ſhortly to conclude; and that was to determine him, either to refuſe peace to the duke, or enter into treaty with him. So, keeping the earl of Dunois ſtill at court, under divers pretences, he put him off from day to day, till he had received certain advice from England. Shortly after, he heard that Henry had ſigned at *Windſor* a truce, to commence the 14th of July this year, and to end the 17th of January 1490. Thus having nothing to fear from England, he wholly applied himſelf to continue his conqueſts.

He ſues for peace to the king of France.

New truce between France and England. *Act. Pub.* xii. p. 337, 344.

Moſt certainly Henry, in leaving the duke of Bretagne to the mercy of his enemy, acted directly contrary to the parliament's intention, which had granted him a ſubſidy for the aſſiſtance of that prince. The truce, made without any neceſſity, when the duke of Bretagne was moſt preſſed, plainly ſhews, he ſuffered himſelf to be blinded by the court of France, or rather by the deſire of keeping the money granted by the parliament for the aid of Bretagne. The duke's occaſion for a powerful aſſiſtance could not be more preſſing. Charles was in the heart of his country, at the head of a ſtrong army, taking his towns one after another, and he not able to make any reſiſtance. At the ſame time Henry was concluding with France a truce which tied up his hands, and afforded king Charles time and facility to conquer Bretagne. Wherefore his hiſtorian, prepoſſeſſed no doubt in his favor, and not imagining, he had thus cauſeleſsly forſaken the poor duke in his Bacon.

Remark on Henry's conduct, and upon an omiſſion of his hiſtorian.

H. VII. 1488. his diſtreſs, mentions not this truce made with France at ſo unſeaſonable a time. Moreover, he makes the ſuccours ſent by Henry into Bretagne, to arrive there the beginning of Auguſt this year, whereas it is very certain they came not till March ſeven months after. Theſe affected delays, which ſurprized all the world, proceeded wholly from the king's wrong notion of the war, and his deſire to end it, without being obliged to uſe the money given by parliament.

The duke of Bretagne reſolves to fight. Argentré. Hall.

Mean time, the duke of Bretagne, the duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, and the marſhal de Rieux, were in the utmoſt confuſion. The king of the Romans, the king of England, the duke of Lorrain, had ſeemed to eſpouſe their quarrel, but it did not appear that any of them were preparing to aſſiſt them. In this extremity, a council was held to conſider what courſe was to be taken. Moſt were for marching to the relief of Fougeres, and joining battle rather than ſuffer that place to be loſt. The marſhal de Rieux oppoſed in vain this dangerous advice, by repreſenting that the loſs of a battle would infallibly be attended with the ruin of Bretagne. That it would be much wiſer to delay the time till the neighbouring princes ſhould ſee their own intereſt, ſince it could not but be extremely prejudicial to them to ſuffer Bretagne to be ſwallowed up by France. To this it was replied, that probably Bretagne would be loſt before any ſuccours arrived, and therefore the only way to ſave it was a victory. The duke of Bretagne's underſtanding was ſo impaired, that he was little able to judge ſoundly of an affair of ſuch conſequence. So ſuffering himſelf to be governed by the counſels of the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange his nephew, he reſolved to march to the relief of Fougeres. But upon his approach, he found the town had already capitulated. Then he determined to relieve St. Aubin du Cormier, but the governor, for want of proviſions and ammunition, had ſurrendered a few days before.

The duke of Orleans and prince of Orange are ſuſpected.

Whilſt the duke of Bretagne was marching to St. Aubin, all the forces of France joined in one body, under the command of Lewis de Trimouille, for fear the duke had intended to retake that place. In a few days, the two armies were ſo near one another, that it was not poſſible to part without a battle. Whilſt they were preparing on both ſides, a rumour being ſpread among the Bretons, that the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange were going to betray them, they were upon the point of diſbanding. But the two princes removed their fears, by going amongſt them to charge on foot. The battle was fought the 28th of July, with fatal ſucceſs to the duke

duke of Bretagne, who was defeated with the loſs of his beſt troops. The duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange being taken priſoners, the king commanded the firſt to be confined in the tower of Bourges, but ſet the other at liberty. The four hundred Engliſh brought over by the lord Woodville, were almoſt all ſlain with their leader [f]. As the Engliſh were then diſtinguiſhed by a red croſs, twelve hundred [g] Bretons were joined to them with the ſame badge, to make the French believe, that freſh ſuccours were arrived from England. Perhaps, this gave occaſion to ſome to affirm, that king Henry had already ſent a freſh body of troops to the duke of Bretagne. The lord Verulam, who writ the hiſtory of this reign, does not ſay this, but aſſures us, that eight thouſand Engliſh arrived within a few days, and offered the French battle, who did not think proper to accept it. Polydore Virgil and ſeveral others ſay the ſame thing. But herein they are miſtaken. Henry had not yet made any treaty with the duke of Bretagne, and it was not till after the duke's death, and in March the next year, that he ſent, as will be ſeen, ſix thouſand men to the ducheſs his daughter.

H. VII. 1488.

Battle of St. Aubin, wherein the duke of Bretagne is defeated. Mezerai. Argentré. Woodville is ſlain, with all his followers. Hall. Hollingſh. Error of the Engliſh hiſtorians in this matter.

In a few days after the battle of St. Aubin, Lewis de la Trimouille ordered the city of Rennes, capital of Bretagne, to be ſummoned, but the inhabitants continued firm in their allegiance to their ſovereign.

Rennes refuſes to ſurrender.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Bretagne, Henry was levying in England the money granted by parliament. That was a principal affair, which he haſtened extremely, on pretence of the duke of Bretagne's preſſing occaſion for a ſpeedy aſſiſtance. All the counties, except Yorkſhire, and the biſhopric of Durham, readily paid the tax impoſed by the parliament. But in theſe parts, where the friends of the houſe of York were very numerous, it was not collected with the ſame eaſe. Some factious perſons ſtirring up the people, the commiſſioners for gathering the ſubſidy met with ſo much oppoſition, that they were obliged to make application to the earl of Northumberland [h], who immediately gave the court notice [and deſired the king's direction.] The king anſwered, he would not have one penny abated of the money granted by parliament, both by reaſon of the urgent occaſion, and becauſe other counties might be incouraged to deſire the like mitiga-

Inſurrection in the north of England. Hall. Stow. Bacon. Hollingſh.

[f] Beſides them, there were ſix thouſand Bretons ſlain; and twelve hundred of the French. Hall, fol. 15. Hollingſh. p. 1433.

[g] Hall ſays, ſeventeen hundred. fol. 15.

[h] Henry Percy, chief ruler of the north parts. Hall. fol. 16.

H. VII. 1488. tion. Upon this answer, the earl of Northumberland assembled the principal justices and free holders of the county, and in very imperious terms declared to them the king's intention. The rough manner in which he spoke to them, without shewing any regard for persons who were but too much incensed, gave them reason to think, he himself advised the king to such an answer. This being rumoured in York, the mob rose and assaulting the earl's house forced it open, and murdered him with several of his servants. But the mutineers did not rest there. Presently after, being inflamed by one John a Chamber an incendiary, they set Sir John Egremond at their head, and publicly declared they were marching to London to give the king battle.

The earl of Northumberland is killed by the mob.

They threaten to fight the king.

Henry being informed of the insurrection, sent into the north a body of troops under the command of the earl of Surrey[1], whom he had released out of the Tower and received into favour, preparing to follow him in person with more considerable forces. But whilst he was on his way, he heard that Surrey had beaten and dispersed the rebels, and John a Chamber was taken prisoner. As for Egremond, he had the good fortune to escape and retire into Flanders to the duchess of Burgundy, whose palace was a sanctuary to all the king's enemies. Though this affair was ended, Henry however pursued his journey to York, where he ordered John a Chamber to be hanged on a gibbet raised in the midst of a square gallows, on which twelve of his accomplices were hanged round about him. After that, he returned to London, leaving the earl of Surrey president of the north, and Sir Richard Tunstal his principal commissioner to levy the subsidy, of which he would not remit a farthing.

The earl of Surrey disperses them.

The king goes on to York, and punishes the ringleaders.

Mean time, the news of the battle of St. Aubin being brought to the king, he seemed resolved to send a powerful aid to the duke of Bretagne. But it was still in hopes that the terror of his arms would oblige king Charles to consent to a peace. This artifice was not however capable of deceiving the court of France, which plainly saw through all his designs.

He feigns to be resolved to aid Bretagne.

The loss of a battle had reduced the duke of Bretagne to a state worthy of pity. He could no longer support himself with his own forces alone, and saw no preparations for his defence, either in Flanders or England. Henry had put him in hopes of assistance, but was not in haste to send him any. As for Maximilian, instead of being able to assist his future

Sad condition of the duke of Bretagne. Haræus. Hall. Hollingsh.

[1] Thomas Howard.

fa-

father-in-law, he was himſelf detained priſoner in a ſedition againſt him at Bruges, where ſeveral of his officers were killed. His captivity laſted from the beginning of January to the 15th of May, and his releaſe then was owing to the emperor Frederick his father, who had marched into the Low-countries at the head of an army to his relief. So inſtead of thinking to aſſiſt Bretagne, he was himſelf ſeeking on all ſides for foreign ſuccours againſt the Flemings. To that end, forgetting his engagements with the duke of Bretagne, he ſent this very year to the king and queen of Spain, to demand in marriage Iſabella their eldeſt daughter, and at the ſame time Jane their ſecond daughter for his ſon Philip. The firſt of theſe demands could not be granted, Iſabella being already promiſed to the prince of Portugal. But the other was effected in time. At laſt in September, Philip de Cleves lord of Ravenſtein, heading the Gantois and ſurpriſing the city of Bruſſels, Maximilian retired into Germany, leaving in the Low-countries, Albert duke of Saxony to command in his place, in the name of the archduke his ſon. H. VII. 1488. Maximilian retires into Germany.

There was therefore no appearance of aid for the duke of Bretagne, either from England or the Low-countries, or in ſhort, from any other place. In this diſtreſs, the unfortunate duke humbly ſued to the king of France for peace, who very readily complied with his requeſt, not from a motive of generoſity, but to put it entirely out of his power to defend himſelf, by cauſing him to loſe the aſſiſtance of the king of England, whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport him. Though Henry had agreed to a truce with France, which was not to expire till January 1490, Charles was afraid however he would change his mind, and aſſiſt the duke his ally with all his forces next campaign. In order therefore to divert him from this thought, he very willingly concluded a peace with the duke of Bretagne, intending to keep it no farther than was conſiſtent with his intereſts. For in his whole conduct, with regard to Bretagne, he did not ſeem more ſcrupulous than his father king Lewis XI. was in all his negotiations. The duke of Bretagne ſues for peace. Reaſons why Charles granted it. Hall. Bacon.

The diſcuſſion of Charles's pretenſions upon Bretagne, delayed for ſome time the concluſion of the peace which was negotiating at Verger, a ſeat belonging to the marſhal de Rieux, where the king then was. Charles pretending, that after the deceaſe of the duke of Bretagne, the guardianſhip of his daughters belonged to him as ſovereign lord of the duchy, this pretenſion was diſputed by the Bretons, who affirmed the dukes of Bretagne had never done liege homage to the kings of France, and conſequently they had no right Charles VIII's pretenſions. Argentré.

H. VII. 1488. to claim the guardianſhip in queſtion. It was no favourable juncture to decide, in favour of the Bretons, this ſo long and as yet undetermined diſpute. But this pretenſion of Charles was a trifle, in compariſon of another of much greater conſequence. He maintained, that the duchy itſelf belonged to him, by virtue of a certain grant to king Lewis XI. from the lady de la Broſſe, heireſs of the houſe of Blois, who had formerly diſputed Bretagne with the anceſtors of Francis II. This was renewing an old quarrel, which had been ended by ſeveral treaties, and particularly by that of Guerande, whereby the houſe of Blois relinquiſhed all claim. However, Charles inſiſted not obſtinately upon theſe two articles, contenting himſelf with having intimated his pretenſions, in order to proſecute them in time and place. So, the treaty was concluded about the end of Auguſt, importing, that Charles ſhould remain with the places he had conquered, and withdraw his forces out of the reſt of Bretagne. But he did not intend to obſerve this laſt article. The duke ratified the treaty at Coyron, where he then was, and therefore it is called by the Bretons, the treaty of Coyron, and by the French, the treaty of Verger, or Vergy.

Treaty of Verger or Coyron. Argentré. Mezerai.

Diſſenſions among the Bretons upon the death of the duke.

A few days after, namely, on the 9th of September, died Francis II. duke of Bretagne, in a very advanced age, and with his underſtanding ſo impaired, that for ſome years paſt, he had been uncapable of governing the ſtate. Anne his eldeſt daughter, about twelve years old, ſucceeded him. The duke her father had appointed her for guardian, the marſhal de Rieux, who was to be aſſiſted by the earl of Cominge. But Philip de Montauban chancellor of Bretagne found means to carry away the young ducheſs to Guerande, where under colour of giving her advice, he made her ſpeak as he pleaſed. This occaſioned between the marſhal and the chancellor a quarrel, which proved very prejudicial to the ducheſs, and to all the Bretons in general.

Henry pretends to aid the ducheſs. Hall.

Henry hearing of the duke of Bretagne's deceaſe, openly declared, that he conſidered the intereſt of the young orphan ducheſs as his own, and ſeemed to prepare in earneſt to aſſiſt her. But as he knew likewiſe that a few days before the duke's death, a proviſional treaty had been concluded till all the king of France's pretenſions were ſettled, he did not queſtion that the affair would be ended by way of negotiation. The buſineſs was only to hinder king Charles from taking advantage of the conſternation of the Bretons. This he imagined could be effected, by openly proclaiming his concern for the ducheſs's affairs. He ſtill believed, Charles

feared

feared him, and rather than break with him, would resign much of his pretensions. So, his aim was to become arbiter of the difference, and avoid a war which would have forced him to empty his coffers. H. VII. 1488.

For this purpose it was that he sent ambassadors to the king of the Romans, to the archduke his son, and to the kings of Spain and Portugal, to make the king of France believe, he was labouring to form a league against him. He sent also an embassy to Charles himself [k], to press him to end entirely the affair of Bretagne by a treaty. At the same time, he sent Edgcomb and Ainsewouth to offer his assistance to the duchess, and empowered them to promise in his name, to find her such a number of troops, upon sufficient security for the re-payment of the charges. We shall see under the next year, to what all these embassies tended. But before we proceed, it will be necessary briefly to mention the revolution in Scotland. He sends embassies to several courts, Act. Pub. xii. p. 334, 336---355. and offers to aid Anne. p. 348.

The affair of Bretagne so employed the kings of France and England, that James III. could obtain no assistance from either, against the lords who had the prince his son at their head. The malecontents would have been very glad to decide the quarrel by a battle. But the king still kept in the castle of Edinburgh, where it was not possible to force him. Though Charles and Henry had promised him aid, they were not very desirous to espouse his quarrel. Mean while he was still in hopes, and therefore kept close, expecting the performance of their promise. Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Hall.

Whilst his affairs were in this situation, he was advised to quit the castle of Edinburgh for Sterling as the more convenient place, and there expect the foreign succours. James taking this advice, began his march with his few troops, and immediately the lords followed him. He was however far enough before them to be secure, if the governor of Sterling, bribed by his enemies, had not refused him admittance. So, not knowing where to go, he resolved to return to Edinburgh; but meeting the army of the male-contents, was forced to fight, though much inferior in number of troops. He was killed in the battle, which was fought in the month of June. After his death, James IV. his eldest son, about fifteen years old, was proclaimed in his room by the lords who had placed him at their head. But all the Scots were not satisfied with this change. There were many that refused to James III. is slain, and James IV. his son succeeds him.

k The ambassadors were, Christopher Urswyke, Thomas Warde, and Stephen Fryon. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 347.

H. VII. 1488. own the young prince, whom they taxed with being the murderer of his father, and gave him great disturbance for some time. In July the new king sent ambassadors to Henry, to notify his accession to the crown [1].

Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 343. 1489. On the 10th of February, 1489, the ambassadors sent into Bretagne, concluded a treaty with the duchess, of which the principal article was, that the king engaged to send into Bretagne an aid of six thousand men. To consider this alone one would be apt to imagine Henry acted only upon a principle of generosity, or at least for the interest of his kingdom. But he had no such thought: his sole aim was first to hinder Bretagne from being over-run by a sudden invasion of the French, in order to give room for a treaty: in the next place, to draw a pecuniary advantage from the succours sent the duchess, the expences whereof he was willing to advance, in order to be afterwards repaid with usury. As the treaty manifestly shows his interested views in this affair, it will not be improper to insert the substance of each article; which, added to what will be said hereafter, will serve in great measure to give a just idea of this prince's character.

Henry's aim in his treaty with Anne.

Treaty of Redon. Act. Pub. tom. xii. p. 362.

I. The ancient treaties between England and Bretagne shall be observed.

II. There shall be a constant friendship and alliance between the king of England and the duchess of Bretagne.

III. They shall mutually assist one another in case either is attacked.

IV. If the king shall carry war into France for the recovery of Guienne and Normandy, the duchess shall find him troops according to her power.

V. The king shall also aid the duchess, if she carries the war into France for the recovery of her right, without prejudice however to the truce concluded between England and France, which is not to expire till the 17th of January, 1490.

VI. Neither of the two parties shall admit into his dominions the rebellious subjects of the other.

VII. The king shall send the duchess at his own charge an aid of six thousand men, upon condition that a sufficient number of these troops be allotted to guard the cautionary towns hereafter mentioned, which shall be delivered to the king. But the number shall not exceed five hundred.

[1] And at the same time, the truce concluded between the two crowns in 1486, was ratified and confirmed by Henry, on the 26th of July. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 345, 346. Commissioners had been appointed, in the former part of the year, to treat of a peace or a prolongation of the truce between both kingdoms. Ibid. p. 334, 339, 340, 343.

VIII. These

VIII. Theſe ſix thouſand men ſhall ſerve the ducheſs at the king's expence till the firſt of November. H. VII. 1489.

IX. Immediately after that day the ducheſs ſhall find ſhips with all neceſſaries, to tranſport the troops into England.

X. The ſix thouſand men ſhall be embarked at Portſmouth about the middle of this inſtant February, or at fartheſt by the end of the ſaid month, upon veſſels provided by the ducheſs.

XI. The ducheſs engages to repay the king all his expences for the tranſportation of the troops, both out and home, and for their maintenance whilſt in her ſervice, as alſo for the defence of the cautionary towns hereafter mentioned.

XII. The reimburſement ſhall be made in England.

XIII. It may be made at ſeveral payments; the cautionary towns remaining in the king's hands till the whole is paid.

XIV. Immediately after the arrival of the ſix thouſand men in Bretagne, the ducheſs ſhall deliver any two of the following places the king ſhall chuſe, Tonclaromneau, Hennebond, Avray, Vannes, Guerande, with all their revenues, to be kept till the king is fully repaid, without any deduction, and then only ſhall he be obliged to reſtore them.

XV. If the king carries war into France upon his own account, and the ducheſs find him ſuccours, her expences ſhall be deducted out of what ſhe ſhall owe the king. In like manner, if the king aid the ducheſs in an offenſive war with France, ſhe ſhall repay his charges upon that occaſion.

XVI. If any of the places now poſſeſſed by the king of France be retaken, the king ſhall have liberty to chuſe one or two of thoſe places, in the room of one or two of thoſe which ſhall then be in his hands. Upon condition however, that he chuſe not Breſt and Tonclaromneau at the ſame time.

XVII. Two commiſſioners ſhall be appointed on each ſide, to ſettle the king's expences for the aſſiſtance of Bretagne.

XVIII. The ducheſs ſhall ſwear before the Engliſh ambaſſadors, that ſhe will not demand again the cautionary towns till the whole debt be paid. The marſhall of Bretagne with three or four of the principal lords ſhall take the ſame oath.

XIX. Be-

H. VII. 1489.

XIX. Before the cautionary towns ſhall be delivered to the king, they ſhall be furniſhed with a ſufficient quantity of artillery, and a fortnight's proviſions.

XX. The fairs and markets ſhall be kept there as uſual.

XXI. As ſoon as part of the king's troops ſhall arrive in any port of Bretagne, the ducheſs ſhall ſend to the ſhips ſixteen hoſtages; namely — or at leaſt four of them to be detained till the cautionary towns are delivered.

XXII. The ducheſs, the marſhall, and three or four of the principal lords, ſhall ſwear upon the holy Goſpels, that ſhe will not make a contract of marriage with any perſon whatever, without the king's conſent.

XXIII. She ſhall make no alliance, nor hold intelligence with any prince, except the king of the Romans and the king of Spain, nor even with theſe without the king's conſent [m].

XXIV. She ſhall conclude neither peace nor truce for above two months, nor even make a truce for that time, without including the king.

XXV. The king promiſes the ſame thing on his part.

XXVI. The treaty of commerce between England and Bretagne of the 22d of July, 1486, ſhall be renewed.

XXVII. The king and the ducheſs ſhall give mutual ſecurity for the obſervance of the treaty of commerce.

XXVIII. Engliſh money ſhall paſs in Bretagne after this manner, — the king ſhall be obliged to receive the ſame money in payment.

Remarks upon this treaty.

It is eaſy to perceive that in making this treaty Henry had three different views. Firſt, to prevent Charles VIII. from becoming maſter of Bretagne, whilſt the ducheſs was ſo little able to reſiſt him. If Charles ſhould have finiſhed the conqueſt of Bretagne next campaign, as was very eaſy, Henry would have been blamed by all Europe; particularly he would have been inexcuſable to the parliament, who had granted him a very conſiderable ſubſidy for the defence of that duchy. His ſecond view was to frighten the king of France, by the ſending of Engliſh troops, into a compliance to end the affair by way of negotiation. This is manifeſt from his lending the ſix thouſand men for eight months only, and that too when they were of no ſervice but to prevent the court of France from violating the treaty of Vergy then in force. His third and chief aim was, to ſecure the reimburſement

[m] Unleſs he is expreſly included in the ſaid alliances. Rymer's Fœd.

of

of what he was going to advance for the maintenance of the six thousand men for eight months. He had already projected the keeping for his own use the subsidy granted by parliament for the defence of Bretagne, in the expectation of deciding the affair by his mediation. Mean while, he saw that the young princess, in her circumstances, could not resist the king of France, if he thought of pursuing his conquests. So, to oblige king Charles to enter into treaty, it was necessary to shew him the duchess would not want protectors, if he pretended to continue to use the way of arms. He could not help therefore advancing the money, since the duchess was not able to do it. But withal he took so great care not to lose his money, that it is visible from the treaty his principal aim was the re-payment of his expences. There are two farther remarks to be made upon his conduct: first, it is probable he would lend his troops but for eight months, lest the sum should mount too high, and consequently become difficult to be repaid. Secondly, he was willing not only to secure the principal, but to receive it also with interest. For after receiving places in mortgage for his security, he left the sum undetermined, in order to have it settled by commissioners: he knew that when he had the towns in his hands, Anne would one day be forced to submit to what he should prescribe, and it would be in his power to mount the charges of levying and maintaining his troops as high as he pleased. What I am saying is not a bare conjecture, since we shall find in the sequel that he raised this expence to an exorbitant sum. Thus Anne was so bound by the treaty, that this aid was no less expensive to her than the French army itself, which remained quiet without any attempt, though it still continued in the country. Charles had fully designed to take advantage of the consternation of the Bretons after the death of their duke: but in a council held upon that occasion, the chancellor de Rochefort was utterly against it, from motives of honour and equity. His opinion made the deeper impression upon the king, as he still feared that though the king of England acted but faintly, he would alter his mind: besides, Henry's embassies to Spain, to the king of the Romans, and to the archduke, gave the court of France some uneasiness: they were afraid of a league, which would have obstructed the execution of a grand project already formed, and which will be mentioned hereafter. H. VII. 1489.

Whilst the treaty was negotiating at Redon, the duchess's affairs were in a deplorable state. She not only saw a French army in the heart of her country, and in possession of several towns, Dissention in Bretagne. Argentr.

H. VII. 1489.

towns, but moreover was deſtitute of men and money. What was ſtill more grievous in ſuch a juncture, was the diſſention among her principal lords. The marſhal de Rieux pretended to govern her as her guardian: but Philip de Montauban her chancellor had ſuch an aſcendant over her, that he cauſed her to conſider the marſhal as an enemy, ſo that ſhe abſolutely refuſed to be under his guardianſhip. Montauban's pretence to exaſperate her was, that the marſhal would marry her to the lord d'Albret: but the chancellor repreſented to her that the marſhal intended to ruin her, by giving her a huſband unable to protect her: he even inſinuated that the marſhal was bribed by the king of France, whoſe intereſt it was to marry her to a lord not ſupported by any prince in Europe. Perhaps the chancellor was himſelf gained in favour of the king of the Romans. Be this as it will, their diſſention was carried ſo far, that the marſhal de Rieux cauſed the gates of Nantz to be ſhut upon the ducheſs, and even threatened to beſiege her in Rennes. It is not therefore ſurprizing that Montauban, who managed the ducheſs's affairs, ſhould agree to the treaty of Redon, ſince, by the arrival of the Engliſh forces, his party would be greatly ſtrengthened.

The Engliſh arrive in Bretagne. a Hall. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 355, 360, 373, 378, 380, 381, 394.

The Engliſh ſuccours at laſt arrived in March, which, with Henry's embaſſies to ſeveral courts, made king Charles imagine he intended to act vigorouſly in defence of Bretagne [n]. In that belief, finding he could not execute his deſigns by open force, without entering into a war with the Engliſh, and drawing perhaps other enemies upon himſelf, he thought ſome other courſe ſhould be taken. There was on foot a treaty of peace between him and Maximilian, and between Maximilian and the Gantois, by the mediation of the German princes aſſembled at Francfort. As this treaty was in a fair way, he did not queſtion but a peace would enſue. He had in his power Margaret, daughter of the king of the Romans, in order to eſpouſe her when marriageable, and was not ignorant of the late duke of Bretagne's engagement with that prince concerning his daughter's marriage. So, not at all doubting that his future father-in-law, with whom he was going to conclude a peace, would be ready to favour him, he ſent and offered the ducheſs of Bretagne to make him umpire of their differences. Anne gladly accepted the propoſal, being almoſt ſure of the favour of a prince who expected to marry her; and Maximilian did not want much entreaty to become

Charles and Anne take Maximilian for umpire. Argentré.

[n] He ſent thither a reinforcement ſome time after, as appears by his proclamation dated Auguſt 16, 1489. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 417.

become arbiter of an affair, in which he himſelf was ſo much concerned. Thus Charles, Anne, and Maximilian, acted all three with inſincerity. H. VII. 1489.

Treaty made at Francfort.

The ambaſſadors of France and Bretagne being met at Francfort, concluded, by the mediation of the king of the Romans, a proviſional treaty, importing that Charles ſhould reſtore the places conquered upon Bretagne, except Dinant, St. Aubin, Fougeres, and St. Malo: that theſe four towns ſhould be committed in truſt to Maximilian, and the duke of Bourbon and the French troops march out of the reſt of Bretagne: that on her part, the ducheſs ſhould ſend away the Engliſh: and in April next a congreſs be held at Tournay, to adjuſt all diſputes: that, in the mean time, both parties ſhould ſend their reaſons to Avignon, to be examined and diſcuſſed by civilians, that their opinions might ſerve for the inſtruction of the mediators.

Charles keeps not the treaty.

This treaty was without effect, though both parties ſeemed pleaſed with it. Anne was obliged by the treaty of Redon to deliver two places to the king of England, and theſe two places were to be kept by five hundred Engliſh: by the preſent treaty ſhe promiſed to ſend away all the Engliſh. But as the five hundred men which kept the two places were not excepted, Charles pretended he was not bound to execute the treaty of Francfort till all the Engliſh were departed from Bretagne, to which Anne could not oblige them. So, though in November, purſuant to the treaty of Redon, the Engliſh forces returned into England, the five hundred men however remained, and it was not in the ducheſs's power to ſend them away, unleſs ſhe repaid the king of England all his charges, which was impoſſible. The affair reſted therefore in the ſame ſtate it was before the treaty of Francfort, and the two parties neither ſent their reaſons to Avignon, nor their ambaſſadors to Tournay.

The ducheſs is perſuaded to marry Maximilian. Argentré.

Mean time Maximilian's marriage with Anne was negotiating with all poſſible ſecrecy. Maximilian's agents repreſented to the young princeſs the honour ſhe would enjoy of being queen of the Romans, and in time empreſs. But with this honour ſhe would have wanted a powerful aſſiſtance, which her lover was not able to give her: he could not draw any forces out of Flanders and ſend them to Bretagne, without breaking with France, included in his late peace with the Gantois: beſides, that peace was ſo ill ſecured, that it did not laſt a whole year. Thus Maximilian, ſon of an emperor, himſelf king of the Romans, and governor of the Low Countries, had only empty titles, which gave him little power.

Nevertheleſs,

H. VII. 1489. Nevertheleſs, the young ducheſs was ſtill made to expect a powerful aid from him; whether her adviſers wilfully ſhut their eyes, or becauſe there was then no other prince in Europe from whom ſhe could hope for aſſiſtance. The king of England might have protected her, but had entertained ſo wrong a notion of the affair, that the event alone was capable to undeceive him.

The matriage is ſolemnized by proxy. Argentré. Hall. Bacon.

At laſt the marriage was accompliſhed in November, with a ceremony then altogether new in thoſe parts; for the prince of Naſſau, ambaſſador and proxy of Maximilian, put his naked leg into the bed where the ducheſs was laid, as a ſort of conſummation. This was done however with ſuch ſecrecy, that neither Charles nor Henry appear to have known it till March 1491. It is true, Argentré, hiſtorian of Bretagne, ſays that from the beginning of the year 1490, all the public acts ran in the name of Maximilian and Anne. If ſo, it would be hard to conceive how their marriage could be kept private. But very probably Argentré was miſtaken one whole year; for we find in the Collection of the Public Acts of England, ſeveral commiſſions of the year 1490, in the name of the ducheſs alone, and the firſt there with Maximilian's name, is dated in March 1491 [o].

1490. Charles is put to a ſtand

Though the Engliſh troops were returned, Charles renewed not hoſtilities in Bretagne. This forbearance made Henry imagine he had attained his end, that is, had frightened Charles by the ſole appearanee of a rupture. The truth is, Charles was greatly embarraſſed: he could not think of leting go Bretagne, and on the other hand perceived it would be very difficult to finiſh the conqueſt without drawing on himſelf a war from England, and perhaps from ſeveral other ſtates.

[o] There was a parliament held in the beginning of the year 1490, which met at Weſtminſter, January 13, wherein the following ſtatutes were enacted: 1. That no finer of gold or ſilver, nor parter of the ſame by fire or water, ſhould allay any fine ſilver or gold, or ſell either of them to any perſon, but only to the officers of mints, changes, and goldſmiths within the realm: and that all ſilver be made ſo fine, that it may bear twelve penny-weight of allay in a pound weight. 2. That no butcher kill any manner of beaſt within the walls of London, upon pain of forfeiting for every ox twelve pence, and for a cow and every other beaſt eight pence: this to extend to every city, borough, and town walled, within the realm of England; Berwick and Carliſle excepted. 3. That benefit of clergy ſhall be allowed but once: and that perſons convicted for murder ſhall be marked with an M, upon the brawn of the left thumb; and other felons with a T. 4. That no perſon whatever ſhall hold more than one farm in the Iſle of Wight. There were ſome other laws then made, which are either repealed, or of ſmall conſequence. See Statut. 4 Hen. VII. cap. 2, 3, 13, 16. and Bacon [illegible] 596, 597.

Mean

Mean while, Anne ſeeing the war would be infallibly renewed as ſoon as her marriage was divulged, uſed all her endeavours to convince Henry of the neceſſity of ſending freſh ſuccours to Bretagne, without diſcovering however the true reaſon. For that purpoſe ſhe ſent to him, in February, 1490, chancellor Montauban and other ambaſſadors, with orders to deſire aſſiſtance, and a poſitive power to promiſe in her name that ſhe would never marry without his conſent [p]. This ſhows her marriage with Maximilian was ſtill a ſecret which ſhe did not think fit to divulge. In their inſtructions, the ambaſſadors were ordered to acquaint the king with her proteſtation in form againſt her father's engagement with the lord d'Albret, and with whatever d'Albret and de Rieux had done to compel her to ratify the ſame. This was an inſinuation of her wanting his aſſiſtance, as well againſt her own ſubjects, as the king of France, and that Bretagne was in danger from both. But all this was not capable to move Henry. Inſtead of treating with the ducheſs about freſh ſupplies, he ſent ambaſſadors to France [q], with power to treat with king Charles concerning all that prince's differences with the ducheſs of Bretagne. He was ſtill of opinion, that Charles dreading the junction of England with Bretagne, wanted only a peace. In this belief, he reſolved to make him pay for it, inſiſting upon a freſh demand, hitherto unthought of, namely, the arrears of the penſion which Lewis XI. was bound to pay to Edward IV. by the treaty of Pequigny, which by a ſubſequent treaty was to continue till the death of the ſurvivor of the two kings. Theſe arrears amounted to the ſum of one hundred twenty-five thouſand crowns, which the ambaſſadors had orders to demand. From that time, this article was always inſerted in the king's commiſſions to treat with France. Henry imagined that in Charles's treaty with Anne, of which he thought himſelf almoſt ſure, he would ſubmit to this article, leſt it ſhould be an obſtacle to the peace.

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Embaſſy of Anne to Henry. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 387.

Embaſſy from Henry to France. Feb. 21. p. 449.

He reſolves to take advantage of Charles's being at a ſtand. p. 453, 454.

Whilſt his ambaſſadors were in France, he could not diſpenſe with appointing commiſſioners to treat with thoſe of Bretagne. But it was only to amuſe them. The negotiation ſolely tended to a treaty, which ſtill more ſtrongly than the former, ſecured him the reimburſement of his charges on the ducheſs's account, without any mention of the deſired

He treats with Bretagne, but upon his own affairs. p. 394.

[p] In her letters ſhe calls king Henry the moſt high, moſt puiſſant, and moſt excellent prince, her moſt honoured lord, couſin, and father. Rymer's Feed. tom. xii. p. 387.

[q] Richard Fox biſhop of Exeter, Thomas earl of Ormond and lord Rochford, and the prior of Chriſt's-Church in Canterbury. Rymer, p. 449.

aſſiſt-

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assistance. The whole amounted to some verbal promises on the king's part, that he would never forsake the duchess. He believed this assistance was entirely needless in the present situation of the affair, still imagining, king Charles was wholly inclined to a peace. Mean while, Charles in his turn amused the English ambassadors, resolving to conclude nothing, till he could more plainly discover Henry's intention. He had an army in the bowels of Bretagne, and several towns in his possession, and Anne was little able to expel him with her own forces alone. For that reason, he willingly waited for a favorable opportunity to end the affair otherwise than by the king of England's mediation, of whom he was too jealous. Henry thinking him peaceably inclined, made it his chief business to secure the payment of what he had advanced for the assistance of Bretagne. And therefore under colour that the city of Nantz was in danger of falling into the hands of the French, he demanded to have it in his power, promising to restore it whenever required. But presently after he heard, the lord d'Albret had prevented him, and that despairing to marry the duchess, he had joined with France and taken that rich city, where he had made a great booty.

p. 456.

He demands Nantz, p. 452.

but it is taken by d'Albret.

The Flemings revolt again. Hall. Bacon. Hollingsh.

During these negotiations, fresh troubles arose in Flanders, very prejudicial to the affairs of the duchess of Bretagne. The duke of Saxony, who commanded in Flanders for Maximilian, having published an edict concerning the coin, the inhabitants of Bruges refused to comply with it, and drew the Gantois into their revolt. The king of France, who desired nothing more than to see war kindled in Flanders,

Charles aids them.

sent aid[r] to the rebels, under the conduct of marshal Desquerdes governor of Picardy[s]. On the other side, Maximilian, or the duke of Saxony in his name, sent ambassadors to Henry to make a league with him against France.

They make great progress.

When the aid arrived from Picardy, the rebels made great progress, and after taking Ipre and Sluce, besieged Dixmude. Henry, angry with Charles for delaying his answer so long, and moreover being concerned to support the archduke, resolved to send him aid. To that purpose, he suddenly dispatched the lord Morley[t] with a thousand men to Calais, with orders to the lord d'Aubeney, governor of that place, to

[r] Eight thousand men. Hollingsh. p. 1435.

[s] He was so inveterate against the English, that he used to say, "he would "gladly lie in hell seven years, so he "might win Calais from the English." Bacon, p. 593. Hollingsh. p. 1436.

[t] And Robert lord Willoughby of Broke. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 435.

relieve

relieve Dixmude, if poſſible. D'aubeney, joining a thouſand men of his garriſon[u] to thoſe come from England, marched directly to Dixmude, which was not well inveſted. He entered the town by night without oppoſition, and at break of day, ſallying out of the oppoſite gate, fell upon the camp of the French and Flemings and entirely routed them[w]. This affair bred a great coldneſs between Charles and Henry. But Charles durſt not complain, ſince he had no more right to aſſiſt rebellious ſubjects, than had Henry to aſſiſt the ſovereign. H. VII. 1490.

The lord D'aubney relieves Dixmude. July 16. Act. Pub. xii. p. 455. Hollingſh. Bacon.

Mean time, the ambaſſadors of Bretagne waited at London to no manner of purpoſe. The king gave them however good words, which ſerved only to ingage them the more to do his, inſtead of the ducheſs's affairs. On the 26th of July he required of them an acknowledgment that he had punctually executed the treaty of Redon: a freſh engagement to reimburſe all his charges, and a promiſe to deliver to him Morlaix and Concarneau, upon the hopes of an aid which he never intended to give. However, it was neceſſary in order to attain his ends to make the king of France believe, he really deſigned to aſſiſt the ducheſs of Bretagne, ſince it was the only means to ſtop his proceedings. Charles ſeemed to have ſome knowledge of Henry's thoughts, for he appeared more cold than ever with reſpect to his agreement with the ducheſs. He returned no direct anſwer, neither did he talk of reſtoring his conqueſts upon Bretagne, or of paying the arrears of the penſion due to the death of Edward IV. So, Henry thought it time to proceed more openly, and give that monarch reaſon to fear not only the arms of England but alſo of ſeveral other States. In the beginning of this year he had renewed the treaties of alliance with Portugal and Denmark. In September he concluded with Maximilian and his ſon Philip a league againſt France for their mutual defence, and for that of the ducheſs of Bretagne. At the ſame time he publiſhed a treaty made with Ferdinand and Iſabella in March the laſt year. By this treaty, the two kings ingaged to make war upon the king of France, unleſs he would reſtore Rouſillon to Ferdinand and Guienne and Normandy to Henry. Moreover they agreed upon a marriage between Arthur prince of Wales, Henry's ſon, and Catherine third

And enters into freſh obligations to Henry, but without obtaining any ſuccours. p. 394—397.

Act. Pub. xii. p. 374. 378, 380, 383—387. Henry makes ſeveral alliances.

Act. Pub. xii. p. 393. —410. He publiſhes his treaty with the king of Spain.

[u] Among whom were Sir James Tyrrel captain of Guiſnes, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and Sir Henry Talbot marſhal of Calais, &c. Hollingſh. p. 1435.

[w] With the ſlaughter, as is ſaid, of eight thouſand of the enemy, and the loſs only of a hundred of the Engliſh, among whom was the lord Morley. Hall, p. 411—429. Bacon. Hollingſh. ibid.

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daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, as ſoon as the prince was fourteen, and the princeſs twelve years of age. His treaty with the king of the Romans was to the ſame purport. The three princes were to enter France at the ſame time, each at the head of an army as well for their own as for the intereſts of the ducheſs of Bretagne. But by ſecret articles ſigned two days after, there were ſo many reſtrictions concerning the time, manner, and conditions of the war, that it plainly appears Henry's ſole aim was to frighten the king of France. By one of the ſecret articles the time of the invaſion was fixed to the 15th of Auguſt, 1492.

By the ſecret articles the alliance came to nothing. Act. Pub. xii. p. 403, 413.

The 4th of October, Henry concluded with John Galeazzo duke of Milan a treaty of alliance, containing only general articles of amity and good underſtanding. Mean while, Henry failed not to reap this advantage, that theſe negotiations which were openly tranſacting, embarraſſed the French king. Indeed, all theſe treaties, the ſecret articles whereof he knew not, gave him uneaſineſs. He had reaſon to fear, that a league was forming againſt him, which would obſtruct not only the conqueſt of Bretagne, but alſo that of the kingdom of Naples, which he had been ſome time meditating. It was this that hindered his renewing the war in Bretagne, though the ducheſs's circumſtances were ſuch, that it ſeemed eaſy to diſpoſſeſs her entirely. Beſides, Henry's conduct appeared ſo extraordinary, that he knew not what to think. That monarch made great noiſe about the league he was forming for the defence of Bretagne, and yet ſent no aid. In this uncertainty, Charles reſolved to ſend an ambaſſy into England, under pretence of detaching Henry from the ducheſs's party, but in reality to know by his anſwer what he was to hope or fear from him. He choſe for that purpoſe Francis de Luxemburg viſcount of Martigues, Waleram de Sams, and Robert Gaguin, general of the order of the Trinity. Theſe ambaſſadors being arrived at London had their audience of the king, where nothing particular paſſed. Some days after, the king having nominated to treat with them Richard Fox biſhop of Exeter, Thomas earl of Ormond, and ſome others[x], in their firſt conference, the general of the order of the trinity being the ſpeaker, made the moſt ſubmiſſive and cringing ſpeech that ever came out of the mouth of a French ambaſſador to a foreign prince, according to Henry VII's hiſtorian. As I have ſeveral reaſons to ſuſpect this

Alliance with the duke of Milan. p. 429.

Charles's ambaſſy to ſound Henry. Dec. 10. p. 432. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Act. Pub. xii. p. 431.

Bacon.

x The prior of Chriſt's-Church in Hereyle treaſurer of Calais, and William Canterbury, John Gunthorp dean of [illegible] victuallers of the ſame, Rymer's Wells, Sir John Don, Sir John Tur- Fœd. tom. xii. p. 431.

ſpeech to be rather the hiſtorian's than the ambaſſador's I ſhall only relate the principal points, without keeping to the very words, or mentioning certain articles which ſeem to me altogether improbable[y]. H. VII. 1490.

The ambaſſador began with ſaying, "Their maſter had "ſent them to pray a peace with the king of England, and "his reſpect for that great prince induced him to paſs by all "formalities, and make advances unuſual in ſuch ſovereigns "as he. He would not however conceal from him another "motive which made him deſirous of peace. Having re- "ſolved to carry his arms into remote countries, it could "not but be for his advantage, that all the world ſhould know "he was in friendſhip with all his neighbours, and parti- "cularly with the king of England. Then the ambaſſador "himſelf took care to excuſe Henry's ſending aid into Bre- "tagne and Flanders, though it was againſt France, and "owned it to be no juſt cauſe of rupture between the two "crowns. As for Flanders, he juſtified the king his maſter's "ſending troops thither, becauſe it was his duty to protect "the Flemings his vaſſals[z] againſt the king of the Romans "their oppreſſor. After that, the ambaſſador added, king "Charles intended to make war upon the kingdom of Naples, "unjuſtly detained from him by a baſtard of the houſe of "Arragon. That kingdom belonging to him by undoubted "right, he was bound in honour to try to recover it. But "his thoughts did not reſt there, his purpoſe being to make "the conqueſt of Naples ſerve as a bridge to tranſport his "forces into the eaſt, and overthrow the empire of the "Turks, to which he was invited, as by a voice from "Heaven, by a rent in the Ottoman family. This there- "fore being a reſolution for a holy war, he was content for "the honour and advantage of the chriſtian religion, to beg "peace at the hands of all the princes of Europe, that he "might not be diverted by any obſtacle from them." The ambaſſador's ſpeech. Bacon. Hall. Hollingſh.

The ambaſſador concluded with ſaying, "He had only "another affair to mention, not as a ſubject of treaty, but "as a mark of his maſter's great deſire to preſerve a good "underſtanding with the king of England, namely, being "ſovereign lord of Bretagne, and as ſuch guardian of the "ducheſs, he requeſted that with the king of England's

y For inſtance, the lord Verulam makes the ambaſſador deſire Henry that he may annul the marriage of Maximilian, of which neither Charles nor Henry had yet any knowledge. z In the lord Bacon it is——the ſubject of Burgundy——

H. VII. 1490.

" conſent, he might diſpoſe of her marriage as he ſhould think " fit."

Some days after, the ambaſſadors of France being ſent for to the council, the chancellor returned them the following anſwer from the king: " That the king his maſter had not " forgot his former love and friendſhip with the king of " France. That if the friendſhip was ſtill the ſame, there " was no occaſion to talk of it: but if not, it was not words " but deeds that muſt renew it: that as for the affair of Bre- " tagne, he could not help thinking it ſtrange that the king " of France ſhould make him his inſtrument to ruin one of " his beſt allies, and moreover pretend, he was very much " obliged to him for it: as for the ducheſs's marriage, he " meant not to meddle with it, provided the king of France " would proceed by law and not by the ſword: that how- " ever, what had paſſed in Bretagne as well as in Flanders " did not make ſo deep an impreſſion, as to refuſe to treat " of peace, if all their other affairs might be debated at the " ſame time. That as for the war upon Naples, the king " had but one thing to ſay, which was, as the king of France " thought himſelf bound in honour to try to recover that " kingdom, ſo for the ſame reaſon the king thought himſelf " obliged to exert his utmoſt for the recovery of Guienne, " Normandy, and the kingdom of France itſelf, which of " right belonged to him."

The chancellor's anſwer in the king's name. Bacon.

He demands all France.

Henry had eaſily diſcovered the deſign of this embaſſy, and that by a general propoſal to live in peace with him, Charles had no other view than to ſound his intentions with reſpect to Bretagne. Wherefore, according to the maxim he had eſtabliſhed, which was to frighten him, he threatened a war not only for the intereſt of the ducheſs of Bretagne, but alſo for his own. Mean while, it is likely he hurt himſelf by carrying the artifice too far, and that Charles was ſenſible, this anſwer was only words, which would not be followed by deeds. It was not at all probable, that in the then ſituation of France, Henry who was not firmly fix'd in the throne of a kingdom full of male contents, would renew a quarrel of that importance, of which he could not naturally expect to ſee a proſperous end. His reputation for being one of the moſt prudent princes of his time made it incredible that he would imbark in ſuch an enterprize. So Charles taking for granted that he intended only to frighten him, ſtill purſued his courſe with reſpect to Bretagne, and ſucceeded in the end, as will be ſeen under the next year. On the other hand, his ambaſſadors, ſurprized at the chancellor's ſpeech, anſwered with warmth

Motive of the demand

Charles diſcovers it.

The ambaſſadors reply. Bacon.

warmth that the king their ſovereign feared not ſuch threats, and was able to maintain his juſt rights againſt any perſon whatever[a]. The chancellor calmly replied, the king expected no other anſwer from them, but would forthwith ſend ambaſſadors to the king of France to acquaint him more fully with his intentions. Then he aſked them whether the king of France would agree to have the diſpoſal of the marriage of the ducheſs of Bretagne, with an exception that he ſhould not marry her himſelf[b]. The ambaſſadors anſwered, the king their maſter was ſo far from any thoughts of marrying the ducheſs of Bretagne, that he had given them no inſtructions upon that head. H. VII. 1490. Queſtion put to the ambaſſadors.

During all theſe negotiations, Anne was extremely troubled to ſee no aid come either from Maximilian or the king of England. She had hitherto kept her marriage ſecret, but perceiving it could not be concealed any longer, and that it was not honourable to hide it from him whom ſhe deemed her principal protector, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy into England, conſiſting of the prince of Orange, the earl of Dunois, and the chancellor. Their buſineſs was to deſire aid, and probably notify her marriage to the king. For, till after this embaſſy which arrived in England the beginning of the next year, we do not find in the Public Acts Maximilian's name joined with her's. Ann notifies to Henry her marriage.

In February 1491 Henry ſent ambaſſadors into France[c] according to his promiſe. Their commiſſion was to treat of all his differences with king Charles, and in particular of a certain ſum due to him from that prince, as alſo of the affair between Charles and the ducheſs of Bretagne. Theſe inſtructions alone are a clear evidence, that Henry deſigned not vigorouſly to puſh his pretentions to the realm of France, or at leaſt to Guienne and Normandy. For, is it probable that he would have comprized under the general word differences his claim to all France, or to two of the richeſt provinces, and have ſpecified a debt of a hundred and twenty-five thouſand crowns, if the firſt had been the principal? It is therefore manifeſt, he ſtill perſiſted in his deſire to end the affair of 1491. Henry's embaſſy to Charles. Act. Pub. xii. p. 435. Bacon.

a According to the lord Verulam, their anſwer was, that they doubted not, but the king their ſovereign's ſword would be able to maintain his ſceptre, p. 601.

b If Henry had known Anne had eſpouſed Maximilian, he would not have offered to leave to Charles the diſpoſal of that princeſs's marriage. Rapin.

c Richard Fox, Thomas earl of Ormond, and the prior of Chriſt's-church in Canterbury. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 435.

H. VII. 1491. Bretagne without war and to ſecure the ſums he had advanced.

A few days after, he appointed commiſſioners to treat with the ambaſſadors that came laſt from Bretagne. Then it was probably, that the ducheſs's marriage with Maximilian was imparted to him [d]. Perhaps he was told of it before, though he pretended ignorance, becauſe it had not been notified to him in form.

Ann'es marriage is imparted to him. p. 436, 438.

Charles beſieges the ducheſs in Rennes. Argentré.

Mean while, Charles having at laſt heard of the marriage, which had been made a great ſecret, reſolved to uſe no more ceremony, but vigorouſly haſten the conqueſt of Bretagne. In all appearance, he plainly ſaw through all Henry's diſguiſes, and perhaps believed the acquiſition of Bretagne well worth the hazarding a rupture with England. As for Maximilian, he did not much fear him, and had an infallible expedient to pacify the king of Arragon, by reſtoring Rouſſillon, much leſs important to the crown of France than Bretagne. So, without further conſideration, he ordered Rennes, capital of the duchy to be inveſted, where the princeſs then was. During the ſiege, which laſted ſome months, Anne ſent into England, John Bouteiller lord of Maupertius, and Peter Cojalu to deſire Henry's aſſiſtance. Shortly after ſhe ſent alſo the counteſs de la Val and the marſhal de Rieux and ſome others, to inform him of her condition, and demonſtrate to him that Bretagne was going to fall into the hands of France. This embaſſy furniſhed the king with a pretence to borrow money of his ſubjects to enable him to make war upon France. And yet, though he ſeemed in great haſte, he gave no orders for levying troops, but was very intent upon collecting the loans.

Another embaſſy from Anne to Henry May 23. p. 443. Another June 3. p. 444. p. 446. July 7.

League with Ferdinand and Maximilian confirmed. p. 462. Hall. Hollingſh.

Not long after, the league between Henry and Ferdinand was renewed. They agreed once more, that in May or at fartheſt in June the next year [e], each ſhould enter France at the head of an army. Maximilian promiſed likewiſe to do the ſame, and ſent an aid of two thouſand men to his ducheſs. But all this tended only to make a great noiſe, in order to deter the king of France from his deſign to conquer Bretagne.

Motives of theſe three allies.

It was not the intention either of Henry, or Ferdinand, or Maximilian, to make war upon France. Ferdinand was then entirely employed in the war of Granada, and if he leagued with Henry, it was only to oblige king Charles by the terror of the league to reſtore him Rouſſillon, being very ready to

[d] King Henry takes notice of it, in [illegible] About the [illegible]th of May, or of a commiſſion dated March 9, this year. Jun[illegible]mer Fœd. tom. xii. p. 463. Ibid. p. 478.

deſiſt

deſiſt the moment he ſhould be poſſeſſed of that province. Maximilian's aim who had neither men nor money, was to ingage the king's of England and Spain in a war with France, and reap all the fruit of it by the poſſeſſion of the ducheſs and dutchy of Bretagne. So, Henry not being able to depend in any manner upon ſuch allies, and ſeeing Bretagne almoſt loſt, was unwilling to engage alone in its defence. His ſole aim was to ſecure by the dread of this league, the payment of what was owed him by France and Bretagne. Mean while, Henry and Ferdinand, in order to attain their ends, were to feign a real intention to make war upon France. H. VII. 1491.

Whilſt theſe two monarchs were taking meaſures to accompliſh their deſigns, and the ambaſſadors of Bretagne were waiting in vain at London, Charles cauſed the ſiege of Rennes to be continued, but finding the ſiege was in an ill way, and the ſeaſon now far advanced, he ſought and found a readier and more effectual means than the ſword to ſecure the poſſeſſion of Bretagne. He gained, by his liberalities, all the young ducheſs's counſellors, that they might perſuade her to break off her marriage with Maximilian, and take himſelf for her huſband. Perhaps he had formed the project before: but however, he firſt diſcovered it during the ſiege of Rennes. When he was ſecure of the concurrence of the lords of Bretagne, he cauſed the ducheſs, then above fifteen years of age, to be ſo importuned, that ſhe had not a moment's repoſe. She at firſt courageouſly withſtood all their ſollicitations, affirming, ſhe could not reſolve to be falſe to a prince whom ſhe had voluntarily eſpouſed. But it was repreſented to her, that Maximilian had forſaken her firſt: that inſtead of coming in perſon to defend her, or at leaſt of ſending her aids proportionable to her wants, he had remained quietly in Germany, as if what paſſed in Bretagne no way concerned him: that in the preſent poſture of affairs, it was impoſſible to hinder Bretagne from becoming a province of France, and then Maximilian would regard her ſtill leſs, when he ſaw her diſpoſſeſſed of her dominions: nay, perhaps ſhe would have the confuſion to ſee that he himſelf would cancel his marriage, and ſo loſe at once both her duchy and ſpouſe, and reduce her ſubjects to ſlavery: that in marrying the king of France, ſhe might ſecure by a treaty, the ſovereignty and liberties of Bretagne; whereas, by an obſtinate and fruitleſs defence, ſhe would ruin her ſubjects, without reaping any advantage herſelf. In fine, that the king of France was more proper for one of her age: that the glorious title of queen of the Romans, and empreſs, ought not to tempt her, ſince that of queen of France, with a real king-

Charl. VIII. demands Anne in marriage. Argentré. P. Daniel.

He gains her council. Hall.

She refuſes to comply.

H. VII. 1491.

dom, was not of less value. Mean while, as the duchess resisted, Charles thought of another expedient to conquer her resolution. He went himself and took the duke of Orleans out of the tower of Bourges, where he was confined after the battle of St. Aubin, and told him, that knowing how great confidence the young duchess of Bretagne placed in him, he required him, in return for his freedom, to try to persuade her to comply with his desires. The duke of Orleans, who was tired of his imprisonment, willingly accepted of the office, and repairing to Rennes, succeeded at last in determining the duchess to the marriage, which was accordingly concluded December the 16th, 1491.

Charles employs the duke of Orleans; who prevails with the duchess, and the marriage is concluded. Argentré. Mezerai.

Whilst this affair was in hand, Charles amused the English ambassadors, being unwilling to conclude any thing, or even treat with them till he saw the success of his negotiation with Anne. At last, the ambassadors hearing the marriage was upon the point of conclusion, withdrew about the end of November, without taking leave. Thus Henry saw, not without confusion, that he had lost the fruit of his avaritious policy, not only as he had not saved Bretagne, but chiefly as the reimbursement of the sums he had advanced, was become more precarious than ever. Nevertheless, he had still one refuge left, which he knew how to improve, and which brought him off, if not with honour, at least with a pecuniary advantage, the thing he had all along aimed at. Happily for him, Charles was possessed with his design to conquer the kingdom of Naples. As a rupture with England would have laid invincible obstacles in his way, he thought it should by all means be avoided. Henry on his part, well knowing that, in the present juncture, Charles would not scruple to purchase a peace, feigned an extreme resentment of the affront he had received, and a resolution to be revenged at any rate. The moment his ambassadors made their report, he issued out orders to levy forces, and prepare transports, intimating, he was going to undertake the most dreadful war that had ever been between England and France[f]. He seemed to prepare to tread in the steps of Edward III. and Henry V. and not think of resting till he had forced the crown of France from the house of Valois. We shall see presently to what all this ardour tended.

The ambassadors of England withdraw. Hall.

Henry prepares for war. Act. Pub. xii. p. 463, 465, 471, 476. Hall. Hollingsh.

[f] He retained several persons [illegible] a day [illegible] for every half lance, nine-pence denture to serve him in this war, [illegible] a day: [illegible] every archer, either on had the following allowance. For every [illegible] or horse-[illegible], six pence a day. See man at arms, garnished with his costrell [illegible] Fr[illegible]'s Ecc[illegible] Pub. xii. p. 4[illegible]—480. [i. e. servant] and page, eighteen-pence

Maxi-

Maximilian was inraged when he heard Charles had thus injuriously robbed him of his wife. He threatned, like Henry, to carry fire and sword into the heart of France, in revenge of so deadly an affront. On the other hand, the archduke Philip, demanded his sister Margaret who was at Paris, and affianced to king Charles: but the court of France did not yet think fit to send back that princess. They feared neither father nor son. Their whole attention was employed in laying the storm with which they were threatned from England and Spain, and which appeared much more violent than it really was. But before I relate the effects of this quarrel, it will be necessary briefly to mention the affairs of Scotland. H. VII. 1491. The king of the Romains threatens high. Hall. Bacon. Hollingsh.

Since James IV's accession to the crown of Scotland, he had found it very difficult to maintain himself in the throne. The troubles which immediately broke out, still continued by the policy of the king of England, who took care to foment them. He gave from time to time the Scotch malecontents some little aids, which enabled them to support themselves, but not to make any great progress against their king. It is a policy very usual with princes, to cherish the troubles of their neighbours, in a belief that it is a most effectual way to preserve peace at home, though there are some who would scruple to use such means. But Henry was not of this number. He even seems to have been less scrupulous than many others, since we find in the Collection of the Public Acts, that the lord Bothwel and Sir Thomas Tod, both Scots, had engaged to deliver into his hands the persons of the king of Scotland and of the duke of Ross his brother, which could not be done without notorious treachery. It even appears by the Record, that he had lent the earl of Boghan and Sir Thomas Tod, 266l. 13s. 4d. sterling; to enable them to execute this design, and that Tod left his son in hostage for security. This act is dated April the 17th, 1491. Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. The Scotch-men bargain to deliver up the king to Henry. Act. Pub. xii. p. 44c.

The project miscarrying, Henry, who was preparing for the war with France, would first be secured from the diversions the Scots might make in England during his absence. James, for his part, desired nothing more than to deprive those of his subjects that were in arms against him, of the protection always afforded them by the king of England. So the two kings sending their ambassadors to Caldstream upon Tweed, a treaty of truce was concluded, from the 21st of December, to that day five years 1496. By the treaty, the city of Berwick, with its territory, was to stand neuter, and the lordship of Lorn in Scotland, with the little island of Lundey belonging to England, were excepted out of the truce. Henry ratified Truce between England and Scotland in vain. Ib. p. 465. p. 470.

H. VII. 1491. fied the treaty January the 9th, 1492. But probably, the king of Scotland, whether bribed by France, or ſome other motive, refuſed to confirm it. He agreed however to a much ſhorter truce, from the 20th of February 1492, to the 20th of November following.

Another truce. P. 473.

1492. France is threatned on all ſides.

France ſeemed to be threatned from all ſides with a furious war. Maximilian preſſed it to the utmoſt of his power, reckoning that his ſon Philip, then twenty years old, would make a powerful diverſion in Flanders, whilſt the allies acted in other places. Henry was openly preparing for war with great noiſe and boaſtings. In fine, Ferdinand and Iſabella, who had lately put a glorious end to the war with the Moors, by the taking of Granada, publickly threatned to invade France. Charles therefore would have been in great danger, had this powerful league been in reality what it was in appearance. After taking poſſeſſion of Bretagne, he thought of executing his grand project concerning the conqueſt of Naples. But he muſt firſt diſpel the ſtorm that was gathering in Spain, England, and Flanders. Whilſt he was wholly employed in that affair, Henry was no leſs intent upon his own concerns.

Henry acquaints the parliament with his deſign to war upon France Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh. Stow.

In the beginning of the year 1492, he aſſembled a parliament, and communicated to both houſes his deſign to carry war into France, not with intent to aſk their advice, as in the caſe of Bretagne, but to acquaint them with his reſolution to exert his utmoſt endeavours to recover the kingdom of France, which he called the inheritance of his anceſtors. To inflame them the more, he ſet before them the glorious battles of Crecy, Poictiers, and Azincourt, where the Engliſh alone, with a ſmall number of troops, vanquiſhed the ſtrongeſt armies of France. He would thereby inſinuate, that he was no leſs a warrior than Edward III. the prince of Wales his ſon, and Henry V. In demanding an aid of money proportionable to the greatneſs of the enterprize, he exhorted the commons to ſpare the purſes of the poor, and lay the tax upon the rich, not at all queſtioning whether what he required would be granted. Certainly great fault might have been found with his management of the former ſubſidy. It was granted for the defence of Bretagne, and yet the duchy was loſt without his uſing the leaſt endeavours to prevent it. But the conqueſt of the kingdom of France, was a very proper decoy to draw in the parliament. The truth is, the king had no deſire to embark in ſo hazardous an undertaking. He knew that France being now at unity with itſelf, the conqueſt of it would be too difficult a taſk. Of his two allies, the one had will but not power,

The king's private aim.

Bacon.

power, and the other had power but not will; Ferdinand's aim being by a ſhow of war to attain a peace, which might procure him the reſtitution of Rouſſillon. Beſides, as he had but newly ended his war with the Moors, he was not in condition to begin another with France. However, Henry expreſſed to his parliament and council, an ardent deſire to render his name famous by the conqueſt of France, or at leaſt of Normandy and Guienne. Herein he had a view to his profit two ways, upon his ſubjects for a ſubſidy for the war, and upon his enemies for a peace, which would ſecure him the payment of what was due to him. He eaſily foreſaw, that the defection of the king of the Romans, and of Ferdinand, would afford him a plauſible excuſe to deſiſt from a war he was undertaking with ſo much noiſe. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of Exeter, were the only perſons that knew his real intentions. Shortly after, the biſhop was removed to the ſee of Bath and Wells. H. VII. 1492. Ibid.

The parliament took fire, as the king expected, and granted him a very conſiderable ſum, which, purſuant to his deſire, was to be levied upon the rich, by the name of Benevolence [g]. This ſort of tax was introduced by Edward IV. and raiſed without conſent of parliament. Richard III. to ingratiate himſelf with the people, aboliſhed it, but this parliament revived it [h], and gave it the ſeal of their authority [i]. The parliament grants a benevolence. Hall. Bacon.

Shortly after, Henry received ambaſſadors from king Charles, with propoſals that were not made public. There was reaſon to believe, nothing was concluded in their conferences with the archbiſhop of Canterbury and biſhop Fox, ſince the warlike preparations were ſtill ſeen to continue. However, very likely theſe ambaſſadors laid the firſt foundations of the peace, which was made before the end of the year. Embaſſy from France Feb. 5. Act. Pub. xii. p. 470.

In June [k] the queen was delivered of a prince, who ſucceeded the king his father by the name of Henry VIII. Birth of prince Henry.

g The citizens of London paid 9682 l. 17 s. 4 d. Stow, p. 474.

h Hall makes a pertinent remark upon this occaſion; namely, "By this a "man may perceive, that what is once "practiſed for the utility of a prince, "and brought to a precedent by matter "of record, may be turned to the great "prejudice of the people, if rulers in "authority will ſo adjudge and deter-"mine it." fol. 22.

i Biſhop Morton the chancellor is ſaid to make uſe of this dilemma in his inſtructions to the commiſſioners, which ſome called his Fork, others his Crutch. "That if they met with any that were "ſparing, they ſhould tell him, that "they muſt needs have, becauſe they "laid up; and if they were ſpenders, "they muſt needs have, becauſe it was "viſible in their manner of living." Bacon, p. 602.

k The 22d, at Greenwich. Stow, p. 474. Sandford ſays, it was the 28th of June, 1491. p. 479.

The

H. VII. 1492.

The preparations which were making in England were very ſeaſonable for the archduke Philip. Since the laſt year the Gantois had revolted once more, and ſet at their head Philip de Cleves, a great ſtickler for France. Some troubles in Holland preventing the archduke from endeavouring to ſuppreſs this revolt, it was the middle of the year before he marched againſt Philip de Cleves, and beſieged him in Sluice. He would have found it difficult to take that place, if Henry had not ſent him twelve ſhips, and two thouſand five hundred men [l]. With that aid he was enabled to compel the rebels to ſue for peace, and deliver Sluice into his hands.

Succours ſent to the archduke. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

As the king had no intention to puſh vigorouſly the war with France, he haſtened not his preparations, being glad to begin the campain late, in order to end it the ſooner. Mean while, he ſent ambaſſadors to France [m], to ſhow he was willing to try fair means before he proceeded to arms. But it is very probable, the embaſſy was ſent only to finiſh, with king Charles, the terms of a peace. Moreover, the king's honour was to be ſecured, who after making ſo much noiſe, was unwilling to deſiſt without a ſeeming neceſſity. To that end he muſt act in concert with the king of France. At the ſame time, Henry ſent ambaſſadors [n] to the king of the Romans, and to Ferdinand, to ſummon them to take the field and enter France according to their treaty. But he knew they had neither power nor will to perform their engagements. Maximilian had no army, and Ferdinand was now in treaty with Charles, for the reſtitution of Rouſſillon, and yet, Henry pretending ignorance of theſe things, ſeemed to have great dependence upon them. In the beginning of Auguſt, he iſſued out orders for the levying a great number of forces, and on the 22d of the ſame month, appointed commiſſioners to confer at Caldſtream with thoſe of Scotland. All this afforded him pretences to delay his expedition. At length, though not till the 2d of October [o], he came to Dover in order to embark [p], having conſtituted by patent his eldeſt ſon Arthur prince of Wales, guardian of the realm. Such of his courtiers who were ignorant of his deſigns, could not forbear

The warlike preparations go on but ſlowly. Embaſſy to France. June 12. p. 481.

Henry calls upon Maximilian and Ferdinand to invade France. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

He makes new levies. Act. Pub. xii. p. 482, 483. He paſſes over to Calais. p. 487, 489. Bacon. Stow. Hollingſh.

[l] Which were commanded by Sir Edward Poynings. Hall. fol. 23.

[m] Richard Fox biſhop of Bath and Wells, Sir Giles d'Aubeney lieutenant of Calais, Sir John Kendale, Sir William Huſey chief juſtice, Sir James Tyrrel, captain of Guiſnes, and Henry Ayneſworth, doctor of laws. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 481.

[n] Chriſtopher Urſwicke, and Sir John Ruſſley. Hall. fol. 26.

[o] He ſet out from Greenwich, September 29. Bacon, p. 604.

[p] Robert lord Willoughby of Broke admiral of the fleet, and Sir Robert Poynter, vice-admiral. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 484.

telling

telling him, it was very late to begin a campain. But he answered, "That he intended not to make a summer's business of the war, and therefore it did not signify when it "began. That he had Calais at his back, where he might "winter, in order to be ready to open the campain early "next spring" He arrived the same day at Calais, where his whole army being assembled, amounted to twenty-five thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse [q]. Bacon. H. VII. 1492.

Before he embarked, Henry received a letter from the marshal Desquerdes, offering a negotiation of peace in England [r]. But he thought it more proper, in order to save appearances, to treat in France itself. He was scarce landed at Calais, when the ambassadors sent to the king of the Romans arrived, and told him, that Maximilian was wholly unprepared to enter France as he had promised. The news was immediately made known to the whole army. Some days after, he received from his ambassadors in Spain, letters which were likewise made public, importing, that Ferdinand had concluded a peace with the king of France, upon promise to restore Roussillon, without demanding the three hundred thousand crowns lent by Lewis XI. upon that country. Henry knew all this before, but had so ordered, that these advices came together after his arrival in France, that it might appear he was forced to the peace he intended to make. Upon these advices, at which he feigned to be very much surprized, he agreed, that Richard Fox, bishop of Bath and Wells, and the lord d'Aubeney, governor of Calais, should enter into conference at Estaples with the marshal Desquerdes. He marched however the 15th of October to besiege Boulogne, and in four days appeared before the place. It must be remarked, that king Charles was then at Tours; and though the warlike preparations in England had made great noise, there was no army in Picardy to oppose the invasion of the English, at least history mentions no such thing. This is a clear evidence that all Henry's proceedings were concerted with the king of France, who was not so unprovided with troops, but he could have sent an army sufficient to stop his progress. So this pretended siege of Boulogne, was only an artifice to discourage the English, that by considering the dif-

He receives advices, which give him a handle to make peace. Hall. Bacon. Act. Pub. xii. p. 490.

He appoints commissioners to treat. p. 490, 491. Bacon.

Remark on the king's conduct.

[q] There were with him, Thomas Grey marquis of Dorset, Thomas Fitz-Alan earl of Arundel, Thomas Stanley earl of Derby, George Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, Edmund de la Pole earl of Suffolk, Edward Courtney earl of Devonshire, George Grey earl of Kent, Henry Bourchier earl of Essex, Thomas Butler earl of Ormond, &c. Bacon, p. 604. Sperd, p. 736.

[r] The lord Bacon observes, that for this reason he hovered so much the longer near the sea-side, p. 604.

ficulties.

H. VII. 1492. ficulties of a ſiege at ſuch a ſeaſon, they might be the leſs ſurprized at a peace. At the end of eight days, Henry received at the camp before Boulogne, the articles of peace agreed by the commiſſioners of both parties, with the approbation of the two kings, the ſubſtance whereof was as follows:

Articles agreed upon by the commiſſioners of the two kings. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 490.

I. That the king of France ſhould diſcharge the debt contracted by his queen for the defence of Bretagne; which debt, according to the Engliſh ambaſſadors account, amounted to ſix hundred and twenty thouſand crowns of gold, French money, which is 124,000l. ſterling.

II. That the king of France ſhould pay the king of England the arrears of the yearly penſion of fifty thouſand crowns paid by Lewis XI. to Edward IV. amounting in all to a hundred and twenty-five thouſand crowns, which is twenty-five thouſand pounds ſterling.

III. That the king of France ſhould pay theſe two debts at ſeveral times, namely, fifty thouſand livres every year, every livre at twenty ſcutz or crowns, and to be paid half yearly till the whole was paid,

IV. Whereas in the obligation given by the ducheſs of Bretagne to the king of England, there was no ſum ſpecified, the king of England ſhould be obliged to make proof of his debt before commiſſioners of Bretagne or France, to be ſent to England for that purpoſe.

V. That the two kings ſhould name ſuch of their allies as they meant to include in the peace, who ſhould be obliged to declare within four months, whether they would be included or not.

VI. That in caſe the king of the Romans and the archduke Philip his ſon deſired to be included in the treaty, and if afterwards the king of France ſhould in any manner whatever invade their country, it ſhould be lawful for the king of England to aſſiſt them; but if on the contrary, they ſhould attack the king of France, the king of England ſhould give them no aid.

VII. That in caſe the two kings approved of theſe articles, they ſhould give each other hoſtages till the treaty was drawn and ſigned in form.

Henry aſks the opinion of his principal officers,

As theſe articles exactly correſponded with Henry's intentions from the beginning of the war of Bretagne, there is no queſtion that they were framed by himſelf or his own ambaſſadors; and yet he would have them paſs for propoſals from the French king, and feigned to doubt whether he ſhould accept or reject them. For that purpoſe he called a council of all

all the lords and general officers, and ſent them the articles, with his orders to give him their real opinion. As probably the council was managed by ſome perſon of great credit who was in the king's ſecret, all that were preſent unanimouſly agreed he ought to accept of the terms. They gave their reaſons in a long memorial under all their hands, which in ſhort, omitting the exaggerations, were as follow: H. VII. 1492. who adviſe him to peace

I. The firſt reaſon was taken from the length of the nights, the coldneſs of the weather, the want of proviſions as they were to come by ſea, the fear of diſtempers, and the like. Their reaſons for ſo doing. p. 490.

II. The ſecond reaſon was founded upon the conſideration of the ſum offered, far exceeding any ever yet paid by France to the king's predeceſſors, and likewiſe upon the apprehenſion of the murmurings the refuſal of a peace might occaſion in England and in the army.

III. They alledged as a third reaſon, the great advantage that would accrue by the peace to the king of the Romans and the archduke: the benefit they had already received in the reſtitution of Sluice: and laſtly, the fruits which the Engliſh merchants would reap, ſince the peace would ſecure their commerce with Flanders.

IV. They ſaid the king had honourably kept his word with his allies, notwithſtanding the inſtances of his council, who ſollicited him to defer his expedition to a more convenient ſeaſon, and till his allies ſhould be ready: that he had led his army into France, put himſelf him in condition to encounter alone all the enemies forces, and expoſed his perſon to the greateſt dangers at a time when his allies diſappointed him: that therefore, if the war was not continued, he might very juſtly caſt the blame upon them.

V. That the king was far from being in the ſame ſituation with Edward IV. when he led an army into France: that Edward was joined by the duke of Burgundy with all his forces, and by ſeveral French lords who were in his intereſt: that he was in poſſeſſion of all the towns as far as the Somme, and began the war in the midſt of ſummer: that, on the contrary, the king was not aſſiſted with any foreign troops: that when he marched out of the gates of Calais, he entered the enemies country and was advanced to Boulogne: that he had razed ſeveral places, as Ardres and Montory, and had ſtood four and twenty days ready for battle, defying the armies of France.

VI. That very likely the people of England would thank the king for a peace, which would put an end to taxes and exactions, and reſtore the public tranquillity.

VII. They

H. VII. 1492.

VII. They added once more, that the reſtoring the arch-duke to his dominions would redound to the king's honour and the nations advantage, by reaſon of their trade with his ſubjects.

VIII. They ſaid, that before the ſiege of Boulogne it was thought to be a weak place and eaſy to be taken; but, on the contrary, it was found to be well fortified, ſtrongly garriſoned, and plentifully provided with artillery and proviſions: that therefore, in all appearance, if the king continued the ſiege, he would be forced to raiſe it with diſgrace; whereas by making a peace he could retire with honour.

IX. Their laſt reaſon was, that it was impracticable to continue the war during the winter, without utterly deſtroying the army, which would extremely afflict the whole kingdom.

Remarks on theſe reaſons

If theſe reaſons are never ſo little conſidered, they will be found to be all falſe and deceitful, except the article of the money, which was the only true one. Without weighing them too particularly, I ſhall only obſerve, that of all the inconveniencies alledged by the officers, there was not one but what the king might have foreſeen, and actually did foreſee. He could blame himſelf only for beginning the campain ſo late. All in the Vth article concerning Edward IV. is evidently falſe. As for the murmurs of the people, which were pretended to be feared in caſe the king rejected the peace, it was much more probable on the contrary that the nation would murmur to ſee the money, given for a war with France, employed in making a diſhonourable peace, advantageous only to the king. In a word, the king's precaution to cauſe the peace to be approved by the officers of his army, was a clear evidence he was himſelf convinced of the little advantage it would be to England.

Treaty concluded at Eſtaples. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 479. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

Henry feigning to be determined by theſe reaſons to accept of a peace, the treaty was drawn up in form, and ſigned at Eſtaples the 3d of November[a]. Charles ratified it the 6th of the ſame month. He was then at Tours, unconcerned at the ſeemingly threatened invaſion, though an Engliſh army in France had ever made his predeceſſors extremely uneaſy. What was peculiar to the treaty, was, that though it was called a treaty of peace, it was however to expire with the lives of the two kings: but the ſucceſſor of him that died

[a] King Henry's plenipotentiaries were Richard Fox biſhop of Bath and Wells, Giles lord d'Aubeney, Chriſtopher Biſhbick (or Urſwick dean of York, Henry Ayneſworth doctor of laws, and ſir James Tyrell. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii, p. 499.

firſt

first, was to ratify it within a year after his accession to the crown. I imagine this was an expedient devised to excuse the silence concerning the kingdom of France, or at least Guienne and Normandy, of which there was no mention, though the war was proclaimed solely upon that occasion. Mean while, this treaty, which properly concerned only the payment of two debts, was to be approved and confirmed by the states of France and the parliament of England. This shews it was not considered as a bare truce, and indeed it was called a treaty of peace. But on the other hand it is hard to conceive how a treaty, wherein the principal difference was not settled, and which was to be in force but till the death of the two kings, could be deemed a treaty of peace: can any thing be more like a truce? however this be, Henry took care to see that the king of France ratified every particular article of the treaty, and especially those concerning the payment of the money. Charles was likewise, on his part very punctual in paying the fifty thousand livres every year [t], as was also Lewis XII. his successor.

H. VII. 1492.

Act. Publ. tom. xii. P. 508, 513.

Act. Publ. tom. xii. P. 506, 508, 509, 510, 513, 543. P. 526, etc.

After this manner ended the war of Bretagne, which had lasted since the year 1487. I say the war of Bretagne, because that I have been speaking of, was only a consequence of it. Henry reaped the intended advantage, that is to say, large sums of money, which were not employed in the service of the public. In the first place, he obtained of the parliament a tenth of all the personal estates of his subjects, of which he expended no more than was necessary for levying and maintaining six thousand men for eight months. But this expence was only advanced, the money being repaid him with interest. We have seen that he mounted his charges to six hundred and twenty thousand crowns of gold, a prodigious sum in those days, when money was much scarcer than at present [u]. In the next place he borrowed money throughout the whole kingdom, which probably was never repaid. There was likewise granted him a subsidy under the name of benevolence, which amounted to a very great sum, much beyond what was necessary for the maintenance of his army, the two or three months it was on foot. Lastly, he received a hundred and twenty-five thousad crowns for the arrears of

Reflections on the affairs of Bretagne.

t And moreover assigned great pensions to all the king's principal counsellors. Bacon, p. 605.

u We may guess how far a shilling went in those days, when a good while after, in king Edward VI's reign, a large house, within the precincts of the court in Channon-row in Westminster, was let to no less person than the comptroller of the king's household for thirty shillings a year. See J. S. Life of Thomas Smith, p. 226.

H. VII. 1492. the penſion due to Edward IV. But, on the other hand, he ſuffered Bretagne to be loſt, to the irreparable damage of England, ſince her alliance with the duke of Bretagne gave her an advantage over France, which ſhe could never after recover. Beſides, the recovery of the money advanced for Bretagne, is to be aſcribed rather to his good fortune than policy: he was ſolely indebted for it to the king of France's deſigns upon the kingdom of Naples, which induced him to purchaſe a peace with England; otherwiſe Henry would have found it very difficult to recover his money, and who knows what might have happened had he been forced to obtain it by dint of ſword? But the advantages Charles reaped by this peace were much more conſiderable: for the penſion of fifty thouſand livres paid a few years, and which he received with intereſt from Bretagne, he annexed that duchy to the crown of France, and deprived the Engliſh of their moſt conſiderable ally.

I have dwelt the longer upon the circumſtances of this affair, becauſe they perfectly diſcover the genius and character of Henry VII. That monarch, ever greedy of money, having always his intereſt in view, found means to make an advantage whether of war or of peace, and turn every thing to his profit. It was he that by his policy, wholly bent to his own private intereſt, gave the turn we have ſeen to the affairs of Bretagne [w].

Truce with Scotland. Act. Pub. tom. xii. p 435.

The ſame day the peace of Eſtaples was ſigned, the ambaſſadors of England and Scotland concluded at Caldſtream a truce from the 3d of November this year to the 30th of April, 1494.

The king returns to England. Bacon.

Henry having concluded a peace with France according to his own ſcheme, ſet out for London, where he arrived the 17th of December.

Affairs of Flanders.

On the 5th of November, the archduke's forces ſurprized Arras, which had been fifteen years in the hands of the French. Philip refuſing to be included in the peace of Eſtaples, the war continued in Flanders till the next year.

Columbus's firſt voyage.

In Auguſt this year 1492, Chriſtopher Columbus ſailed the firſt time from Cadiz, with kind Ferdinand's licenſe, in queſt of the new world [x].

Henry

[w] The peace gave great diſcontent to the nobles and officers who had ſold or engaged their eſtates upon hopes of the war: they ſtuck not to ſay, "That "the king cared not to plume his no- "bility and people, to feather him- "ſelf." And ſome made themſelves merry with what the king ſaid in parliament, "That after the war was "once begun, he doubted not to make "it pay itſelf:" ſaying, he had kept his promiſe. Bacon.

[x] Columbus was the ſon of a woollcomber, and he himſelf followed that buſineſs

Henry imagined he might for the future hope for a peaceable reign. He saw among his subjects no appearance of revolt. Not a prince or princess of the house of York was in condition to give him any disturbance. He kept the earl of Warwick prisoner in the Tower. Edward IV's daughters were in his power; and there was no lord of the York party of sufficient credit to raise commotions in the kingdom. On the the other hand he was in peace or truce with his neighbours; and in the seven years and a half that he had been on the throne, had by his œconomy heaped up such large sums of money as none of his predecessors had ever been master of at once: and yet this state of prosperity was not capable of dismaying his enemies. Whilst he was wholly employed in the affairs I have been relating, the duchess dowager of Burgundy was labouring to raise him troubles at home; so much the more dangerous, as they were not suspected. This princess was not ignorant how well disposed the English and Irish were to the house of York, and upon their affection she chiefly built her hopes of dethroning Henry. Though Lambert Simnel's affair had miscarried, she did not ascribe the ill success so much to the project itself, as to the managers. Besides, Henry was exposed to the hazard of a battle, which he might have lost; and it was not impossible but he might be vanquished for the future, if he was in the same case. Thus she did not despair of wresting the crown from the house of Lancaster, or rather of Tudor, after which she reckoned it would be easy to restore the house of York. H. VII. 1493.

The duchess of Burgundy labours to give Henry trouble. Hall. Bacon.

Since Simnel's misfortune, she had never ceased to spread a report, either by herself or emissaries, that Richard duke of York, second son of Edward IV. had escaped the cruelty of his uncle Richard III. and was still alive. This she did to prepare people to receive a second fantom, who was to personate the young prince her nephew, as Lambert Simnel had personated the earl of Warwick. To that end she looked out carefully for young lads of the duke of York's age, fit for her purpose. At length she met with one, in whom she fancied to see all the qualities requisite to represent that prince. His name was Perkin Warbeck, son of John Osbeck, a Jewish convert of Tournay, who had long lived at London. Edward IV. having occasion to know this Jew, and receive some service from him, was pleased to do him the honour to stand godfather to one of his children, and gave

She sets up one Perkin Warbeck to personate the duke of York. Hall. Bacon. Hollingsh. Stow.

History of Perkin. Bacon.

business in his younger years. He set out from Port Palos de Moger, in Andalusia, August 3, 1492, and landed at Guana bay, one of the Luccay islands. He returned to Port Palos in May the next year, and died in 1506.

H. VII. 1403. him the name of Peter, from whence was formed the diminutive Peterkin or Perkin. Some years after, Oſbeck being returned into Flanders, placed young Perkin with one of his relations at Antwerp, who kept him ſome time. The boy was ſo handſome, and endowed with qualities ſo far above his birth, that many ſuſpected Edward IV. to be his father: and indeed it was ſomething extraordinary that Edward ſhould ſtand godfather to one of ſo mean a parentage. Be this as it will, Perkin going from Antwerp lived in ſeveral towns of Flanders, and ſhifted habitation ſo often, that when Henry afterwards would have traced him, in order to know the whole ſtory of his life, he found it very difficult. As Perkin generally converſed with the Engliſh ſettled in the Low Countries, he was ſo perfect in the Engliſh tongue, that he might eaſily be taken for an Engliſhman, eſpecially as he had ſpent his childhood at London.

The ducheſs inſtructs him. Hall. Bacon.

This youth being mentioned to the ducheſs of Burgundy, ſhe commanded him to be privately brought to her palace; and finding him fit for her purpoſe, took care to inſtruct him with reſpect to the part he was to act. Hence we gueſs Perkin muſt have been a youth of great wit and ſenſe, to enter into the ducheſs's deſigns, otherwiſe it would have been fruitleſs to give him inſtructions. However ſhe ſo often deſcribed Edward IV. his queen, prince Edward their eldeſt ſon, and the princeſſes their daughters, that after ſeveral repetitions of her leſſon, he could talk very pertinently of the court, of the king his pretended father, at leaſt as far as the duke of York could be ſuppoſed to know. The natural way he had learned of relating circumſtances fit for a child's memory, and certain particulars of Edward's court, made the ducheſs believe he would not fail to gain credit when he appeared in the world. Above all ſhe took care to make him perfect in what he was to frame whilſt in ſanctuary with the queen, and when taken from thence by the contrivance of Richard III. and particularly in the manner of his eſcaping the hands of the executioners, who were ordered to murder him. Theſe were particulars ſo much the eaſier to be counterfeited, as there were but few people who could contradict them. Moreover, ſhe taught him to aſſume the air and character of a well-bred prince. She found the youth ſo apt a ſcholar, that ſhe was herſelf ſurprized at it. In a ſhort time, Perkin ſo uſed himſelf to talk and act like a prince, that one would have ſworn he had been born and educated in a palace.

It is not known when the ducheſs of Burgundy took Perkin home to inſtruct him: but very likely it was not long

after the battle of Stoke, where the earl of Lincoln and Lambert Simnel were vanquiſhed. However that be, the affair of Bretagne cauſing that princeſs to think Henry would ſoon break with France, as himſelf would have had it believed, reſolved Perkin ſhould appear as duke of York ſo ſoon as the war was begun. Mean while, being very ſenſible if he appeared firſt in Flanders, or in any town in the Low Countries, the world would not fail to ſuſpect her, ſhe ſent him into Portugal [y], where he lived unknown for a year. At length, in 1492, the war between England and France ſeeming unavoidable, ſhe diſpatched orders to Perkin to repair into Ireland, where probably ſhe had already been tampering with ſeveral perſons of note. Perkin inſtantly obeying, and arriving at Cork, called himſelf duke of York, ſon of Edward IV. in which he was countenanced by the mayor, who it is likely was in the plot. A few days after he writ to the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, great friends of the houſe of York, acquainting them with his arrival, and deſiring them to come and join him.

H. VII. 1493.

She ſends him to Portugal. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

Henry was then employed in his preparations for his expedition into France. As the ducheſs of Burgundy imagined he would depart early in the ſpring, ſhe expected he would be engaged in the war with France by the time Perkin appeared in Ireland, in which ſhe was miſtaken. The report that the duke of York was come from Portugal into Ireland, cauſed no alteration in the king's meaſures: he believed it to be only a contrivance to divert him from his enterprize. However, preſently after he was told the duke of York who had appeared in Ireland was gone into France, which made him very uneaſy. And indeed the news was but too true; It happened ſome time before, that one Frion, ſecretary to the king for the French tongue, had withdrawn from court, and retired to Paris, where he was very well received. This Frion, who followed king Charles's court, hearing the duke of York was in Ireland, told that monarch of it, intimating, he might make that affair turn to account. Whatever Charles thought of this pretender, he really believed that though he was an impoſtor he might be ſerviceable to him in making a peace with Henry. In that belief he ſent Frion into Ireland, to invite the pretender in his name to come to him, with aſſurance of his protection and aid to recover the crown of his anceſtors. Perkin ſeeing himſelf invited by a prince ſo great and ſo capable to aſſiſt him, departed with-

Charles VIII ſends for Perkin to Paris. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh. Stow.

[y] With the lady Brampton, an Engliſh lady, and one to have an eye over him. Bacon, p. 606.

H. VII. 1493. out a moment's conſideration. When he was arrived in France, he waited upon the king, who gave him a very gracious reception, treated him as duke of York, lodged him in his palace, and aſſigned him a guard, under colour of doing him honour, but in reality to hinder the king of England from cauſing him to be ſeized. The courtiers imitated their maſter, in paying the ſame reſpects to Perkin, as they would have done to the duke of York. Shortly after, above a hundred Engliſhmen, diſſatisfied with the king, repaired to Paris with offers of their ſervice to the Pretender. But the honours Perkin received at the court of France were of no long continuance. As ſoon as Charles was almoſt ſure of a peace, he diſmiſſed him, for fear Henry, who had now demanded him, ſhould make it one of the articles of the treaty. He was unwilling to be thought to ſurprize the young man, in order to deliver him to his enemy; as on the other hand, he would not have the peace miſcarry for his ſake.

He receives him as duke of York, Bacon.

Hall.

but diſmiſſes him when ſure of a peace. Bacon.

Perkin goes to the ducheſs of Burgundy, Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. who feigns to take him for a cheat, Bacon.

Perkin thought himſelf very happy to be thus freed. He was afraid of worſe uſage, when he heard a peace was treating between the two kings. Having readily quitted the court of France, he retired into Flanders to the ducheſs of Burgundy, taking great care not to diſcover he had ever ſeen her before. At the firſt interview, Margaret acted her part extremely well. She treated him very roughly, and ſeemed much ſurprized, that in her preſence he ſhould dare to call himſelf duke of York. She ſaid publicly, that having been already impoſed upon by a counterfeit earl of Warwick, ſhe ſhould be more upon her guard, and it would not be ſo eaſy to deceive her a ſecond time. That therefore ſhe adviſed him to retire, leſt he incurred the puniſhment due to his boldneſs. Perkin ſeemed not at all troubled at theſe threats, and confeſſing ſhe was in the right to doubt, perſiſted however in affirming, he was the duke of York her nephew. The ducheſs feigning a deſire to convict him of impoſture before her whole court, put certain queſtions to him, to which, ſhe knew, he could make pertinent anſwers. Accordingly, he replied in ſo natural and unaffected a manner, that the ducheſs ſeemed aſtoniſhed. In ſhort, they played their parts ſo well, that the ducheſs pretending ſhe could not reſiſt ſuch evident proofs, owned him for her nephew, aſſigned him a guard of thirty halberdiers, and gave him the title of the White Roſe, the badge of the houſe of York. Perkin on his part, laboured to convince the world, he was the real duke of York, by his natural way of relating the principal paſſages of his life. If at any time his diſmiſſion out of France was objected

but at laſt owns him. Hall. Bacon.

He behaves very prudently.

to

to him, he answered with a sigh, it was not very strange, a young prince, persecuted by fortune, should be sacrificed to the policy of two powerful monarchs. That this very thing was a strong argument in his favour, since the peace between Charles and Henry could not be established but upon his ruin. What Perkin said, added to the duchess's public approbation, satisfied the whole court, he was the true duke of York, and from thence the rumour spread throughout all the Low-Countries, and at last over all Europe. H. VII. 1493.

News being brought into England, about the beginning of the year 1493, that the duke of York was in Flanders, and owned by the duchess of Burgundy, it caused great commotions in the kingdom. The thing was presently credited by an infinite number of people, some of whom were dissatisfied with the king, and others greedy of novelty. Some blindly followed their leaders, and others, whose fortunes were desperate, wished for a change in the government. The king was not generally beloved. The loss of Bretagne; his late peace with the king of France; the uncivil usage the queen and the whole house of York had received, and daily did receive at his hands; and lastly, his unnecessary taxes, were but too apt to make the people wish the report to be true. Many in England believe the duke of York to be alive. Hall. Bacon. Hollingsh.

The king was surprized to see with what greediness the news was received. It convinced him of his great danger from the Yorkists, and of their constant readiness to embrace all opportunities to ruin him if it was possible. He appeared however unconcerned, lest his fears should encourage his enemies. So, continuing to act as usual, he waited till they more plainly discovered their designs. The king's conduct.

In the beginning of March, Henry sent [z] the order of the garter to Alphonso duke of Calabria, eldest son of Ferdinand king of Naples. Alphonso had been extremely desirous of this honour, to insinuate to the princes of Italy, that he had in the king of England a protector who would not suffer him to be oppressed. He would have thereby induced them to league with the king his father, against Charles VIII. who was going to undertake the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. He sends the garter to the duke of Calabria. Act. Pub. xii. p. 517. Mar. 5. Hall.

A few days after, Henry concluded at London a treaty of perpetual peace and amity with Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Castile and Arragon. This alliance, which He concludes a perpetual peace with Ferdinand and Isabella. Act. Pub. xii. p. 517. Mar. 8.

[z] By Christopher Urswyke dean of York, and Sir Humphrey Talbot marshal of Calais. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 517.

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was a reciprocal ingagement of mutual aſſiſtance upon all occaſions, was particular in that it extended not to all the kings of England and Spain without diſtinction, but only to all their ſucceſſors deſcended from them [a]. In the treaty, the marriage-articles between prince Arthur and Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, were confirmed and renewed [b].

Conſpiracy againſt the king. Bacon.

Mean while, the king's enemies, not content with countenancing the report concerning the duke of York, were now labouring to form a conſpiracy to dethrone him. His covetous temper had alienated ſeveral of the firmeſt friends to his perſon and the houſe of Lancaſter. William Stanley lord chamberlain, brother of the earl of Derby, John Ratcliff lord Fitz-Walter, Sir Robert Clifford, Sir Simon Montfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William Barley, were the heads of the conſpiracy. The lord chamberlain had greatly contributed to his victory of Boſworth, by declaring for him in ſo critical a minute. The king owned it, but thought him well rewarded with the ſpoils of Boſworth Field, and the office of lord chamberlain. But Stanley thinking that too mean a recompence, was not ſatisfied. Sir Robert Clifford was ſon of him that murdered the young earl of Rutland, brother of Edward IV. at the battle of Wakefield, and afterwards loſt his life in fighting for the houſe of Lancaſter. Probably, Henry had forgot the conſtant attachment of that family to his houſe, and neglected to give him a ſhare in his favours.

Names of the chief conſpirators

Clifford and Barley go over to Perkin. H. II. Bacon. Stow. Hollingſh.

Clifford and Barley were deputed by the conſpirators to go into Flanders, and concert meaſures with the ducheſs of Burgundy and the pretended duke of York, for the accompliſhment of their deſigns. The ducheſs gave them a very civil reception, deeming it a good omen, that profeſſed enemies of her houſe ſhould be the firſt to offer their ſervice. Shortly after their arrival, Clifford writ to his friends in England, that the duke of York, ſon of Edward IV. was in Flanders, and that he knew him perfectly well. The news inflamed the conſpirators, and from that time, they ſpared no pains to gain adherents to the pretended duke of York.

Clifford ſends back word that the duke of York is really alive.

Henry ſeeks to undeceive the people. Bacon.

Whilſt the king's enemies were labouring to create him freſh troubles, he himſelf was no leſs intent upon deviſing

[a] ——— "Ex eorum Corporibus "legitimè procreatos."—Ibid.

[b] About this time, viz. April 5, the king made his ſon Henry conſtable of Dover caſtle, and guardian of the Cinque Ports. Ibid. p. 525.

means

means to prevent the gathering ſtorm [c]. His principal buſi- H VII.
neſs was to undeceive the people, and to ſucceed, there was 1493.
occaſion for two ſorts of proofs. Firſt, it was neceſſary to
ſhow that the duke of York was dead; in the ſecond place,
that though he were alive, the perſon that borrowed his name
was a counterfeit.

To prove the duke of York was not living, it was ne- He orders the murderers of the duke of York to be examined. Bacon.
ceſſary to produce the teſtimonies of thoſe who had taken
away his life, or ſeen him dead, and who were but four in
all; namely, Sir James Tyrrel, ordered by Richard III. to
put that prince to death; John Dighton, employed by Tyrrel
to commit the fact; Miles Foreſt his ſervant, who aſſiſted
him, and the prieſt who buried the two princes. Of theſe
four perſons, the prieſt and Foreſt were dead, and there re-
mained only Tyrrel and Dighton. Theſe were apprehended
by the king's order and ſent to priſon. Then, after a pri-
vate examination, it was given out that they agreed in their
depoſitions, namely, that Dighton and Foreſt ſmothered the
two princes in their bed, and ſhewed their dead bodies to
Tyrrel, and that the prieſt afterwards buried them under a
ſtair-caſe. That ſoon after, Richard ordered them to be re-
moved elſewhere, by the ſame prieſt who was ſince dead,
without diſcovering where he had laid them. It is likely,
however, that Tyrrel's depoſition was not ſo favourable for
the king's purpoſe as Dighton's, ſince he was detained in
priſon, whereas Dighton was releaſed, probably, that he
might divulge his own evidence.

The publiſhing of theſe teſtimonies produced not the effect Objections againſt the depoſitions. Bacon.
the king had expected. For, what proof could a confeſſion
form, taken at a private examination, and publiſhed by him
whoſe intereſt it was to make it appear to his advantage? In
the next place, the removal of the bodies from the place
where they were firſt laid, to another unknown, gave cauſe
for ſtrong ſuſpicions. Had it not been for this removal,
nothing would have been more eaſy than to prove the death
of the two princes, ſince the bodies would have been ſtill
found under the ſtair-caſe. So, people imagined, the king,
wanting ſo natural a proof, had invented the removal, that
his not uſing ſo convincing a proof might not be thought
ſtrange. Beſides, the teſtimony of two villains who con-
feſſed themſelves guilty of ſo black a crime, and whoſe evi-

[c] He ſent certain knights, with a band of ſoldiers into every port, to keep the ſhores and ſea-coaſts, that nô one might come in, or go out of the kingdom, without being ſearched and examined. Hall, fol. 32. Bacon, p. 608.

dence

H. VII. 1493. dence was so advantagious to the king, could not be of any great weight. Accordingly, the king, finding this method insufficient to undeceive the people, applied himself chiefly to discover who the impostor was, that pretended to be the duke of York.

The king sends spies into Flanders Hall. Bacon. Stow. Hollingsh.

To succeed in that design, he found no better way than to bribe several persons, who repaired to the counterfeit duke, under colour of offering him their service. He charged them to use all their endeavours to know who and whence he was, and to trace him from his birth to the day he came to the duchess of Burgundy. At the same time, he ordered them to make strict inquiry after his correspondents in England, and observe narrowly every thing that passed about him. Especially he enjoined some of the discreetest, to spare nothing to gain Sir Robert Clifford, much suspecting him to be concerned in the secret. It is said, that in order to make discoveries, he bribed the servants, and even the very confessors, of the great men he suspected. Moreover, to procure his spies in Flanders the more credit, he used to have them pronounced excommunicate every Sunday at St. Paul's, by virtue of pope Innocent VIII's bull. He was so well served by these spies, that, in short, he came to know the pretended duke of York was no other than Perkin Warbeck. He had perfect information of his birth, life, actions, profession, and of all the places he had lived at from his childhood, which was instantly divulged throughout the whole kingdom. However, as the particulars were published by the king, the principal party concerned, the generality of the people did not think themselves obliged to believe him upon his bare word. Their prejudice made them require more convincing proofs.

and causes them to be excommunicated, the better to conceal them.

He learns the whole story of Perkin, and publishes it.

Whilst the king's spies were acting in Flanders and England, he had two affairs upon his hands from which he wanted to be disengaged, in case any troubles should arise in the kingdom on account of the pretended duke of York. The first was, to make peace with Scotland; the second, to get the peace of Estaples confirmed by the pope, according to agreement with the king of France. For that purpose, he sent ambassadors to Edinburgh and Rome. The former concluded with king James a truce from April the 30th, 1494, to that day seven years 1501, upon the same terms with that of Caldstream, which expired the day this was to commence. It appears by the ambassadors instructions, that he desired to conclude a marriage between the king of Scotland and Catherine, daughter of the countess of Wiltshire, and grand-daughter of the

Act. Pub. xii. p 525, 529, 532.

A seven years truce with Scotland. Jan. 25. Ib. p. 531.

p. 529.

the duke of Somerſet. But the marriage was not propoſed, or at leaſt the negotiation did not ſucceed [d]. H. VII. 1493.

As to the affair of Rome, the ambaſſadors preſented to pope Alexander VI. a petition for a bull of excommunication againſt whichſoever of the two kings ſhould not obſerve the treaty of Eſtaples. The pope owned it to be one of the articles of the treaty, and anſwered, he was ready to grant ſuch a bull, provided the king of France did not oppoſe it, an inſtrument whereof he ordered to be given to the ambaſſadors. He demands the pope's bull for the peace of Eſtaples. P. 531. The pope's anſwer. June 13.

The emperor Frederick dying in Auguſt this year, Maximilian his ſon, king of the Romans, aſcended the imperial throne in his room.

The 21ſt of the ſame month, John Morton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was made cardinal of St. Anaſtaſius. Morton made a cardinal.

Henry having had perfect information of every thing relating to Perkin Warbeck, ſent ambaſſadors [e] to archduke Philip to deſire him to deliver him up. He repreſented, "That it was contrary to the law of nations, and their "alliance, to protect a counterfeit, who ſought to rob him "of the crown by an evident impoſture. That he was in- "formed of all the circumſtances of Perkin's life from his "cradle, and offered to produce authentic proofs of the cheat, "as well as of the death of the duke of York, whoſe name "Warbeck had borrowed. That Perkin being only a the- "atrical king formed by the ducheſs of Burgundy, he hoped "the archduke would not ſcruple to deliver him into his "hands." Philip being ſtill a minor, his council told the ambaſſadors, "That the archduke's intention was, always "to preſerve a good underſtanding with the king of England, "and therefore would give no manner of aſſiſtance to the "pretended duke of York. But the ducheſs of Burgundy "being ſovereign in the lands of her dowry, the archduke "could not meddle with her affairs, or hinder her from do- "ing what ſhe thought fit." The king demands Warbeck of the archduke. P. 544. Bacon. Hall. Hollingſh. The archduke's anſwer. Hall. Bacon.

Philip believed he had then the leſs reaſon to regard the king of England, as he had made a peace with Charles VIII. by a treaty concluded at Senlis the 23d of May. Charles had reſtored to the archduke his ſiſter Margaret, with the earl- Treaty of Senlis between Charles VIII and Philip. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

[d] King Henry paid the king of Scots a thouſand marks by way of compenſation for the injuries one nation had received from the other, before the concluſion of the truce. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 547.

[e] Sir Edward Poynings, and William Wareham, doctor of laws. Ibid. p. 544.

dems

H. VII. 1493. doms of Artois and Burgundy; but kept ſome towns on promiſe to deliver them as ſoon as Philip was of age.

Rupture between Henry and Philip. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh. Stow.

The ambaſſadors brought Philip's anſwer to the king, and withal told him, there was colluſion between him and the ducheſs of Burgundy. Henry was ſo provoked at this proceeding, that he broke off all commerce with the archduke, and baniſhed all the Flemings out of his kingdom [f]. The archduke did the like by the Engliſh who were in Flanders. But the animoſity between theſe two princes went no farther, each fearing he might one day want the other's aſſiſtance.

Henry wins Clifford, who betrays Warbeck's ſecrets. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh. Stow.

Mean while, Henry having at length gained Sir Robert Clifford, who was intruſted with Warbeck's and the ducheſs's ſecrets, had exact information of their correſpondents in England. As it could not but be dangerous to let the evil increaſe, he reſolved to apply proper remedies. For that purpoſe, he cauſed to be arreſted in one day, and almoſt at the ſame inſtant, John Ratcliff lord Fitz-Walter, Sir Simon Montfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William d'Aubeney, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Creſſener, and Thomas Aſtwood. All theſe were convicted and condemned for high-treaſon, in adhering and promiſing aid to Perkin. The lord Fitz-Walter was ſent priſoner to Calais, with ſome hope of obtaining his pardon. But his impatience cauſing him to attempt an eſcape, he was diſcovered and beheaded. Sir Simon Montfort, Sir Robert Ratcliff, and William d'Aubeney were executed immediately after their condemnation. The reſt were pardoned, and thoſe that were apprehended upon the ſame account, among whom were certain Dominican friers, and William Worſeley dean of St. Paul's, were releaſed. Sir William Stanley lord chamberlain, whether he was not yet informed againſt, or the king had a mind to ſtay for ſtronger proofs to convict him, was not touched at that time.

Some of the conſpirators are put to death. Hall.

Henry notifies to the king of France that he would be included in the peace of Senlis. Act. Pub. xii. p. 550, 552.

On the 1ſt of November, Henry writ to the king of France, deſiring to be included in the peace of Senlis, according to the tenor of the treaty. The 17th of the ſame month, he notified to him the ſame thing from Ferdinand king of Naples, and Alphonſo duke of Calabria his ſon, who were expreſly included in the peace of Senlis, on the part of the emperor and archduke. But however, king Charles deſiſted not from his project of conquering Naples.

[f] Appointing Calais to be the mart for all Engliſh merchandizes. Hall, fol. 34.

England

England was very quiet during the year 1494. Perkin Warbeck ſtill remained in Flanders without offering to ſtir, the execution of his adherents convincing him, the king knew more of his affairs than he imagined. Mean time, Henry laboured underhand to inform himſelf more fully concerning the circumſtances of the conſpiracy, and what the duchefs of Burgundy was contriving in England and elſewhere. In this Sir Robert Clifford, whom he had gained, was very ſerviceable. He learnt by his means, that Perkin had ſtill ſome dependence in Ireland, and had writ to the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, when he landed there from Portugal. This diſcovery made him reſolve to take care of the affairs of that iſland, which had been hitherto much neglected. To that end, he made Henry his ſecond ſon, then but two years old, lieutenant or governor of Ireland, but appointed for deputy, Sir Edward Poynings, a man verſed in affairs, and employed in ſeveral embaſſies. He gave him a very extenſive power, as well over the militia, as the civil government, that he might put the iſland upon a good foot [g].

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Henry takes care of Ireland. Hall. Bacon. Stow. Hollingſh.

He makes his ſon governor, Sept. 11. and Edward Poynings deputy. Sept. 13. Act. Pub. xii. p. 558, 560. Hall.

Poynings, upon his arrival in Ireland, made ſtrict enquiry after thoſe that were ſuſpected of diſaffection to the king, particularly he vigorouſly attacked the earls of Deſmond and Kildare [h]. The firſt took care of himſelf and kept out of the reach of the lord-deputy; but the earl of Kildare was ſent priſoner into England, from whence he was quickly ſent back by the king with marks of eſteem and good-will. As he dreaded freſh troubles in Ireland, where a rebellion in his circumſtances would have been very incommodious, he thought he ſhould prevent them by acts of grace, rather than ſeverity; and therefore ſent a commiſſioner [i] with a general pardon in form, as well for the earl of Deſmond, as for all the Iriſh rebels, in order to ſtifle if poſſible, all the ſeeds of rebellion in the iſland, where the houſe of York had but too many friends.

Act. Pub. xii. p. 567, 634.

Whilſt Poynings was in Ireland, he held a parliament famous for the ſtatutes enacted to the advantage of the crown of England and of the Engliſh ſettled in the iſland. One of theſe ſtatutes, ſtill called Poynings's Law, ran, that the parliament of Ireland ſhould not be aſſembled before the lord lieutenant and council had acquainted the king with the rea-

A famous parliament in Ireland. Poynings's law. Hiſt. of Ireland.

[g] With him was ſent Sir Henry Dean late abbot of Langtony, a man of great wit and diligence, who was made chancellor of Ireland. Hall, fol. 36. They carried with them about a thouſand men. J. Ware, c. 10.

[h] Maurice and Gerard Fitz-Gerard.

[i] Richard Hatton, doctor of laws. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 567.

ſons,

H. VII. 1494. ſons, and obtained the royal licence under the great ſeal. It was alſo enacted, that all the ſtatutes of England concerning the public ſhould be obſerved in Ireland. Theſe two ſtatutes are ſtill in force to this day [k].

Henry exacts money by unlawful ways. Bacon. Stow.

Though Henry had given ſeveral proofs of his ſelf-intereſted and covetous temper, they might be coloured with ſome pretence, becauſe the ſecret ſprings of his policy were not yet fully known. But it was not the ſame with regard to his proceedings this year, by which he plainly diſcovered himſelf. The pretence of foreign affairs failing him, he extorted large ſums from private perſons, by forfeitures upon penal laws, on purpoſe to fill his coffers. This proceeding was the more diſpleaſing to the people, as they eaſily perceived it flowed from his natural diſpoſition, ſince he was not obliged by any neceſſity to uſe ſuch extraordinary methods. He was in peace with all the princes of Europe: he had drawn from the parliament two very conſiderable ſubſidies, of which he had not expended a fourth part, and even that was repaid him with intereſt: moreover, beſides divers confiſcations, he received every year fifty thouſand livres of the king of France. All this, added to the uſual revenues of the crown, which were no leſs than in the foregoing reigns, ſeemed to enable him to eaſe inſtead of oppreſſing his ſubjects with frivolous accuſations to drain their purſes. The firſt he attacked in this manner was ſir William Capel, alderman of London, who was fined two thouſand ſeven hundred pounds, and forced to compound with the king for ſixteen hundred. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was accuſed of being the contriver of theſe methods to procure the king money: but whether Henry's avarice daily increaſed, or the miniſters who ſucceeded that prelate were ſtill leſs ſcrupulous than he, people had but too much reaſon to lament him after his death.

Towards the end of this year, Henry gave a freſh inſtance of his deſire of money, which proved very injurious to his good name, eſpecially as he endeavoured to cover it with the veil of juſtice. By ſecret advices from ſir Robert Clifford he was informed ſir William Stanley lord chamberlain was one of Perkin Warbeck's adherents. Though that lord had done him the greateſt ſervice imaginable, ſince he had procured him the victory which raiſed him to the throne, he reſolved to ſacrifice him to his avarice, under colour of puniſhing his

Hall. Bacon. Stow. Hollingſh.

[k] My lord Bacon calls that Poynings's law, whereby all the ſtatutes of England (to the 10th of Henry VII.) were made to be of force in Ireland; which before that time were not, nor are any ſince that time, but by a ſpecial clauſe.

crime.

crime. I ſay to his avarice, and not to juſtice or revenge; for if we may judge by his uſual conduct with regard to the ſtate-criminals of whom there was nothing to be got, he would doubtleſs have pardoned Stanley, if the deſire of confiſcating his eſtate had not rendered him inexorable. H. VII. 1494.

To attain his ends, he ordered Clifford, who was ſtill in Flanders, to repair privately into England. When he heard the informer was arrived, he removed to the Tower, that the great ones who ſhould be accuſed, might be arreſted more conveniently and without noiſe. Clifford being come to London without diſcovering himſelf, the king aſſembled the council [l] in the Tower, and ſent for ſir Robert, who falling down at his feet, craved his pardon, offering to declare whatever he knew of the conſpiracy. The king immediately pardoned him, but on expreſs condition he would conceal nothing of what was come to his knowledge. Whereupon Clifford impeached ſeveral perſons, and among the reſt the lord chamberlain. The king ſeeming extremely ſurprized, bid him take care what he ſaid, ſince his life lay at ſtake in caſe the accuſation was groundleſs. Clifford perſiſting, the lord chamberlain was preſently apprehended. Next day he was examined by the council, where he confeſſed enough to condemn him. The great ſervice he had done the king and the intereſt of the earl of Derby his brother, made him hope he ſhould not be treated with rigour. But two things rendered his crime unpardonable: the firſt was his immenſe riches, which promiſed the king a plentiful confiſcation [m]: the ſecond, that he was accuſed, and probably convicted of ſaying to Clifford, ſpeaking of Perkin Warbeck, "If he were "ſure that young man were king Edward's ſon, he would "never bear arms againſt him." This was wounding the king in the moſt ſenſible part, ſince he ſeemed to acknowledge the houſe of York had a better title than the houſe of Lancaſter. Had he been guilty only of that crime, it is a queſtion whether the judges would have ſentenced him to die; but it is likely he was convicted of acting more directly againſt the king, and holding intelligence with Warbeck and the ducheſs of Burgundy. All the favour he could obtain was a delay of ſome weeks, to prepare for death, which he ſuffered not till the beginning of the next year [n]. The king's ſeverity on this occaſion

Hall. Bacon. Stow. Hollingſh.

[l] A ſelected council, ſays lord Bacon, p. 616.

[m] There were found in his caſtle of Holt, forty thouſand marks in money and plate, beſides jewels, houſhold-ſtuff, ſtock upon his grounds, and other perſonal eſtate, exceeding great: he had likewiſe in land three thouſand pounds a year of old rent. Bacon, p. 616.

[n] He was beheaded on Tower-hill, February

H. VII. 1494.

occaſion ſeemed exceſſive. All the world imagined he would pardon a lord to whom he was ſo much obliged, and who had even enabled him to exerciſe acts of mercy by procuring him the crown: beſides, he was brother to the earl of Derby, a zealous ſervant and father-in-law of the king.

Great terror in England. Bacon.

The execution of the lord chamberlain terrified the whole kingdom. He was condemned for a crime of which few Engliſhmen were innocent, namely, for preferring the title of York to that of Lancaſter. But what caused ſtill greater dread, was that the king was perceived to have had ſpies about the lord chamberlain, to obſerve his conduct, which might be every man's caſe. The great men durſt not ſpeak their thoughts to one another, for fear thoſe whom they counted their beſt friends, were the king's ſpies. But this reſtraint was in ſome meaſure made up by ſwarms of libels againſt the judges, the council, and the king himſelf. This licenſe ſo diſpleaſed the king, that he ordered five perſons, convicted of diſperſing the libels, to be executed.

Libels againſt the king. Hall. Bacon.

Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 566.

Richard Fox biſhop of Bath and Wells, one of the king's favourites, was tranſlated this year to the ſee of Durham.

Bacon. Stow.

It was likewiſe this year that Henry, the king's ſecond ſon, two years old, was created duke of York [o].

Negotiation with Scotland. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 551, 554.

Though there was a truce concluded with Scotland to the 30th of April, 1501, there ſtill remained ſome differences between the Engliſh and Scots, concerning certain lands on the borders of the two kingdoms and the fiſhery of the river Eſke. Henry always dreading ſome inſurrection in the kingdom, was extremely deſirous to have no conteſts with his neighbours: for that reaſon he had, in May this year, moved that the differences between England and Scotland might be adjuſted. King James ſeeming to deſire the ſame thing, they both ſent ambaſſadors to Caldſtream, to agree upon ſome expedient. Richard Fox was the head of the Engliſh ambaſſy [p]. But

February 16, 1495. Hall, fol. 35, ſays, the cauſe of his diſcontent was, king Henry's refuſing to create him earl of Cheſter. He was ſucceeded in the office of lord chamberlain by Oiles lord d'Aubeney. Id. fol. 36. Bacon, p. 611.

[o] On November 1. The knights of the Bath make upon this occaſion were theſe: the lords Harington, Clifton, Dacre of the South, and the lord Waren; ſir Thomas Stanley, ſir John Arundel, ſir Walter Griffith, ſir Gervaſe Clifton, ſir Robert Harcourt, ſir Edward Traford, ſir Henry Marney, ſir Robert Newbrough, ſir Ralph Ryder, ſir John Sparke, ſir Humfrey Fulford, ſir Robert Litton, ſir Pierce Edgecombe, ſir Robert Clere, ſir Thomas Fairfax, ſir Richard Knightley, ſir John Cheke. Stow, p. 477.

[p] The reſt of the ambaſſadors were, ſir Thomas Dacre, ſir William Tyler, Chriſtopher Moreſby, and John Cartyngton. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 554.

with

with all his addreſs, he could not end an affair, which in itſelf ſeemed not very difficult. This cauſed Henry to ſuſpect that the king of Scotland reſerved it for an occaſion of quarrel, and to order the earl of Surrey to be upon his guard in the north. H. VII. 1494. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 568.

Charles VIII. undertook this year the long meditated conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples. This affair is ſo well known, it would be needleſs to relate the particulars. It is neceſſary however briefly to mention the riſe and principal events. Charles VIII undertakes the conqueſt of Naples. Commin.

The poſterity of Charles of Anjou, firſt king of Sicily of the houſe of France, was divided into two branches, whereof one reigned in Naples, the other in Hungary. After ſundry revolutions, the crown of Naples fell at length to Joan the firſt of that name. But in 1380, Charles de Durazzo, of the branch of Hungary, pretending to the ſame crown, and repairing into Italy, attacked queen Joan, who finding herſelf preſſed, adopted Lewis I. duke of Anjou, uncle of Charles VI. king of France. From that time there was a continual war between the two houſes of Anjou. At laſt, Charles de Durazzo remained in poſſeſſion of Naples, and was ſucceeded by Ladiſlaus his ſon, who dying in 1414, left the crown of Naples to Joan II. his ſiſter. Mean time, Lewis I. duke of Anjou, and Lewis II. his ſon, always ſtiled themſelves kings of Sicily, and preſerved their pretenſions to Sicily on this ſide the Pharo or the kingdom of Naples. Lewis II. who died in 1417, left three ſons, namely, Lewis III. Renè, and Charles. Abſtract of the ſucceſſion of the kingdom of Naples. Colien. Capac. Summ, etc.

In 1421, Lewis III. led an army into Naples to dethrone Joan II. who for ſupport adopted Alphonſo king of Arragon. Alphonſo arriving in the kingdom of Naples, forced Lewis III. to quit the country and retire into France. Shortly after, upon ſome quarrel between Joan and Alphonſo, Joan revoking the adoption of Alphonſo, adopted the ſame Lewis of Anjou, who would have deprived her of the crown, and declared him her preſumptive heir and ſucceſſor; but Lewis died without iſſue in 1431. Joan departed this life the next year, having made a will in favour of Renè of Anjou, brother of Lewis III.

Renè made ſome attempts to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples, but to no purpoſe. Alphonſo king of Arragon kept the crown till he died, in 1458. He left the kingdom of Arragon to John his lawful ſon, and that of Naples to Ferdinand his baſtard.

H. VII. 1494.

In 1474, Renè made a will, and appointed for his heir Charles earl of Main his nephew, ſon of Charles his younger brother, to the prejudice of Violante his daughter, ducheſs of Lorrain, and Renè duke of Lorrain his grandſon.

Mezerai.

Foundation of Charles VIII's claim.

Charles earl of Main, nephew and heir of king Renè, died in 1481, leaving Lewis XI. king of France his ſole heir. By virtue of which will, Charles VIII. ſon of Lewis XI. pretended the kingdom of Naples was fallen to him.

If what has been ſaid be ever ſo little conſidered, it will doubtleſs be perceived, that Charles's title to the kingdom of Naples was very diſputable. To decide the caſe in a judicial way, it would have been neceſſary to examine two points of equal importance in the affair. Firſt, whether Joan II. had power to revoke the adoption of Alphonſo king of Aragon, and to adopt Lewis of Anjou in his room. It is true, the French hiſtorians pretend Alphonſo would have dethroned his benefactreſs, and upon that ſuppoſition the reaſon of the revocation ſeems juſt. But the Arragonians grant not the fact: they aſcribe it to Joan's levity, who was inconſtant and capricious. In the next place, ſuppoſing the houſe of Anjou's title better than the houſe of Arragon's, this ſecond point muſt have been examined, whether king Renè could ſet aſide Violante his daughter and her heirs, and give the kingdom of Naples to Charles earl of Main his nephew. It could not be alledged in favour of the will, that the kingdom of Naples was a male fief, ſince the houſe of Anjou's title was derived from a daughter. So Charles VIII. could pretend to that kingdom only upon ſuppoſition that the laws decided theſe two points in his favour, which was very doubtful, not to ſay worſe: beſides, the houſe of Arragon had another title founded upon a ſixty years poſſeſſion. But what rendered the affair very intricate, was that the popes, as ſovereign lords of Naples, ſeemed to have determined it in favour of the houſe of Anjou, by inveſting the princes of that houſe with that kingdom.

Cauſes of the war of Naples. Mezerai.

But it was not ſo much his title to the kingdom of Naples that induced Charles VIII. to his conqueſt, as the juncture of time, and the ſituation of the affairs of Italy. Ferdinand king of Naples had two ſons, namely, Alphonſo who bore the title of duke of Calabria, and Frederic. Alphonſo had a ſon called Ferdinand, after his grandfather. Theſe Arragonian princes were not beloved in Naples nor in the reſt of Italy: beſides, old king Ferdinand had baniſhed the prince of Salerno with all the other heads of the Angevin faction. And theſe exiles it was that excited Charles to the conqueſt.

But

But this alone would not have ſufficed to determine him to that undertaking, had he not been encouraged by Ludovico Sforza, uncle of the duke of Milan. The occaſion was this: H. VII. 1494.

The duchy of Milan was paſſed from the family of Viſconti to that of Sforza, Philippo Maria Viſconti laſt duke of that houſe, having adopted Francis Sforza, who had married Blanch his only daughter.

Franciſco Sforza becoming duke of Milan after the death of his father-in-law, died in 1466, leaving two ſons, Galeazzo who ſucceeded him, and Ludovico ſirnamed the Black. Galeazzo being aſſaſſinated, John Galeazzo his ſon ſucceeded him, under the guardianſhip of his mother, a woman infamous for her lewdneſs, and of Ludovico his uncle. Some time after, the young duke married Iſabella, daughter of Alphonſo duke of Calabria, eldeſt ſon of Ferdinand king of Naples. John Galeazzo being a prince of a narrow genius, Ludovico his uncle engroſſed the whole power, leaving to his nephew only the bare title of duke, without his being much concerned. But Iſabella his ducheſs, not bearing to ſee the duke her ſpouſe without any authority, complained to the duke of Calabria her father of the ill uſage. Shortly after, the duke perſuaded Ferdinand his father to proclaim war againſt Ludovico, to compel him to reſign the government to his nephew. Affairs of Milan. Bern. Corio. Hiſt. di Milan.

To avoid the war it was that Ludovico excited Charles VIII. to undertake the conqueſt of Naples, by putting him in hopes he would aſſiſt him with all his forces. He had alſo a further deſign to make uſe of Charles's aid to become maſter of the duchy of Milan, and diſpoſſeſs John Galeazzo his nephew. He had now taken ſome private meaſures to that end with the emperor Maximilian, to whom he had given Blanch his niece in marriage, with a dower of four hundred thouſand crowns, and Maximilian had privately inveſted him with the duchy of Milan for him and his heirs.

Upon the rumour of Charles VIII's preparations for the conqueſt of Naples, old king Ferdinand offered him a yearly tribute of fifty thouſand crowns, but the offer was rejected. Ferdinand died a little before Charles's expedition, and was ſucceeded by Alphonſo his eldeſt ſon.

The war of Naples ſeems to be entirely foreign to the hiſtory of England. However, as it was the ſource and origin of many great events in Europe in the next century, I thought it not improper to ſhow the occaſion, and for the ſame reaſon it is neceſſary to relate the principal events.

H. VII. 1494. Charles VIII. departed from Paris in July 1494, and came to Aſti in Piedmont, where he fell ſick of the ſmall-pox. This diſtemper detaining him at Aſti, he could not go from thence till the 6th of October to Turin, where he was forced to borrow the ducheſs of Savoy's jewels, ſo ill provided was he of money for an enterprize of that conſequence. Ludovico Sforza made haſte to meet him, and accompanied him to Pavia, where they found duke John Galeazzo out of order, upon eating ſomething that his uncle Ludovico had caused to be given him. When they came to Placentia they heard of John Galeazzo's death: upon which Ludovico left the king, to go and take poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan, though the late duke his nephew had left a ſon. Ludovico having obtained what he wanted, had not the ſame attachment to the king of France as before: on the contrary, he thought only how to drive him out of Italy by a league, of which he was the principal promoter.

Charles's departure and journey to Rome. Commin.

1495. Mean while, Charles, purſuing his march, entered the ſtate of Florence, and compelled Peter de Medicis the duke to deliver him four of the beſt towns, and lend him money. He made his entry into the city of Florence the 17th of November, and publiſhed a manifeſto concerning the war of Naples. Then he took the rout to Rome, and all the places in the Eccleſiaſtical State readily brought him their keys. Alexander VI. upon the king's approach deſired prince Ferdinand, ſon of the king of Naples, to depart from Rome, where he was received ſome time before. On the other hand, Frederic brother of Alphonſo, who was upon the coaſt of Genoa with a fleet, came to Naples where all was in the utmoſt conſternation. Thus Charles having paſſed through Italy without the leaſt oppoſition, entered Rome the 28th of December, whilſt the pope in a fright ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Angelo for the ſecurity of his perſon. It is time now to return to the affairs of England.

Precaution of Henry againſt Scotland. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 568.

Henry perceiving the negotiation with Scotland proceeded very ſlowly, without his being able to diſcover any viſible reaſon, was apprehenſive that king James would take occaſion from their differences about the fiſhery of the river Eſke to break the truce. So, not to be ſurprized, he ſent the earl of Surrey orders to levy troops for the defence of the north, againſt the attempts of the Scots and Iriſh. Theſe attempts which he pretended to fear, were only an excuſe to put himſelf in a ſtate of defence, in caſe the king of Scotland ſhould attack him.

Shortly

Shortly after, he made the duke of York, his ſecond ſon, preſident of the northern marches, though he was but three years old. He had made him laſt year lord lieutenant of Ireland, and by that means kept in his own coffers the ſalaries of theſe two poſts, which muſt have been given to two ſeveral lords. Never prince better underſtood the art of husbanding his money, and making every thing turn to his profit. H. VII. 1495.

The duke of York is made governor of the North. Act. Pub. xii. p. 569.

The dutcheſs of York, mother of Edward IV. and Richard III. died this year in a very advanced age [q]. Death of the dutcheſs of York. Sandford.

In July, Alexander VI. ſent into England a bull, impowering all the biſhops of the kingdom to abſolve the rebels, which by Innocent VIII's bull was granted to the archbiſhop of Canterbury alone. The pope's bull about the rebels.

Hitherto Perkin Warbeck had not ventured to make any attempt in England, knowing that the king was informed of all his correſpondents. But as the dutcheſs of Burgundy could not think of relinquiſhing her hopes of gaining ſome advantage by the idol formed by herſelf, ſhe reſolved at length to ſend him into England. She judged it neceſſary to ſound the people's affection for the houſe of York, without waiting any longer for the aſſiſtance of the great men, who being narrowly watched, were very cautious. Beſides, ſhe perceived, if the people ſeemed ready to riſe, there would be no want of great men to ſupport and conduct them. Wherefore, ſhe gave orders to aſſemble ſome forces and ſhips, and cauſed Perkin Warbeck to imbark, and make a deſcent in the county of Kent. Mean while, Henry knowing nothing of theſe preparations in Flanders, reſolved to go in progreſs to Yorkſhire [r] to viſit the counteſs his mother, which ſeemed to be a juncture very favorable to Perkin's deſign. But as the projected deſcent miſcarried, it was not doubted, that the king being informed of the pretended duke of York's intent, had taken that journey on purpoſe to draw him into the ſnare, ſo perſwaded were people that policy governed all his actions. Perkin's attempt upon the county of Kent miſcarries. Hall. Bacon.

Perkin, purſuant to the dutcheſs of Burgundy's directions, arrived upon the coaſt of Kent near Sandwich, and landed ſome men to ſound the inclination of the inhabitants. Theſe troops made great boaſts of the powerful armament the duke July 3.

[q] Cecily, youngeſt daughter of Ralph earl of Weſtmoreland, and reliſt of Richard duke of York, died on May 31, in the caſtle of Berkhamſted in Hertfordſhire, and was buried at Fotheringham college in Northamptonſhire, by her huſband. She had lived to ſee three princes of her body crowned, and four murdered. See Sandford, p. 387.

[r] Or rather to Lancaſhire. He ſet out June 25. Hall, fol. 27. Stow, p. 480.

H. VII. 1495. of York had made in Flanders, pretending the ſhips in ſight were but a ſmall part of the fleet which would ſoon appear. But the people perceiving theſe men were almoſt all foreigners, inſtead of joining them, adviſed with the gentlemen of the county to know how they were to behave: and it was reſolved, they ſhould feign to be ready to aſſiſt Perkin, in order to allure him to land and take him priſoner. Purſuant to this reſolution, the people took up arms and appeared on the coaſt, making ſigns to invite Perkin and his men to land. But Perkin and his counſellor Frion ſuſpecting the artifice, kept on board, expecting the return of ſome of their people to inform them of what paſſed on ſhore. At laſt, the Kentiſhmen finding they could draw in no more, fell upon thoſe that were already landed, and cut them in pieces, except about a hundred and fifty, who being taken alive, were all hanged by the king's order. Perkin being eye-witneſs of his people's misfortune, weighed anchor and returned into Flanders.

Hall. Bacon. Stow. Hollingſh.

Henry, who was then on his progreſs, hearing of the deſcent, was about to turn back towards Kent; but preſently after receiving news of what had paſſed, he continued his journey [s], and ſpent ſome time with the counteſs his mother at the earl of Derby's houſe [t]. His intent was to make a ſort of excuſe to that lord for putting his brother to death, and give him withal a proof of the continuance of his favour.

Remarkable ſtatute. Bacon.

The 13th of October the king called a parliament, where it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould be impeached or attainted for aſſiſting the king for the time being. It was eaſy to ſee, the deſign of the act was to hinder a cloſe examination of the king's title to the crown, ſince let what would be the conſequence, thoſe that ſerved him would be always ſafe [u]. Indeed, the precedent he had himſelf given, in cauſing thoſe to be condemned that bore arms for Richard III. muſt have made his friends apprehenſive of being in the ſame caſe, if the like revolution ſhould happen. But the clauſe added in the body of the ſtatute, that if for the future, any act of attainder ſhould paſs againſt ſuch as aſſiſted the king for the time being, it ſhould be of no force; this clauſe, I ſay, was void and of no effect. For how could an act of this, limit the power of a future parliament, and cauſe an act, in its nature re-

[s] And ſent Richard Guilford to thank the inhabitants of Kent for their fidelity. Hall, fol. 38.

[t] At Latham.

[u] My lord Bacon obſerves, that tho' this law ſeemed to aim more at the people's ſafety than the king's, yet did it take off from his party that great tye and ſpur of neceſſity, to fight and go victors out of the field, conſidering their lives and fortunes were in ſafety, whether they ſtood or run away.

vocable,

vocable, not to be ſo? Mean while, this ſtatute, which ſeemed to be made ſolely for the people's ſafety, but was however only for the king's ſecurity, diſcovered Henry's uneaſineſs and uncertainty concerning his title. H. VII. 1495.

There was alſo an act paſſed to oblige thoſe who had not paid their quota of the benevolence, to pay the arrears by ſuch a time. This act brought in large ſums to the king, the arrears of this tax being very conſiderable, becauſe the war with France not having laſted any time, many perſons had declined to pay either in full or in part. It appears in the Collection of the Public Acts, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury was indebted fifteen hundred pounds ſterling [w]. Another to pay the benovelence. Act. Pub. xii. p. 632.

Whilſt the parliament was yet aſſembled, the king received advice, that Perkin Warbeck was landed in Ireland. As this could not be but with ſome ill deſign, he gave order that the coaſts ſhould be ſtrictly guarded, to be ready to oppoſe a deſcent wherever it was made. It was but too true, that the ducheſs of Burgundy had ſent Perkin into Ireland to raiſe a rebellion, and to that end ſhe had privately treated with the king of Scotland, who, it is likely, had promiſed to aid him. The common opinion is, that the emperor, the archduke Philip, and the king of France, were likewiſe in the plot: the two firſt, in revenge of Henry's prohibition to his ſubjects of all commerce with the Low-Countries; and the other, to hinder his entering into a league that was forming in Italy, to which he was ſtrongly ſollicited. Be this as it will, very probably James, in promiſing to eſpouſe the intereſt of the pretended duke of York, had been lead thereto by ſome private view, or by the ſollicitation of ſome other prince. Warbeck comes to Ireland. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

Mean while, ſince Poynings had been in Ireland, the affairs of that iſland were quite altered. So, Perkin not finding the country inclined to favour his deſigns, departed for Scotland, where in all appearance he knew he ſhould be welcome. Warbeck goes to Scotland, and king James marries him to one of his relations.

[w] The other remarkable ſtatutes enacted in this parliament were theſe: 1. That vagabonds, idle and ſuſpected perſons, ſhall be ſet in the ſtocks three days and three nights, and have no other ſuſtenance but bread and water, and then ſhall be put out of the town. And whoſoever ſhall give ſuch perſons more, ſhall forfeit twelve-pence. This act was afterwards explained, 39 Elizab. 2. That poor perſons, who are not able to ſue according to the laws of the land, for the redreſs of injuries and wrongs to them done, ſhall be admitted in Forma Pauperis, without paying fees to counſellor, attorney, or clerk. 3. That no manner of perſon ſhall carry, or ſend any horſe or mare, above the value of ſix ſhillings and eight-pence, out of the realm, upon pain of forfeiting the ſame; except it is for their own uſe. 4. That no perſon ſhall make, or put to ſale any feather-beds, bolſters, or pillows, but what are ſtuffed with dry pulled feathers, or clean down; and not with ſcaled feathers, or fenn-down. See Statut. 11 Hen. VII. Hall. Stow. Bacon.

H. VII. 1495.

When he came to Edinburgh, he demanded an audience of the king, by the name of the duke of York. James feigning an extreme ſurprize, gave him a ſolemn reception in the preſence of the whole court. Perkin made a long ſpeech, recounting his pretended adventures, and how he eſcaped the cruelty of Richard III. Then he inveighed againſt Henry Tudor, who had uſurped the crown of England, and unjuſtly detained it from the lawful heirs of Edward IV. He enlarged upon the methods he had uſed to endeavour to recover his kingdom: he concluded with ſaying, that ſundry accidents having prevented him from ſucceeding, he was come to put himſelf under his protection, in hopes, that with the aſſiſtance of ſo generous a prince, he ſhould expel the uſurper, and aſcend the throne of his anceſtors: that then he ſhould always regard him as a brother, and never miſs an opportunity of ſhowing his gratitude.

Ibid.

James ſeemed to be moved with Perkin's misfortunes, and told him, whoever he was, he ſhould not repent of putting himſelf into his hands. However, he pretended ſtill to have ſome doubt, to ſhow it was upon mature examination that he was convinced of the truth. Shortly after, he publicly owned him for duke of York, and gave him in marriage Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntly, one of the handſomeſt and moſt accompliſhed ladies in Scotland.

Buchanan. Hall. Hollingſh.

Henry projects to marry his daughter to the king of Scotland. Act. Pub. xii. p. 572.

Henry, whether he had received private notice of what was plotting againſt him, or it was a pure effect of his foreſight, ardently wiſhed to live in good underſtanding with the king of Scotland. To that end, he had impowered his ambaſſadors [x], who were to repair to Caldſtream, to treat of the marriage of Margaret his eldeſt daughter with that prince. The marriage was indeed accompliſhed ſome years after; but in all likelihood it was not mentioned in this congreſs, the ambaſſadors of England having doubtleſs perceived that ſuch a propoſal would be unſeaſonable.

Continuance of the war of Naples.

The 28th of January 1495, Charles VIII. departed from Rome, after receiving the ſtrongeſt towns of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, with cardinal Cæſar Borgia, natural ſon of pope Alexander VI. in hoſtage. Whilſt he was upon the march, the ambaſſador of Ferdinand king of Spain told him from his maſter, that when he promiſed not to moleſt him in the conqueſt of Naples, he did not mean that the conqueſt was to extend to all Italy. That notwithſtanding he ſaw him in

[x] The biſhops of Durham and Carliſle, Thomas earl of Surrey, Ralph lord Nevill, Sir Thomas Dacre lieutenant of the Weſt-marches, and Sir William Tyler, deputy governor of Berwick, Rymer's Fœd, tom. xii. p. 572.

poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of Florence, Piſa, and all the papal dominions. That therefore he declared, he did not think himſelf bound to the obſervance of their treaty, and accordingly the ambaſſador tore it in pieces before his face. Charles, who was ſailing with a proſperous gale, made a jeſt of theſe threats, and purſued his march. H. VII. 1495.

Mean while Alphonſo, the new king of Naples, finding himſelf attacked by a powerful king who was now upon the borders of his dominions, was entirely diſcouraged. As he knew he was not beloved by his ſubjects, he reſigned his crown to Ferdinand his ſon, and retired to a monaſtery, where he died that year. The new king, willing to defend his kingdom, advanced towards the frontiers to endeavour to ſtop the king of France: but he ſaw himſelf ſuddenly deſerted by his own troops. In this extremity he would have retired to Naples, but found the gates ſhut. In ſhort, he was forced to ſeek a retreat in the little iſle of Iſchia, having firſt garriſoned the caſtles of his metropolis, where he could enter without paſſing through the city.

In the mean time, Charles ſtill continued his march: Triulzi, a Milaneſe, who was in the ſervice of the king of Naples, having ſurrendered Capua, all the reſt of the towns ſent him deputies with offers of ſubmiſſion. At laſt, he entered Naples the 22d of February, and within few days became maſter of the caſtles.

Such a torrent of ſucceſs ſo blinded the young monarch and his council, that they knew not how to take any juſt meaſures for the preſervation of the conqueſt. By degrees the towns that had ſubmitted, returned to their ſovereign; his army, which was not very numerous, being unable to furniſh garriſons every where. Beſides, the French made themſelves ſo odious to the people of Naples, that they ſoon repented of receiving them.

But what moſt imbroiled the conqueror's affairs, was a league formed againſt him by the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, the archduke, the king of Naples, Ludovico Sforza new duke of Milan, and the republic of Venice. This league, which was for twenty-five years, was ſigned the 25th of March 1495, and at the ſame time the confederates began to aſſemble their forces. Bembo.

Charles found then, it was time to think of his return. But he was reſolved firſt to make a triumphant entry into Naples, from whence he departed the 20th of May in order for France, leaving but few troops to defend his conqueſt. But the allies did not intend to ſuffer him to retire thus peaceably.

H. VII. 1495. ably. They expected him upon his rout, with an army of forty thouſand men, and poſted themſelves at Fornova to oppoſe his paſſage. Though Charles was very inferior in number of troops [y], he was determined to give them battle, being ſenſible he muſt either conquer or periſh. The battle was fought on the 6th of July, and the ſucceſs was favorable to the king of France, who defeated that formidable army, and came to Aſti the 15th of the ſame month [z].

Battle of Fornova.

Whilſt he was retiring through Italy, Naples ſubmitted again to Ferdinand, and almoſt all the reſt of the town that were ſtill in the French intereſt, followed that example. The duke of Montpenſier, left by Charles at Naples with a few troops, retired to the caſtle of le Ovo, where after maintaining a ſiege of three months, he was forced at laſt to capitulate. Thus Charles, who had conquered the kingdom of Naples in the ſpace of three weeks, loſt it with the ſame rapidity. He formed afterwards ſeveral projects to recover his conqueſt, which, by the obſtacles that occurred, came to nothing.

Philip the archduke aſſumes the government of the Low-Countries.

This year the emperor Maximilian came into the Low-Countries, and reſigned the government to his ſon Philip, though he ſtill wanted ſome years of being of age. After that, he returned into Germany. Philip being no longer under the emperor's guardianſhip, ſent, about the end of the year, ambaſſadors to Henry, to deſire the renewal of the commerce between England and the Low-Countries.

1496. Treaty between England and Flanders. Feb. 24. Ib. p. 578—591. Bacon.

The ambaſſadors found no great difficulty to ſucceed in their negotiation. The renewal of the commerce which they were come to deſire, was no leſs neceſſary for the Engliſh than for the Flemings. So, the 24th of February 1496, was concluded at London a treaty of peace and perpetual amity between Henry and Philip, and the trade between the two nations was ſettled to the ſatisfaction of both parties.

Among the articles of the treaty, there were two particularly remarkable. By the firſt, the two princes engaged to give neither aid nor refuge to the rebellious ſubjects of either.

[y] He had but nine thouſand men; whereas the confederates army conſiſted of twelve thouſand horſe, and above the ſame number of foot. Bembo, p. 59. edit. Venet. 1718.

[z] Thus is this memorable event related by the French hiſtorians. But it appears from cardinal Bembo, and other Italian authors, that the king of France retired, after this battle, in the utmoſt hurry; and that Ludovico Sforza, and Franciſco Gonzaga, the Italian general, favoured *his* eſcape. As their forces were much ſuperior to thoſe of the French king, they might eaſily have cut off his retreat, if they had not acted treacherouſly, as it is undeniably plain they did. See card. Bembi Hiſt. Venet. p. 65. edit. 1718; and Paul Jovius, &c.

Par-

Particularly, Philip obliged himſelf expreſsly to hinder the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy from harbouring the king's rebellious ſubjects in the lands ſhe poſſeſſed, by what title ſoever ſhe held them, whether of dower or otherwiſe. That in caſe ſhe acted contrary to this prohibition, he promiſed to deprive her of all her poſſeſſions in the Low-Countries. H. VII. 1496.

By another article it was expreſsly agreed, that any veſſel ſuffering ſhipwrack on the coaſts of either of the two princes, ſhould not be liable to confiſcation, provided there was left alive a man, woman, or child, a dog, a cat, or a cock.

The Flemings called this treaty [Intercurſus Magnus] or the great Treaty of Commerce, not only by reaſon of the great number of articles, but chiefly with reſpect to another made afterwards, and which not being ſo much to their advantage, was termed [Intercurſus Malus] or the bad Treaty. Ibid. Act. Pub. xii. p. 695, 713.

We find in the Collection of the Public Acts, that March the 5th this year, the king granted a patent to John Cabott, a Venetian, and to three of his ſons [a], to go in queſt of new lands with Engliſh colours [b]. The terms were, that after all charges deducted, they ſhould give the king a fifth of the profit [c]. Patent to John Cabott Ib. p. 595.

Mean while, the king of Scotland, not content with affording the pretended duke of York a ſanctuary in his dominions, would likewiſe undertake to place him on the throne of England. He was told, that as ſoon as he appeared in that kingdom at the head of an army, all the Yorkiſts would riſe in favour of the pretender. To that end it was, that immediately after his arrival in England, he took care to diſperſe the counterfeit duke's proclamation, wherein the king was termed uſurper, tyrant, and murderer. Moreover, he promiſed all ſorts of favours to ſuch as would join the lawful heir, to deſtroy him that unjuſtly detained the crown. But the proclamation was ſo ineffectual, that not a man offered to join the Scots. The truth is, Henry was not beloved, eſpecially in thoſe parts. But as, ſince Perkin had begun to appear by the name of duke of York, many were undeceived, and others in doubt, it was not thought proper to hazard life and fortune, without a greater aſſurance that it was really for a ſon of Edward IV. Beſides, the execution of the lord chamberlain was a terror to all, as no man could reaſonably expect the king's pardon, ſince that lord was not ſpared. At length, James ſeeing he waited in vain that the Engliſh would take The king of Scotland and Warbeck's invaſion. Buchanan. Bacon. Act. Pub. xii. p. 647. Stow. Proclamation in the name of the duke of York. Hall. Bacon. The Engliſh do not join him.

[a] Lewis, Sebaſtian, and Sancho. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 595.

[b] And with five ſhips. Ibid.

[c] They were bound and engaged to land at Briſtol. Ibid.

up

H. VII. 1496. up arms in favour of the duke of York, and being unwilling wholly to loſe his labour, ravaged Northumberland and got a great booty. Then Perkin feigning to be extremely moved with the calamities of the Engliſh, conjured that prince, before his whole court, to ſpare his miſerable ſubjects. This was a very artful device to perſwade the public he was really what he pretended to be. James replied with a ſmile, he thought him very generous to be ſo careful for what was none of his, in order to ſave it for his enemy's uſe. Mean while, the news that an Engliſh army was advancing, made him reſolve to return into his own country, being unwilling to expoſe his great ſpoils to the hazard of a battle. Thus the expedition, from which he expected ſo great effects, ended only in the ruin of the people of Northumberland.

James ravages Northumberland. Warbeck's cunning. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, Charles VIII. fearing Henry would enter into the league of Italy, took care to have the peace of Eſtaples confirmed by the ſtates, as he was bound by the treaty, which he had hitherto neglected, though it was confirmed by the parliament of England the laſt year. However, as he thought not proper to aſſemble the ſtates general, he cauſed the peace to be approved by the ſtates of each province, with which, in all appearance, Henry was ſatisfied. We find in the Collection of the Public Acts, the approbations of the ſtates of Languedoc, Normandy, and ſeveral other provinces, as likewiſe of particular towns of little note, ſigned by great numbers of common people, as tradeſmen and huſbandmen.

Charl. VIII. cauſes the peace of Eſtaples to be confirmed by the ſtates. Act. Pub. xii. p. 572, 592, 596, 597, 598, —634.

Though the king of Scotland's invaſion had produced no great effect, Henry was however apprehenſive of the conſequences. He knew his ſubjects were not pleaſed; that the Yorkiſts were very numerous; that Ireland was not well-affected; and that Perkin Warbeck was in Scotland ready to take advantage of theſe diſpoſitions. So, to prevent the danger which might ariſe from all theſe quarters, he granted firſt a general pardon to all the Iriſh adherents of the pretended duke of York, leſt the dread of puniſhment ſhould carry them to revolt. In the ſecond place, he commiſſioned Richard Fox, biſhop of Durham, to try, as of himſelf, to enter into negotiation with the king of Scotland, to treat of the marriage of his eldeſt daughter Margaret with that prince. Laſtly, he ſent ambaſſadors[d] to Ferdinand and Iſabella, to confirm his alliance with them, and ſecure, by freſh engagements, the marriage of Arthur his eldeſt ſon, with Catherine their third daughter.

Act. Pub. xii. p. 634.

Ib. p. 635, 636.

Embaſſy to Spain. Sept. 22. p. 636.

[d] Thomas biſhop of London. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 636.

Some

Some time before he had diſpatched to Rome Robert Sherburn, who had in his name entered into the league of Italy [e] againſt Charles VIII. and the 23d of September ratified what his ambaſſador had done. He thereby thought himſelf ſufficiently ſupported: for he had nothing to fear from the king of France, who was elſewhere employed, and the moſt potent princes of Europe were his friends and allies. As for the king of Scotland, he believed he could eaſily reſiſt him in caſe of attack. However, though he had now taken meaſures to make peace with that prince, and had reaſon to hope for ſucceſs, he believed he ought not to loſe the opportunity to demand an aid of money of the parliament, as well to put himſelf in a ſtate of defence, as to revenge the inſults of the Scots. For that purpoſe he called a parliament the 16th of January following. It was however eaſy to foreſee the king of Scotland being ſupported neither by France, nor the archduke, nor the ducheſs of Burgundy, would not undertake to maintain alone a war for the ſake of Perkin Warbeck, though he were ſo blind as to believe him the real duke of York.

H. VII. 1496.

He enters into the league of Italy. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 638.

In October this year, Jane ſecond daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, came into the Low Countries to marry the archduke Philip, to whom ſhe had been contracted. Iſabella her eldeſt ſiſter had been married in 1490, to Alphonſo king of Portugal, who died ſhortly after. The ſame ſhips that brought Jane into the Low Countries, ſerved to carry Margaret of Auſtria, Philip's ſiſter into Spain, to conſummate her marriage with prince John, heir apparent of Caſtile and Arragon [f].

Marriage of the archduke with Jane of Arragon, and of Margaret of Auſtria with the prince of Spain.

The parliament being aſſembled the beginning of the year 1497 [g], the king made a ſpeech to both houſes, highly aggravating the affront received from the king of Scotland: he repreſented very pathetically the calamities endured by his northern ſubjects, at a time when the truce ſhould have ſecured them from ſuch inſults: in ſhort, he told them, his honour and the protection he owed his people would not ſuffer him to let theſe wrongs paſs unrevenged. The parliament underſtanding him well gave him a ſubſidy [h], after which they

1497.

The parliament meets. Bacon. Subſidy given for the Scotch war. Hollingſh.

[e] This league conſiſted of pope Alexander VI. the emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand and Elizabeth king and queen of Spain, Auguſtin Barbadico doge of Venice, Lewis Maria Sforza duke of Milan, and king Henry. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 639.

[f] This year, on December 18, died Jaſper Tudor duke of Bedford, and was buried in the abbey of Keynſham in Gloceſterſhire. Stow, p. 479.

[g] On January 16. See Statut.

[h] Limited to the ſum of a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, beſides two

H. VII. 1497. they were inſtantly diſſolved as having been called purpoſely for that affair.

The king haſtens the levying the ſubſidy.

Though Henry hoped much from his negotiation with the king of Scotland, he perceived it neceſſary to prepare for war; otherwiſe negotiations generally prove fruitleſs. The levy of the ſubſidy granted by the parliament was the firſt and principal preparation. The neceſſity of a war with Scotland afforded the king a pretence to haſten that affair, from which he expected the ſame advantage as from that of Bretagne, that is to ſay, to put the whole ſubſidy into his coffers. To that end it was neceſſary it ſhould be levied before the peace was concluded with Scotland, elſe the people would pay their money with reluctance. As the king ſet his heart upon this buſineſs, he gave very ſtrict orders to the commiſſioners who were to gather the ſubſidy in the ſeveral counties.

Rebellion in Cornwal. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

The commiſſioners proceeding with great rigour, met in the county of Cornwal with unexpected oppoſition. The Corniſhmen being leſs tractable than thoſe of other counties, loudly complained, that for ſome petty damage done to the other end of the kingdom, they were robbed of their neceſſary ſubſiſtence. Theſe murmurs were encouraged by Michael Joſeph a farrier of Bodmin, and Thomas Flammock a lawyer. Flammock affirmed that ſubſidies were not to be granted or levied for the war of Scotland (the law having provided for it by eſcuage), much leſs when the Scotch invaſion was made a pretence to fleece the whole kingdom: that it would be a ſhame to ſubmit to ſuch an oppreſſion, and all the miſchief ſolely proceeded from the king's miniſters, who made their court at the poor people's coſt: that to free themſelves from theſe grievances, it was proper to take up arms, and, without injuring any perſon, go and preſent a petition to the king, to pray him to deſiſt from the tax, and puniſh his evil counſellors, for a warning to others how they gave him ſuch advice for the future: that a greater ſervice could not be done to the kingdom, than to deliver it from ſuch harpies, who ruined it under colour of procuring the king's good. Flammock's chief aim was at Morton archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Reginald Bray, becauſe they were generally the king's inſtruments in affairs of this nature.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The rebels march towards London.

Flammock and Joſeph perceiving the people began to take fire, offered to lead them till ſome perſon of quality ſhould

two fifteenths. Bacon obſerves upon this occaſion, that his wars were always to him a mine of treaſure of a ſtrange ore, iron at the top, and gold and ſilver at the bottom, p. 617.

head

head them, which as they ſaid would ſoon happen. And indeed it appeared afterwards they were encouraged by perſons of greater conſideration. This was ſufficient to excite all the rabble of the country to an inſurrection, and arming themſelves in the beſt manner they could, they marched under the conduct of theſe two incendiaries into Devonſhire, and from thence into Somerſetſhire. The number of the rebels daily increaſed by many people of the places where they paſſed, who had nothing to loſe, and were inflamed by the king's ſecret enemies. At Taunton they killed a commiſſioner [i], who had ſignalized himſelf by his rigour in levying the ſubſidy. This was all the miſchief they did in their march. Then they proceeded to Wells, where the lord Audley [k], a nobleman of a reſtleſs and diſcontented ſpirit, came and joined them, and was immediately accepted as their general. Audley putting himſelf at their head, led them directly to Saliſbury, and from thence to Wincheſter, without ſuffering them to commit any violence, and obliging them to be ſatisfied with a bare ſubſiſtence. When they came to Wincheſter, inſtead of marching to London, as was intended at firſt, they forced their general to lead them into Kent. Flammock having told them the people of that county were very fond of liberty, they fancied they ſhould be immediately joined by them in defence of the rights and privileges of the nation; but when they came there they were greatly diſappointed: by the diligence of ſome Kentiſh lords [l], not a man offered to take up arms in their favour. This coldneſs diſcouraged many of the rebels, who foreſeeing their enterprize would not be ſucceſsful, returned quietly to their homes. But thoſe that remained, being encouraged by the king's remiſſneſs, who had ſuffered them to proceed ſo far unmoleſted, inſolently boaſted they would give him battle, or take London before his face. In this reſolution they went and encamped [m] between Greenwich and Eltham, within a few miles of London.

H. VII. 1497.

Hall.

Hall. Stow. Bacon.

The lord Audley heads them.

They march into Kent, where nobody joins them. Hollingſh. Bacon.

They march to London.

When the king firſt heard of the inſurrection, he was under ſome conſternation. A war with Scotland, a rebellion in the kingdom, and a pretender to the crown, ſeemed to him to be three affairs of the laſt importance, eſpecially as they came upon him at once: beſides, his inward uneaſineſs concerning the doubtfulneſs of his title, helped to magnify ob-

The king's meaſures againſt the rebels. Ibid.

[i] The provoſt of Perin. Hollingſh.

[k] James Tuchet.

[l] George Grey earl of Kent, George Nevill lord Abergavenny, John Brooke lord Cobham, ſir Edward Poynings, ſir Richard Guilford, ſir Thomas Bourchier, John Peche, William Scot, etc. Hall, fol. 42. Hollingſh. p. 782.

[m] On Blackheath. Ibid.

jects.

H. VII. 1497.

jects. He was apprehenſive that the Corniſh rebellion was the beginning of a general conſpiracy, whereof Perkin was waiting the event in Scotland. Happily for him this rebellion was at a time when he had an army in readineſs, which was to march into the north under the command of the lord d'Aubeney. But the news of the inſurrection made him keep his forces about London, not thinking fit to ſend them into the north at ſuch a juncture. He contented himſelf therefore with detaching the earl of Surrey, and ſending him towards the borders of Scotland, to oppoſe king James in caſe he thought of making a ſecond inroad into England. Mean while, the rebels traverſed the counties, and the king made no motion to ſtop them. This conduct ſurprized all the world, conſidering it was his cuſtom ſpeedily to march to the place where danger began to appear. But upon this occaſion he thought beſt to act otherwiſe, for ſeveral reaſons: firſt, he was very glad the rebels were ſo far from their homes, and harraſſed themſelves with long marches: in the ſecond place he did not ſee any neceſſity to haſten to attack them, ſince they committed no outrages: beſides, he could not find that their numbers increaſed. But the chief reaſon of his flowneſs was to ſee if they had any correſpondents in other counties, in order to divide his army if neceſſary, or haſten to the relief of the weakeſt. In fine, age and the continued enjoyment of a crown had doubtleſs rendered him more careful of dangers. Any other way ſeemed to him leſs hazardous than a battle to remedy evils of this nature.

Hall. Hollingſh. Bacon.

The king reſolves to give them battle. Hall. Bacon.

But when the rebels were encamped on Blackheath, in view of the city of London, the king could no longer delay to attack them; he would have given occaſion to believe his coolneſs proceeded from fear, which might have produced very ill effects among the people. However, as he was much ſuperior to the malecontents, both in number of troops and military knowledge, he reſolved ſo to diſpoſe all things as to leave little to hazard or fortune. To that end, he divided his army into three bodies, the firſt whereof, commanded by the earl of Oxford [n], was ordered behind the hill, where the rebels were encamped, to cut off their retreat, and if neceſſary attack them in the rear. The ſecond, led by the lord d'Aubeney, was appointed to charge them in front. The king retained the third about his own perſon, and encamped in St. George's Fields, that in caſe of ill ſucceſs he might be

Diſpoſition of his troops Hollingſh. Bacon.

[n] John de Vere, who had with him Henry Bourchier earl of Eſſex, Edmund de la Pole earl of Suffolk, ſir Rice ap Thomas, and ſir Humphrey Stanley. Hollingſh. p. 782.

ready

ready to renew the fight, or throw himſelf into London and ſecure the city as he ſhould think proper: beſides, he was not ſo far off but he could ſuccour his people during the battle. H. VII. 1497.

Every thing ſucceeded as the king expected. The rebels ſuffered themſelves to be deceived by a report he had cauſed to be ſpread, that he intended to give them battle on the Monday following, whereas he attacked them on the Saturday, which of all the days in the week he fancied to be the moſt fortunate. As they expected it not, they were ſo ſurprized that they had ſcarce time to draw up. On the other hand, for want of intelligence, they ſuffered themſelves to be ſurrounded by the earl of Oxford, who being poſted behind them, hindered their retreat: ſo, of ſix thouſand [o], which was their number, two thouſand were ſlain on the ſpot, and the reſt forced to ſurrender at diſcretion, there being no way to eſcape. The king cauſed to be executed only the lord Audley [p], Flammock, and the Farrier [q], who were taken alive, but gave the priſoners to the captors, with leave to compound with them for their ranſoms as they ſhould judge fit. It is not unlikely that the moderation of the rebels in their march from Cornwal to London, tempered alſo the king's ſeverity, eſpecially as they had not aſſerted the title of the houſe of York, a crime he never forgave. Be this as it will, he was ſatisfied with theſe three victims to attone for this great rebellion.

Battle of Blackheath, where the rebels are worſted. June 22. Hall. Stow. Bacon. Hall. Hollingſh. The lord Audley and two others executed. Hall. Stow. The king's moderation.

Shortly after the battle, the archduke's ambaſſadors ſigned at London articles of agreement, whereby, in explaining the late treaty of commerce, the archduke deſiſted from the duty of a florin, which he before exacted upon every piece of Engliſh cloth imported into his dominions.

New treaty of the archduke, July 7. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 648, 654.

The 18th of July, Henry ratified the marriage-articles between Arthur his eldeſt ſon and Catherine of Arragon. The marriage had been concluded in 1491, and confirmed October 1, 1496.

p. 658.

About the ſame time Charles VIII. ſent an ambaſſy into England on purpoſe to confirm the peace of Eſtaples by the reparation of certain outrages committed on both ſides.

p. 667. Auguſt 28.

[o] Bacon ſays, ſixteen thouſand, p. 619.

[p] He was led from Newgate to Tower-hill in a paper-coat torn and painted with his own arms reverſed, where he was beheaded, June 28. Hall, fol. 43.

[q] He is ſaid to pleaſe himſelf with the notion that "He ſhould be famous "in after ages." He, with Flammock, was drawn, hanged, and quartered at Tyburn. The Corniſhmen are ſaid to ſhoot arrows of a yard long. Ibid.

H. VII. 1497.

But whilſt Henry was employed againſt the Corniſh rebels, the king of Scotland thinking it a favourable juncture, made a ſecond irruption into England, and appeared before the caſtle of Norham. But the earl of Surrey, then in Yorkſhire, haſtening to its relief[r], James raiſed the ſiege and retired into his own kingdom. The earl of Surrey, not ſatisfied with driving him out of England, purſued him into Scotland, and took the little town of Aton. This war was inconvenient to the king upon ſeveral accounts: firſt, he could not continue it without uſing all the money given by the parliament, which he would have gladly avoided: beſides, Perkin Warbeck made him uneaſy, and he perceived it would be eaſier to remove him from Scotland by treaty than by arms. He would not however make the firſt advances, but wiſhed the propoſal of peace to come from another, to avoid the diſgrace of a refuſal in caſe the king of Scotland was diſinclined.

Buchanan. Hollingſh. Bacon.

Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 668.

Henry employs the Spaniſh ambaſſador to make peace with Scotland.

Whilſt he was in this perplexity, he bethought himſelf that don Pedro d'Ayala the Spaniſh ambaſſador would be a proper inſtrument to accompliſh the affair. Ayala willingly undertook to go to the king of Scotland, and propoſe, as of himſelf, an agreement with the king of England. He uſed for pretence that king Ferdinand his maſter could receive no greater ſatisfaction than to ſee the two kings his friends and allies live in peace and good neighbourhood. The expedient ſucceeded according to Henry's expectation. The ambaſſador found the king of Scotland ſo well inclined, that he writ to the king, if he would enter into a negotiation he did not queſtion the ſucceſs: whereupon the two kings ſent their ambaſſadors[s] to Aton, to treat of a peace, Ayala performing the office of mediator. The greateſt difficulty in the negotiation was concerning Perkin Warbeck, whom Henry demanded, and the king of Scotland would not deliver. The biſhop of Durham[t] perceiving he could not gain that point, propoſed

Ib. p. 670, 671. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Difficulty on account of Perkin. Hall. Hollingſh. Bacon.

[r] Together with Ralph Nevill earl of Weſtmoreland, Thomas lord Dacres, Ralph lord Nevill, George lord Strange, Richard lord Latimer, George lord Lumley, John lord Scroope, Henry lord Clifford, George lord Ogle, William lord Coniers, Thomas lord Darcy, Thomas baron of Hilton, ſir William Percy, ſir William Bulmer, ſir William Gaſcoigne, ſir Ralph Bigod, ſir Ralph Bowes, ſir Thomas Parre, ſir Ralph Ellecher, ſir John Conſtable, ſir John Ratcliffe, ſir John Savill, ſir Thomas Strangeways; the whole army amounting to little leſs than twenty thouſand men, beſides the navy. Hollingſh. p. 783.

[s] The Engliſh ambaſſadors were William Warham maſter of the rolls, and John Cartington. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 673.

[t] The king directed biſhop Fox, who was then at his caſtle of Norham, to confer with d'Ayala, and both to treat with the Scotiſh commiſſioners. Hollingſhead, p. 783.

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an interview of the two kings at Newcaſtle: but when it was mentioned to the king of Scotland, he ſaid, though he was very deſirous of peace, he would not go and beg it of his enemy. At length an expedient was found agreeable to both parties; and that was, the king of Scotland ſhould honourably diſmiſs the pretended duke of York, before the negotiation of a peace was carried any farther, leſt he ſhould be thought to be forced to it; that afterwards they ſhould treat as if Perkin had never been in Scotland. H. VII. 1497. Expedient to remove it.

Purſuant to this agreement, James told the pretended duke he had done for him all that lay in his power: that he had twice entered England at the head of an army, to try the diſpoſition of the Engliſh: that not having found what was expected, there was no likelihood that with his forces alone he could place him on the throne, and diſpoſſeſs a king ſo firmly eſtabliſhed: that his misfortune proceeded ſolely from the Engliſh refuſing to eſpouſe his quarrel, and his being forſaken by thoſe who had engaged him in the undertaking, whilſt the Scots expoſed their lives for his ſake: that therefore he adviſed him to ſeek his fortune elſewhere; but nevertheleſs he would make good what he told him at firſt, "That he "ſhould not repent of putting himſelf into his hands." Perkin ſeeing the king of Scotland bent to diſmiſs him, thanked him for the protection he had hitherto given him, and for all his other favours, entreating him to convey him into Ireland with his wife, which the king immediately granted. James ſends away Perkin to Ireland. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

As ſoon as Perkin was removed from Scotland there were no farther obſtacles to a peace. The ambaſſadors, aſſembled at Aton, ſigned a truce for ſeven years, commencing the 30th of September, the day of ſigning the treaty. It was expreſly agreed that neither of the two kings ſhould make war upon the other by himſelf or ſubjects, or by any other perſon, whereby Perkin Warbeck was plainly meant, without naming him: that with reſpect to certain points not ſettled by the two ambaſſadors, the two kings referred them to the deciſion of Ferdinand and Iſabella. Afterwards this truce, limited to ſeven years, was prolonged till a year after the death of the ſurvivor of the two princes. In fine, each of the two kings gave letters patents to the mediator, deſiring him to report to Ferdinand and Iſabella the differences yet undecided, promiſing to ſtand to their determination. Theſe letters were full of marks of eſteem and acknowledgment for the ambaſſador, and the two kings ſhowed how well pleaſed they were with his equity, wiſdom, impartiality, and the trouble he had readily taken upon him. Nothing could be A truce of ſeven years between Scotland and England. Act. Publ. tom. xii. p. 673. The two kings make Ferdinand and Iſabella umpires.

H. VII. 1497. more honourable for Ayala (whom the Engliſh and Scotch writers call Hialas or Elias) than the perfect confidence placed in him by theſe two monarchs. But then, it may be ſaid, he had the good fortune to find them equally inclined to a peace ſo neceſſary for both.

First propoſal of the marriage of Margaret with the king of Scotland.

I obſerved that in 1495 and 1496, Henry empowered his ambaſſadors to treat of a marriage between Margaret his daughter and the king of Scotland. But it does not appear, the affair was mentioned in any of the former negotiations, or even in this I have been ſpeaking of. It is however very probable, that Henry, who deſired the marriage, did not fail to inſinuate the propoſal by the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who was in his intereſt and confidence. It was a very proper occaſion, ſince Ayala might make the overture as from himſelf, without engaging Henry in caſe of refuſal. It went no farther then, but we ſhall ſee preſently the happy effects of this overture, which gave birth to the union of the two kingdoms.

Death of the prince of Spain. Mayern.

In the beginning of the year, Margaret of Auſtria, ſiſter of the archduke, went into Spain to Don John her huſband. The nuptials were celebrated with great ſolemnity and magnificence. But in a few months after, Don John died, leaving the princeſs with child, who was delivered of a ſtill-born infant.

Marriage of Iſabella his ſiſter with the king of Portugal.

By the death of Don John, his ſiſter Iſabella, widow of prince Alphonſo of Portugal, became heir-apparent of the kingdoms of Caſtile and Arragon. Since the death of the prince her ſpouſe, ſhe had been contracted to Don Manuel new king of Portugal, who hearing of Don John's ſickneſs, ſo preſſed his marriage that it was conſummated before that prince expired.

Affairs of France.

The laſt year, as was related, Charles VIII. loſt the kingdom of Naples. Though the diviſions among the princes of Italy ſeemed to invite him again to that conqueſt, he could never reſolve, becauſe he had turned all his thoughts to love and pleaſure. He duly paid Henry twenty-five thouſand livres every half year, as bound by the treaty of Eſtaples, for fear of drawing upon himſelf new troubles from England.

Act. Pub. xii, xiii.

1498. Diſpoſition of Charles and Henry to one another. Hall.

After the treaty of Eſtaples, there was neither war nor difference between France and England during the reſt of Henry VII's reign. Charles and Henry ſtood in awe of each other. Charles, who at firſt had formed vaſt projects, perceived, the king of England was the only prince that could lay obſtacles in his way. Afterwards, when he deſiſted from the war of Italy, and indulged his pleaſures, he always feared that a war with Henry would diſturb his tranquillity. Henry

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on his part dreaded all foreign wars, and particularly with France, by reaſon of his domeſtic enemies. Thus the two monarchs having the ſame intereſt, lived in peace till Charles's death, on the 6th of April 1498. The duke of Orleans, who ſucceeded him by the name of Lewis XII. was no leſs careful to preſerve a good underſtanding with England [u]. As he turned all his thoughts to Italy, it highly concerned him to keep fair with Henry, who would have it in his power to overthrow all his projects by a diverſion in Picardy. As ſoon as Lewis was on the throne, he cauſed his marriage with Jane daughter of Lewis XI. to be annulled, in order to eſpouſe Anne of Bretagne his predeceſſor's widow. Otherwiſe he would have run the riſk of ſeeing Bretagne once more ſevered from France, and in the hands of a foreign houſe.

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Death of Charles VIII Lewis ſucceeds him. Mezerai. Act. Pub. xii. p. 681, —— 696, 706, 710.

Though Henry had nothing to fear from abroad, ſince he was in peace with all the princes of Europe, it was not the ſame with regard to his own ſubjects. Before he could acquire that perfect tranquillity, he ſo earneſtly longed for, he had a freſh attack to maintain from the Corniſhmen. Perkin, who having learnt to live like a prince, could not reſolve to return to his primitive ſtate, embraced this opportunity to create him new troubles.

Freſh troubles in England.

The Corniſh rebels had been treated more gently than they had reaſon to expect, conſidering the nature of their crime, which ſovereigns never willingly pardon. Moſt of them had compounded for two or three ſhillings a man, ſo miſerable were they. Theſe being returned home, publicly ſaid, if the king had treated them with lenity, it was not from a motive of clemency, but becauſe he was ſenſible if he puniſhed all that were of their mind, he muſt hang up three parts in four of his ſubjects. Theſe diſcourſes making their friends and neighbours believe, the whole kingdom was ready to riſe, they began to flock together, and ſhow they were not diſcouraged by the battle of Black-Heath. At laſt ſome of the moſt fiery hearing Perkin was in Ireland, propoſed to ſend for him and ſet him at their head. The propoſal meeting with applauſe, they ſent to Warbeck, that if he would come among them, he ſhould find no contemptible aid, and that with the aſſiſtance of other good Engliſhmen, they hoped to place him on the throne.

Inſurrection in Cornwal. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

The rebels ſend for Perkin. Bacon.

[u] He ratified the late treaties concluded with king Henry by Charles VIII. his predeceſſor, and engaged to continue the payment of the yearly ſum of fifty thouſand livres. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 681 —— 696.

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Perkin being without any refuge in Ireland, and expecting nothing more either from Scotland or France, or the Low-Countries, gladly accepted the invitation. He had with him for counſellors, Hern a broken mercer, Skelton a taylor, and Aſtley a ſcrivener, who perſuaded him to take that courſe. They told him, he had committed a great error in relying on the ducheſs of Burgundy, and the kings of France and Scotland, who without regarding his, had only their own intereſts in view: That he had been ill adviſed when he landed in Kent, which was too near London; but if he had been ſo fortunate as to have been in Cornwal when the Corniſhmen took up arms, he had been crowned at Weſtminſter before now: That the Scots were not proper inſtruments to place him on the throne, by reaſon of the averſion the Engliſh had for them; but, he muſt wholly depend upon the people of England, who alone were capable of procuring him the crown: That therefore they adviſed him to repair into Cornwal, where he was expected.

He comes and heads them. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Purſuant to this advice, Perkin embarked for Cornwal, having with him about ſeventy men [x] on four ſmall veſſels, and arrived in September [y] at Whitſand-Bay. As ſoon as he had landed his little troop, he came to Bodmin, the farrier's town, who was hanged after the battle of Black-Heath. There aſſembling about three thouſand men, he iſſued out a proclamation aſſuming the title of King of England, and the name of Richard IV. He was very free of his reproaches and invectives againſt Henry and his government, with magnificent promiſes to ſuch as ſhould take up arms to dethrone the uſurper. After publiſhing his proclamation, he formed a deſign to become maſter of Exeter, as well to make it ſerve for a magazine, as a retreat in caſe of need. At firſt, he tried to bribe the inhabitants, with promiſing them the preſervation and augmentation of their privileges. But finding they would not hearken to him, he reſolved to ſtorm the city. As he had no artillery, he was forced to ſcale the walls, and at the ſame time attempted to fire one of the gates. But the attempt miſcarried, and he loſt two hundred men in the aſſault.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

He takes the title of king, Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

and beſieges Exeter. Hall. Bacon.

Henry hearing that Perkin had joined the Corniſh rebels, and was before Exeter, ſaid merrily, "he hoped now to "have the honour to ſee him which he could never yet do." He intimated withal, he ſhould receive with pleaſure and

The king orders his troops againſt them, Bacon. Hall. Hollingſh.

[x] Bacon ſays a hundred and twenty, or a hundred and forty fighting men. p. 622. [y] On the ſeventh. Stow, p. 480.

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thankfulneſs, the ſervices the nobility ſhould do him upon that occaſion. Whereupon, ſeveral lords and gentlemen of Devonſhire, and the neighbouring parts, uncalled from court, drew ſome forces together, and put themſelves under arms [z]. On the other hand, the king ordered the lord d'Aubeney to march to the relief of Exeter, ſpreading a report of his following in perſon with a numerous army. H. VII. 1498.

Perkin, upon news of the preparations againſt him, raiſed the ſiege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton, where he prepared all things as if he intended to fight. But that very night he fled to Bewley monaſtery, in the New Foreſt, where he and ſeveral of his company regiſtred themſelves ſanctuarymen. The lord d'Aubeney hearing Perkin had forſaken his army, detached three hundred horſe [a] to purſue him, and prevent his eſcaping by ſea. The purſuers arriving too late at Bewley, contented themſelves with beſetting the ſanctuary till further orders. Mean while, Perkin's troops, which were increaſed to ſix thouſand, being deſtitute of their head, ſubmitted to the king's mercy, who pardoned them all except a few ring-leaders who were hanged for an example. Preſently after, he ſent a detachment of horſe to St. Michael's mount, to bring away Perkin's wife who was retired thither, leſt, if ſhe was with child and eſcaped, the buſineſs ſhould not end in the perſon of Perkin. This virtuous lady, who loved her huſband entirely though unworthy of her, ſo gained the king's favour by her modeſty, that he gave her a very gracious reception. He comforted her himſelf in a very affectionate manner, had her conducted to the queen, and aſſigned her an honourable allowance, which ſhe enjoyed during the king's life, and many years after. She was called the White Roſe, as well on account of her beauty, as becauſe of the name given by the ducheſs of Burgundy to her huſband.

Perkin flies to ſanctuary Stow. Hollingſh.

His army ſubmits. Hall. Bacon.

Henry ſeizes his wife, and uſes her well. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Though Perkin was in a place from whence he could not eſcape, the king however came to Exeter, to inquire more ſtrictly into the cauſes and origin of the rebellion. As he entered the city, he took his ſword from his ſide and gave it to the mayor, to be always carried before him, honouring by that mark of diſtinction the zeal ſhown by the citizens for

He goes on to Exeter. Hall. Hollingſh. Bacon.

[z] As Edward Courtney earl of Devonſhire, and William his ſon, with Sir Edmund Carew, and Sir Thomas Fulford, and likewiſe Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, with many brave gentlemen, namely, Sir Thomas Trenchard, Sir William Courtney, Sir John Halewel, Sir John Croker, Walter Courtney, Peter Edgecombe, William St. Maure, or Seymour, &c. Bacon. Hall, fol. 46. Hollingſh. p. 784.

[a] Five hundred, ſays Hollingſhead. Bacon, p. 622.

H. VII. 1498.

his ſervice. On the morrow, he cauſed ſome of the rebels to be hanged in ſacrifice to the inhabitants of Exeter, and as a ſort of ſatisfaction for what they had ſuffered. For the reſt who had ſubmitted to his mercy, he gave them indeed their lives, but withal appointed commiſſioners [b] to puniſh them by fines. He proceeded on this occaſion with exceſſive ſeverity. One would have thought he repented of giving them their lives, and deſigned to ſtarve the miſerable wretches after freeing them from the gallows.

Some of the rebels are executed, and others fined. Act. Pub. xii. p. 696.

After that, he adviſed with his council, upon what ſhould be done with Perkin, who was ſtill inveſted in his ſanctuary. Some were for taking him out by force, and putting him to death, not at all queſtioning, that after the execution, the king might eaſily agree with the pope. Others on the contrary believed, that according to the licenſe granted by Innocent VIII's bull, it ſufficed to have him narrowly watched, and that, without neceſſity, ſuch an advantage ſhould not be given to the pope. Moreover, that the king ought carefully to avoid being deemed a violator of Sanctuaries, of which his enemies would not fail to take the advantage. In ſhort, ſome there were who plainly told the king, he would never ſatisfy the people, that Perkin was an impoſture, unleſs Warbeck himſelf freely undeceived thoſe that were ſeduced by his artifices: That therefore the beſt method that could be taken was, to ingage him by a pardon to make himſelf a confeſſion of his crime. The king following this advice, ſent to offer Perkin his life, if he would voluntarily ſurrender himſelf. Perkin readily accepted the offer. He ſaw himſelf ſo ſtrictly watched and guarded, that he deſpaired to make his eſcape. Beſides, ſuppoſing he could have eſcaped, he was deſtitute of all hopes, after an unſucceſsful trial of ſo many different means.

Debates about Perkin. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

He ſurrenders himſelf to the king. Hall. Hollingſh.

Shortly after, the king ordered Perkin to be brought to court, as if he was in full liberty, but however, attended by ſeveral perſons who were commanded to guard him with all care leſt he made his eſcape. Every one might ſee and talk with him, but he could never obtain leave to throw himſelf at the king's feet, though the king, to ſatisfy his curioſity, ſaw him without being ſeen. After that, Perkin was conducted to London. He was all the way expoſed to the inſults and deriſion of the people; but ſeemed to bear all with great courage and conſtancy. Never did he act the prince better than

He is carried to London, and confined in the Tower.

[b] Thomas Harrys, William Hatclyff, and Roger Holand. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 696.

upon

upon this occaſion, without affecting too great an inſenſibility, or ſhowing too much dejection. When he was come to London, he was made to ride twice through the city, that people might have time and opportunity to view him well, after which, he was confined in the Tower [c]. A few days after was executed one of his chief confidents, who not caring to take ſanctuary with him in Bewley, choſe rather to wander about the country in a hermit's dreſs [d]. This execution being over, Perkin was privately examined, and his confeſſion publiſhed, giving an exact account of all his actions, and the places where he had lived ever ſince he was born. But all were ſurprized to find no particulars of the conſpiracy or the authors. The ducheſs of Burgundy herſelf was not ſo much as named. Some took occaſion from thence to confirm themſelves in the belief, that the perſon called Perkin Warbeck was the true duke of York. They were perſuaded, that this affected ſilence was not without myſtery, and that the king durſt not inſert in Perkin's pretended confeſſion, any of the circumſtances relating to foreign princes, for fear of being publicly contradicted by perſons who would not have for him the ſame regard as his own ſubjects. As for what was publiſhed concerning Perkin's life and kindred, nothing, as they ſaid, was eaſier than to invent ſuch ſtories. Some however believed the king was thus ſilent, out of complaiſance to the king of France, the emperor, archduke, ducheſs of Burgundy, and king of Scotland: And that there were even Engliſh lords engaged in the plot, againſt whom he did not think fit to proceed.

H. VII. 1498. Bacon.

The year 1498, ended with an accident which gave the king no ſmall concern. Whilſt he was at his palace of Shene, a fire broke out the 21ſt of December with that violence, that in few hours the building was entirely conſumed, with all the rich furniture. As Henry was very fond of that palace, he cauſed it ſoon after to be rebuilt from the ground, calling it Richmond, which name it retains to this day [e].

Shene palace burnt, and Richmond built. Bacon. Stow.

The ſame year Iſabella queen of Portugal was ſolemnly acknowledged preſumptive heir of Caſtile and Arragon, by the ſtates of thoſe two kingdoms. But ſhortly after, ſhe died in childbed at Saragoſſa, having been delivered of a prince,

Death of Iſabella queen of Portugal. Michael her ſon heir of Spain.

[c] It does not appear that he was committed to the Tower till after he had attempted to eſcape. See Hollingſhead, p. 784.

[d] He was farrier to the king's ſtables, and accompanied Perkin in his proceſſion through the city, bound hand and foot upon a horſe. Bacon, 623.

[e] He gave it that name from his having been earl of Richmond. Camden.

who

H. VII. 1499. who was named Michael, and proclaimed preſumptive ſucceſſor of Ferdinand and Iſabella.

Since Lewis XII. aſcended the throne of France, he had been employed in contriving how to recover the duchy of Milan, which he claimed in right of Valentina of Milan his grandmother.

Quarrel between the Engliſh and Scots. Bacon. Hall. Hollingſh.

The truce between England and Scotland being concluded, as I ſaid, to the ſatisfaction of both kingdoms, the Scots converſed familiarly with their neighbours the Engliſh, particularly with the inhabitants of Norham. This town, which was fortified with a good caſtle and a ſtrong garriſon, is ſituated on the little river Tweed, which parts the two kingdoms. It happened one day, ſome Scotchmen walking out of the town, ſtood looking attentively upon the caſtle, which breeding ſuſpicion in the ſoldiers of the garriſon, they ſent to them to retire. The Scots taking it ill to be ſuſpected, returned an angry anſwer, and in ſhort, falling from words to blows, ſome of them were killed. The affair being brought before the wardens of the Marches, was neglected, ſo that after many delays, the king of Scotland ſent a herald into England to demand a ſpeedy ſatisfaction. Henry, who had no mind to quarrel with James, replied, that what had been done was a meer chance, and without his privity; but however, he was ready to make all convenient ſatisfaction, and to that end, would ſend ambaſſadors to the king of Scotland. Buchanan, and the lord Bacon, Henry the ſeventh's hiſtorian, affirm, the firſt overture of the marriage between king James and the princeſs Margaret, was made during this negotiation, and that James himſelf propoſed it to Richard Fox biſhop of Durham. Whereas it appears in the Collection of the Public Acts, that, above four years before, Henry had projected the marriage, and probably cauſed it, as I ſaid, to be ſuggeſted to the king of Scotland, by ſome indirect means. As the biſhop of Durham could not be ignorant of the king's intentions, ſince he had been twice commiſſioned to treat of this marriage, he failed not to inſpire king James with hopes, that the affair would be ended to his ſatisfaction. Shortly after, the ambaſſadors of the two kingdoms [f] meeting at Sterling to decide the Norham affair, renewed the former truce, adding certain articles to prevent the like accidents. After that, Henry appointed the biſhop

The king of Scotland demands ſatisfaction.

Treaty of marriage of Margaret with James IV. Act. Pub. xii. p. 721, 729.

p. 722.

p. 729.

[f] The Engliſh ambaſſadors were, Darcy, Sir Richard Cholmeley, and William biſhop of Carliſle, Richard Hutton, doctor of laws, Sir Thomas John Cartyngton. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 721.

of

of Durham to ſettle with the king of Scotland the articles of the intended marriage. This affair was not however finiſhed till January 1502. H. VII. 1499.

Perkin Warbeck, accuſtomed to live like a prince, was heartily tired of the Tower, where doubtleſs he was not treated as ſuch. Though according to appearance, the king had ordered him to be ſtrictly guarded, he found means to eſcape, and take the road into Kent, where he hoped to meet ſome ſhip to carry him out of the kingdom. But hearing that orders were every where ſent to apprehend him, he thought proper to fly to the monaſtery of Bethlehem [g], which enjoyed the privilege of ſanctuary [h]. It was difficult for the prior to protect ſuch a perſon, and yet he could not reſolve either to let him go elſewhere, or violate the privilege of the houſe, in delivering him to the king. In this perplexity, he choſe to wait upon the king, and acquainting him that Perkin was in his hands, petitioned for his life, leaving him otherwiſe to the king's diſcretion. The king readily ſaw, it would not be poſſible to draw Perkin out of the monaſtery to put him to death, without making great noiſe. So, on pretence of his great reſpect for the prior, who was a perſon very much reverenced, he granted the priſoner his life, but ordered him to be ſet in the ſtocks a whole day, in the palace court at Weſtminſter, and the next day at the Croſs in Cheapſide [i], from whence he was conveyed to the Tower [k]. Such a priſoner naturally ſhould have been thrown into ſome dungeon, and yet his confinement was not the moſt rigorous, ſince he had the liberty to converſe with the reſt of the priſoners.

Perkin eſcapes out of the Tower, Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh. and flies to ſanctuary.

He is pardoned and ſent to the Tower. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

After he had remained ſome time in this ſtate, he found means to gain four ſervants of Sir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower, with whom he plotted to kill their maſter, ſeize the keys of the Tower, and eſcape with the earl of Warwick, who had been alſo perſuaded to come into the plot out of hopes of recovering his liberty, of which he had been ſo long unjuſtly debarred. But unhappily for them, the affair was diſcovered before it could be executed. It was ſcarce doubted that the king himſelf was the contriver of the plot, and that his aim was to draw at once Perkin Warbeck and the earl of Warwick into the ſnare, in order to put them

Perkin's and the earl of Warwick's plot diſcovered. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

[g] Built by Henry V. at Shene in Surrey, and was called the priory of Shene. Hall, fol. 49.

[h] And deſired the prior, for God's ſake, to petition the king to grant him his life, and a pardon. Hall.

[i] In both which places he read his confeſſion, of which the reader may ſee a copy in Hall, fol. 49; and in Hollingſhead, p. 786.

[k] On the 15th of June. Hall, fol. 50.

both

H. VII. 1499. both to death. Indeed ſeveral reaſons rendered it credible. Firſt, it was very ſurprizing that Perkin was not more cloſely confined after the attempt to make his eſcape. Secondly, it was not likely that in his circumſtances, unable to reward Sir John Digby's ſervants, they ſhould expoſe themſelves to ſuch danger for his ſake. In the third place, Perkin was too cunning to join with the earl of Warwick, who would have hurted him only, though they had been ſo fortunate as to eſcape. Laſtly, ſuppoſing they had killed the governor without being diſcovered and got the keys of the Tower, how could they expect that the guards would have opened the gate or ſuffered it to be opened in the night, without examining the perſons that went out, or without the governor's expreſs order. But what farther confirms this ſuſpicion of the king was, that about the ſame time a young man, one Wilford a ſhoemaker's ſon, pretended to be the earl of Warwick. He was accompanied or rather guided and directed by an Auguſtin Frier called Patrick, who had the boldneſs to preach publicly in ſome town in Kent, that Wilford was the earl of Warwick, and exhort the people to take up arms in his favour. They were both apprehended, and Wilford was hanged, but the frier was pardoned[l]. This gave occaſion to believe, Wilford had been ſeduced by the frier and by the king's particular direction, that it might be thought leſs ſtrange, that he put him to death, under colour of cauſing freſh troubles.

One pretending to be the earl of Warwick is hanged. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

However, it is certain the king was reſolved to free himſelf at once from all his uneaſineſſes occaſioned by Perkin and the earl of Warwick. Though it cannot poſitively be ſaid, that he laid a ſnare for them, at leaſt the plot furniſhed him with a plauſible reaſon to deliver him over to juſtice. Perkin was condemned[m] by commiſſioners of oyer and terminer to be hanged, and was executed with the mayor of Cork[n] and his ſon, who had been his conſtant companions in all his adventures. Of eight others that were condemned with them, among whom were Sir John Digby's four ſervants, there were but two executed. Such was the end of Perkin Warbeck, who had been acknowledged for lawful king in Ireland, France, Flanders, England, Scotland, and made Henry ſhake in his throne. Perhaps he would have ſucceeded in his deſigns, had

Perkin is condemned to be hanged Hall, Bacon.

l Wilford was hanged on Shrove-Tueſday; and the frier was condemned to perpetual impriſonment. Bacon, p. 625.

m On November 16, and executed the 23d of the ſame month. Hall, fol. 50. Stow, p. 481.

n John Awater. His ſon was pardoned. J. Ware, c. 15.

he

he been to deal with a leſs politic prince. However, it is certain the king was not enough careful to undeceive the public, and that the proofs produced to ſhew Perkin was an impoſtor being taken only from a private examination, ſeemed not ſufficiently evident. H. VII. 1499.

In a few days after Perkin's death [o], the earl of Warwick was brought before the houſe of Peers, the earl of Oxford exerciſing by commiſſion the office of high-ſteward. He was arraigned, not for attempting to eſcape, which could not be deemed high-treaſon, ſince he was not impriſoned for any ſuch crime nor even for any other, but for conſpiring the king's death jointly with Perkin Warbeck. The poor prince confeſſing that he gave his conſent to the project laid by Perkin and Digby's ſervants, was condemned to loſe his head, and the ſentence was executed on Tower-hill [p]. He was the laſt male-heir of the houſe of York, which in truth was the crime that coſt him his life, the king chuſing rather to ſacrifice his own reputation than be diſappointed of ſecuring the crown both to himſelf and his heirs. To leſſen in ſome meaſure the people's horror of this cruelty, the king cauſed it to be publiſhed that king Ferdinand had poſitively declared, he would never conſent to marry his daughter Catherine to prince Arthur, ſo long as the earl of Warwick was alive. Strange ſort of apology, tending to inſinuate, that the marriage of the princeſs of Spain was ſo neceſſary for England, that it muſt be purchaſed with blood! but if the marriage was not requiſite for the ſtate, it was at leaſt very beneficial to the king, who was to receive two hundred thouſand crowns of gold for Catherine's dowry. This alone would have induced him to ſacrifice the earl of Warwick, though he had no other advantage by his death. From a like motive he had beheaded the lord chamberlain. Mean while, very probably what was publiſhed concerning king Ferdinand, was only a mere pretence to excuſe Henry, ſince Arthur's marriage with Catherine was ſolemnized by proxy the 19th of May this very year before the earl of Warwick's death [q].

The earl of Warwick is condemned and beheaded. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

Act. Pub. xii. p. 754.

[o] November 21, and conſequently two days before Perkin's death. Hall.

[p] Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick was four and twenty years old, and had been a priſoner fifteen years, and kept ſo from the company of men and beaſts, that he is ſaid not to know a gooſe from a capon. He was beheaded November 28, and buried at Biſham. Hall.

[q] It is reported that Catherine, upon Henry VIII's divorcing her, ſhould ſay, "That ſhe had not offended; but it "was a judgment of God, for that her "former marriage was made in blood." Meaning the earl of Warwick's. Bacon, p. 616.

Lewis

H. VII. 1499. Lewis XII. had ſolemnly ratified and ſworn the peace of Eſtaples a little after his acceſſion to the crown. But being deſirous to ſhew Henry, he really intended to keep it, he cauſed it to be approved and ratified by the ſtates general, aſſembled at Nantz in the beginning of the year. Then he ſent ambaſſadors to the pope, to pray him to confirm it by his authority. The pope ſeeing no farther obſtacle from France, iſſued out a bull of excommunication againſt whoever of the two kings ſhould not obſerve the treaty.

The peace of Eſtaples confirmed by the ſtates of France. p. 706. p. 736.

Lewis XII. becomes maſter of Milan.

It was not without reaſon that Lewis deſired to preſerve the peace made by his predeceſſor with England. He had formed a deſign to ſeize the duchy of Milan, and to that end made a league with the Venetians, who were to have for their ſhare all that part of the Milaneſe ſituate beyond the Adda. This ſame year the confederates attacked the duchy of Milan, and Ludovico Sforza, the moſt perfidious of men, being forſaken by all the world, was forced to fly to the emperor, having loſt all his places except the caſtle of Milan. Genoa, of which he was poſſeſſed, followed the example of the Milaneſe, in voluntarily ſurrendering to the king of France.

The king of Naples is included in the peace of Eſtaples. p. 720.

Frederick king of Naples, who had ſucceeded Ferdinand his nephew, fearing the preparations in France were deſigned againſt him, gave Henry ſpeedy notice that he deſired to be included in the peace he had lately renewed with France. But it was not with him that Lewis intended to deal this year. He reſerved the war of Naples after the conqueſt of the Milaneſe.

1500. A jubilee furniſhes the pope with means to raiſe money. Hall. Bacon.

Alexander VI. having publiſhed a jubilee for the year 1500, the laſt of the century, had granted by his bull to all chriſtians at a diſtance from Rome, the privilege of the jubilee without being obliged to viſit the churches of that city, but on condition of paying ſuch a ſum for the favour. This was an infallible way to draw money from all the ſtates of chriſtendom, where he had ſent commiſſioners to levy it. The commiſſioner appointed for England was Jaſper Pons a Spaniard, who wiſely diſcharged his commiſſion without noiſe or ſcandal, and carried a good ſum of money to his maſter[r].

A cruſade intended with the ſame view. The pope's project. Bacon. Act. Pub. xii. p. 747.

Beſides this affair, he was charged with another which ſeemed of great moment, but tended like the firſt only to fill the pope's coffers. He had orders to acquaint the king that the pope was reſolved to publiſh a cruſade againſt the Turks: that therefore it was agreed with the ambaſſadors of ſeveral

[r] This was done after the king's return from Calais, which was about the end of June. Hall, fol. 52.

po-

potentates, that the Hungarians, Polonians, and Bohemians should make war upon the Turks in Thrace, the French and Spaniards in Greece, and himself, with the king of England, the Venetians, and princes of Italy, who were most powerful at sea, should attack Constantinople: that in consequence of this resolution, he had sent nuncio's to all the courts, to exhort the sovereigns amicably to end their private quarrels, that all the forces of christendom might be united together for so pious an undertaking. Alexander VI. was too well known to be thought to act upon this occasion from a motive of religion and zeal for the glory of God. Consequently, it was easy to see that the sole design of the crusade was to heap up money by voluntary contributions, as well from private persons as sovereigns. However, as *Henry* was unwilling to show his dislike of the project, which probably would meet with obstacles enough elsewhere, he told the nuncio, "That no prince in all christendom should be more "zealous than himself, to promote the affair, to the glory of "God and the good of the church: but as his dominions "were so remote from Constantinople, as he had no galleys, "and as his mariners were not sufficiently acquainted with "the Mediterranean sea, he judged it more proper that the "kings of France and Spain should accompany his holiness "by sea, whereby, not only all things would be sooner ready, "but the jealousy wisely avoided, which would infallibly "arise between these two monarchs, in case they should march "together by land without a superior: that for his part, he "would freely contribute both men and money towards the "undertaking. But if the kings of France and Spain should "refuse to accompany the pope, he would go himself and "command under him, provided all differences between the "christian princes were first appeased, (which he should not "obstruct, since he was in peace with all the world) and "some good towns on the coast of Italy put into his hands, "to serve for retreat in case of necessity."

H. VII. 1506.

The king's answer. Bacon.

The pope easily perceived the meaning of this answer, and as probably the rest of the princes would return the like, the crusade vanished into air. Mean while Henry, to display his zeal, appointed ambassadors to go to Rome to treat with the pope concerning that affair. But I do not know whether the ambassadors ever went from London. Henry's answer being made public, the knights of Rhodes elected him for protector of their order, imagining there was no prince in christendom more zealous than himself for religion.

The project comes to nothing.

Henry is chosen protector of the order of St. John. Act. Pub. xii. p. 747.

The

H. VII. 1500.

The plague having for ſome time raged in England[a], the king, after frequent change of places, reſolved to go and make ſome ſtay at Calais with his family, till the danger was over. Upon his arrival, the archduke Philip ſent ambaſſadors to welcome him into thoſe parts, and expreſs his deſire of paying him a viſit. But withal, prayed him to appoint for their interview ſome place that was not a walled town, not but that he had a perfect confidence in him, but becauſe he had already refuſed to confer with the king of France in a fortified place. Henry very civilly accepted the compliment, and appointed the place to be at St. Peter's church without the gates of Calais. Then he ſent ambaſſadors to Philip to return his compliment, and tell him with what impatience he expected him. Some days after, being informed that the archduke was near Calais, he rid out of the town to receive him. When Philip ſaw him, he alighted and offered to hold the king's ſtirrup. But Henry not permitting him, they embraced, and withdrawing into the church, had a long conference. The archduke, willing to efface the impreſſion which his protection of Perkin might have made in the king's mind, ſhowed an ardent deſire to live in a good underſtanding with him, calling him his patron and father, as appears in the king's letter to the mayor of London, acquainting him with what paſſed at the interview. It is ſaid alſo, that overtures were made of croſs marriages between Henry duke of York the king's ſecond ſon, and Margaret ſiſter of Philip, and widow of the prince of Spain, and between Charles ſon of Philip and Mary the king's ſecond daughter. Charles was born the 24th of February this year, and by the death of prince Michael of Portugal about the ſame time, was become preſumptive heir of the crowns of Caſtile and Arragon.

He goes to Calais becauſe of the plague. Hall.

Interview between Henry and the archduke. Bacon. Hollingſh.

Project of marriages. Bacon.

This year, the pope, at the requeſt of Lewis XII. himſelf, gave a bull, whereby that prince was declared excommunicate, if he failed in his payments contained in the treaty of Eſtaples.

Bull upon the peace of Eſtaples. June 12. Act. Pub. xii. p. 763.

The ambaſſadors of England and Scotland, being at length agreed upon the terms of the marriage between king James and Margaret, the pope granted a diſpenſation. But as the princeſs was only between ten and eleven years old, it was not conſummated till three years after.

Diſpenſation for the Scotch marriage. July 28. p. 765.

Henry was then in peace with all the princes of Europe, and there was no appearance of any troubles in his kingdom. Conſequently he had no ſort of pretence to demand of his

The king enquires after Warbeck's adherents. 765.

[a] There died of it thirty thouſand in London. Stow.

par-

parliament new ſubſidies. This way of raiſing money, of which he was ſo greedy, failing him, other methods were to be deviſed. Perkin Warbeck's affair was a plentiful fountain, which was not yet exhauſted. The commiſſion he had eſtabliſhed whilſt at Exeter, regarded properly ſuch only as had actually taken up arms againſt him. But though that commiſſion had brought him in very large ſums, he was not yet ſatisfied. Under colour, that thoſe who had any way adhered to Warbeck's party were ſtill liable to the rigour of the law, he was ready to grant them a pardon unaſked; but it was on condition, they paid the fines laid upon them. For that purpoſe he appointed new commiſſioners[t] to make inqueſt of thoſe that aſſiſted Michael the farrier, author of the firſt Corniſh rebellion, and Perkin Warbeck the impoſtor, with power to pardon them upon their paying fines at the commiſſioners diſcretion. He ordered likewiſe the eſtates of ſuch as were dead to be ſeized and ſold, if the heirs refuſed to make a reaſonable compoſition. It is eaſy to ſee from hence, that if the king had been favourable to the rebels during the troubles, it was only out of fear of driving them to deſpair, whilſt they were yet heated, ſince he ſpared them not as ſoon as he believed them to be no longer dangerous. H. VII. 1500.

Cardinal Morton archbiſhop of Canterbury was accuſed of being the author of theſe oppreſſions. But it was afterwards perceived, they ſprung from the king himſelf. The archbiſhop died the latter end of this, or the beginning of the next year[u], little regretted by the Engliſh, who were greatly prejudiced againſt him. Henry Dean biſhop of Saliſbury ſucceeded him, but had not poſſeſſion till the Auguſt following[w]. Before we cloſe this year, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention what paſſed in Italy. Death of cardinal Morton. Hall. Stow. Dean ſucceeds him. Act. Pub. xii. p. 772, 773.

After Lewis XII. was become maſter of the duchy of Milan, he turned his thoughts to the conqueſt of Naples. Though probably he might alone have conquered that kingdom, he made however an alliance with the king of Arragon, whereby they agreed to join their forces, and ſhare the conqueſt between them. Ferdinand was to have Apulia and Calabria, and Lewis the city of Naples, Abruzzo and Terra di Lavaro. Lewis XII. and Ferdinand ſhare the kingdom of Naples. Mezerai.

[t] Robert Shirborn dean of St. Paul's, and Sir Amlas Paulet. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 766.

[u] Stow ſays, he died in October at his manor of Knole. p. 482.

[w] This year alſo died Thomas Rotheram archbiſhop of York; in whoſe place was choſen Thomas Savage biſhop of London, who was ſucceeded by William Warham. About the ſame time died Thomas Langton biſhop of Wincheſter, and was ſucceeded by Richard Fox biſhop of Wincheſter. Hall, fol. 5[1]. Stow, p. 481, 482. Hollingſh. p. 488. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 767, 771.

H. VII. 1500. The treaty being ſigned, Ferdinand ſent an army into Italy under the command of the famous Gonzolvo, commonly called the Great Captain. Lewis gave the conduct of his army to d'Aubigni, to the earl of Gaiazzo and Cæſar Borgia the pope's baſtard, who having quitted the cardinalate was become duke of Valentinois. The French fleet was commanded by Philip of Cleves lord of Ravenſtein. In a very ſhort ſpace, each of the two kings became maſter of the portion aſſigned him by the treaty, and the unfortunate Frederick king of Naples was forced to caſt himſelf upon the mercy of Lewis XII. who ſent him to live in France with a penſion of thirty thouſand crowns.

The king of Naples gives himſelf up to Lewis.

1501. Henry having no war with any of his neighbours, lived in great tranquillity, and the more, as he ſaw in England no lord in condition to create him uneaſineſs. The ability he had ſhown in ſeveral affairs, as well foreign as domeſtic, which had unexpectedly come upon him, kept his neighbours in awe, and his ſubjects in obedience. So, which way ſoever he turned his eyes, he ſaw nothing capable of diſturbing his quiet. Mean while, when he leaſt expected it, he thought a new ſtorm was gathering againſt him, but he was more afraid than hurt. The earl of Suffolk[x], nephew of Edward IV. and Richard III. and brother of the earl of Lincoln ſlain at Stokefield, quarrelling with a man had the misfortune to kill him. This accident might have given the king a pretence to free himſelf from the earl, who could not but be odious to him, ſince he was by his mother of the houſe of York. However, whether the action in itſelf was not ill, or for ſome other reaſon, the king was pleaſed to forgive him on condition he openly pleaded his pardon. The earl, more offended at this ignominy, than grateful for the favour granted him, retired ſhortly after into Flanders to his aunt the ducheſs of Burgundy. Henry was ſtartled at his retreat, imagining he was gone into the Low-countries to contrive ſome plot againſt him. His conſtant uneaſineſs, with reſpect to his crown, made him apprehenſive, that the leaſt beginnings would be attended with ſad conſequences. And therefore, not to give the earl of Suffolk time to concert new projects with the ducheſs of Burgundy, he ſo wrought with him by meſſages, that he returned into England, where he was very readily pardoned. The ducheſs of Burgundy was grown old, and tired with ſo many fruitleſs attempts to de-

The earl of Suffolk withdraws into Flanders.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. Bacon.

The king finds means to make him return.

[x] Edmund de la Pole, ſon of Elizabeth, Edward's eldeſt ſiſter by John de la Pole duke of Suffolk, her ſecond husband.

throne Henry. Beſides, ſhe could expect no farther aſſiſtance from the archduke, who was willing to live in a good underſtanding with him. H. VII. 1501.

This year abounded in marriages, and projects of marriages of conſequence. The archduke going into Spain by land, had an opportunity to confer with Lewis XII. and conclude with him a marriage between his ſon Charles, and Claude eldeſt daughter of that monarch. Several marriages.

On the other hand, Margaret of Auſtria, the archduke's ſiſter, and widow of the prince of Spain, eſpouſed Philibert duke of Savoy.

In fine, Catherine of Arragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, coming into England in October [y], her marriage with Arthur prince of Wales was ſolemnized the 14th of November. Though the prince was but in the ſixteenth year of his age [z], it was not queſtioned whether the marriage was conſummated. The prince himſelf next morning ſaid ſeveral things which left no room to doubt it. And yet, there were afterwards very warm diſputes upon it, Catherine or her council affirming, there was no conſummation. But it is not yet time to ſpeak of that matter. Marriage of Arthur with Catherine conſummated. Act. Pub. xii. p. 782. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Thomas Wolſey, afterwards archbiſhop of York and cardinal, who made ſo great a figure in England, was now rector of the pariſh-church of Lymington, in the dioceſe of Bath and Wells. We find in the Collection of the Public Acts, that in November this year, the pope, in conſideration of his diſtinguiſhed merit, granted him a diſpenſation to hold two benefices that were inconſiſtent. Diſpenſation granted to Thomas Wolſey. Act. Pub. xi. p. 783.

Though the diſpenſation for the king of Scotland's marriage was come, Henry made no haſte to finiſh that affair, by reaſon of his daughter's tender age. At length, the princeſs being entered upon her thirteenth year, the 29th of November 1501, James ſent ambaſſadors to London, where every thing concerning the marriage was ſettled, and the contract drawn in form the 24th of January 1502. Henry gave with his daughter thirty thouſand angel nobles of gold [a], (each noble worth twenty groſſes, or groats) payable in three years. James ſettled upon the princeſs his ſpouſe, a jointure of two thouſand pounds ſterling a year in land, of which however he was to receive the income during his life, and allow her only a thouſand pounds a year at her own diſpoſal. It was farther agreed, that ſhe might have twenty-four Engliſh ſervants, and when one died, ſhe might appoint another in his room: that the 1502. The laſt agreements about Margaret's marriage with James IV. p. 781. Hall. Bacon.

[y] She arrived at Plymouth, Octob. 2.
[z] He was born September 20, 1486.
[a] Ten thouſand pounds.

H. VII. 1502. marriage ſhould be performed "per verba de Præſenti", about the feaſt of Purification; but the king of Scotland ſhould not think of having Margaret in his hands till September the 1ſt, 1503: that then Henry ſhould cauſe her to be conducted, at his expence, to the borders of the two kingdoms. Before the contract was ſigned, a privy-counſellor repreſented to the king, that it was not impoſſible but the marriage might one day give England a Scotch ſovereign[b]. Whereupon the king replied, ſuppoſing that ſhould be, the ſtrongeſt would carry it from the weakeſt, and Scotland be annexed to England, and not England to Scotland; which fell out accordingly.

Bacon. Two treaties between England and Scotland. Act. Publ. xii. p. 777. 793, 800.

The ſame day were ſigned alſo two other treaties, one of perpetual peace and amity between Scotland and England, and the other concerning the outrages that might be committed on both ſides contrary to the peace.

Death of prince Arthur. Hall. Hollingſh.

Whilſt the court was rejoicing for the marriage of the queen of Scotland, prince Arthur her brother was ſeized with a diſtemper which laid him in his grave. He died the 2d of April, about five months after his marriage, and in the ſeventeenth year of his age[c]. As the princeſs his widow might be with child, the king delayed two or three months to create Henry his ſecond ſon prince of Wales. The lord Bacon ſays

Henry his brother made prince of Wales. Act. Pub. xiii. p. 11.

in his hiſtory, that Henry was not made Prince of Wales till February 1503[d]. But we find in the Collection of the Public Acts, letters patents of the 22d of June 1502, wherein he is ſtiled prince of Wales; a clear evidence that he was now inveſted with that principality.

Henry makes the emperor a preſent of money. Ib. p. 3, 5, 9, 20.

Shortly after, Henry received an embaſſy from the emperor Maximilian, to propoſe a league againſt the Turks. This embaſſy was properly only a pretence to demand of the king an aid of money, which the emperor promiſed punctually to repay. But the king knowing Maximilian to be always in want, choſe rather to make him a preſent of ten thouſand pounds, then to lend him the ſum he deſired. As for the league propoſed by the emperor, Henry did not think fit to engage in it, contenting himſelf with ſtipulating, that the ten thouſand pounds ſhould be employed in the war againſt the

[b] In caſe Arthur and Henry died without iſſue.

[c] He died at Ludlow caſtle, where he was ſent to keep his reſidence as prince of Wales, and was buried in the cathedral church at Worceſter. Sandford, p. 475.

[d] Bacon ſays, it was half a year's time between Henry's creation and Arthur's death. And juſt after, he ſays, the February following (that is, ten months) Henry was created prince of Wales, and earl of Cheſter and Flint, p. 625. Hall relates, that upon ſuſpicion of his brother's wife being with child, he was by a month and more delayed of his title, fol. 55. Hollingſh. p. 790.

Infidels.

Infidels. He concluded with him however a treaty of commerce, and another of friendſhip and alliance, which was to laſt one year after the death of the ſurvivor. Moreover it was agreed, that Maximilian, and his ſon the archduke, ſhould be admitted into the order of the Garter, and Henry into that of the Golden Fleece. Purſuant to the agreement, Henry ſent ambaſſadors [c] to Maximilian with the order of the Garter, and to ſee him ſwear to the treaties. H. VII. 1502. Treaties between the emperor and Henry. p. 6—27. p. 35.

About the ſame time Ladiſlaus king of Hungary, finding himſelf preſſed by the Turks, and deſiring the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtian princes, Henry ſent ambaſſadors to treat with him. But their power was limited to a promiſe, in his name, of a ſum of money to be employed againſt the Infidels. Embaſſy to Hungary. p. 4, 5.

During the reſt of the year nothing extraordinary paſſed in England. James and Henry were entirely taken up with confirming and ratifying their three late treaties, and ſwearing to obſerve them. We find in the Collection of the Public Acts, the ambaſſadors of the king of England [f] having delivered to king James a writing, containing the oath he was to take, and he reading it as it was, inadvertently gave Henry the title of king of France. But afterwards perceiving his error, he took publicly another oath, wherein the words, "and of France," were omitted, and made that his authentic act. He was afraid, no doubt, the king of France would be diſpleaſed with his giving Henry that title, though it was of no great importance. Confirmation of the treaty between England and Scotland. p. 30--43--76. p. 43.

We ſee likewiſe in the Collection, that on the 9th of December, Henry gave a patent to James Elliot and Thomas Aſhurſt, merchants of Briſtol, to John Gonſalez and Francis Fernandez, natives of Portugal, to go with Engliſh colours in queſt of unknown countries, upon certain terms expreſſed in the patent [g]. Patent for diſcovering new lands. p. 37.

Elizabeth, Henry's queen, died the 11th of February 1503, without being much lamented by the king, who never loved her [h]. On the contrary, he had given her ſenſible mortifications. His hatred to the houſe of York was extended to his 1503. The queen's death. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

[c] Sir Thomas Brandon, and Nicolas Weſt, doctor of laws. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 35.

[f] Sir Thomas Darcy, captain of Berwick, and Henry Babyngton. Ib. p. 43.

[g] About this time were brought to court three men taken in the new-found iſlands by Sebaſtian Cabott. They were cloathed in beaſts ſkins, and ſpoke a language unknown. Two of them were ſeen two years after at the king's court at Weſtminſter, dreſſed like Engliſhmen, neither could they be diſcerned from ſuch. Stow's Ann. p. 483.

[h] She died in childbed, having been delivered of a daughter called Elizabeth, in the Tower, who died ſoon after her mother. The queen was buried at Weſtminſter. Stow's Ann. Sandford, p. 469, &c.

H. VII. 1503. own wife, especially as he always deemed her a dangerous rival. The concern he gave her by confining the queen her mother in a convent, and confiscating all her estate, plainly showed his little regard for her [i].

The king oppresses his subjects by Empson and Dudley. Hall. Bacon. Hollingsh.

At this time the king's affairs were so prosperous, that he seemed to have all he could desire. He was in peace with all the princes of Europe, and without troubles at home, or the appearance of any thing to vex or embarrass him. But his subjects were not the happier. As his avarice was insatiable, he was continually seeking new ways to heap up riches, which he wanted not, since it was not to use them, and since never prince was a greater oeconomist than himself. His instruments for that purpose were two infamous ministers, Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, who, regardless of their own and the king's reputation, sought only to gratify his humour, and devise new means to fill his coffers. Dudley was of a good family, well skilled in the laws of the land, and able to give a favorable turn to the most odious actions. Empson was sprung from the dregs of the people [k], impudent to the last degree, and so little ashamed of the injustices he committed, that he used to glory in them. These are some of the means they used to draw money from the people, into the king's treasury, besides numberless others too long to be recounted.

Their character.

Sundry means used by them to procure money, Bacon.

In the first place, they caused such as were reputed rich, to be indicted of sundry crimes, and when the bills were found by the grand-jury, committed them, without bringing them to their tryal, till of themselves they desired to compound with the king. If they delayed too long, the ministers found means to terrify them with emissaries, who made them believe their lives were in danger. By this means the parties were forced at length to come to a composition, which tore from them the best part of their estates, and which the ministers termed however mitigations, as if the king had done them a favour in allaying the too great rigour of the law.

2. They came at last to that point, that they proceeded without observing any form of justice. They sent forth their precepts to attach and cite people before themselves at their

[i] On Aug. 5, died Sir Reginald Bray, knight of the garter, often mentioned in this reign; of whom Hall gives this character, That he was a very father of his country, a sage and grave person, and a fervent lover of justice; who would often admonish the king when he did any thing contrary to justice or equity, fol. 56. About the same time also died Henry Dean, archbishop of Canterbury, and was succeeded by William Warham, bishop of London. Ibid. Stow, p. 484.

[k] He was a sieve maker's son. Bacon, p. 621.

private

private houſes, in a court of commiſſion, and there, after a ſummary proceeding by examination, without proofs or witneſſes, paſſed ſentence, and condemned them in large fines to the king's uſe. Thus without vouchſafing to make uſe of juries, and the methods preſcribed by the law, they aſſumed themſelves to deal as well in controverſies civil, as in pleas of the crown. One would have thought, all criminal cauſes had belonged to that kind of juriſdiction, which having been very rare in the foregoing reigns, was grown common in this. H. VII. 1503.

3. They charged the ſubjects lands with Tenures in Capite, by finding falſe offices [l], refuſing upon divers pretences and delays to admit people to traverſe thoſe falſe offices according to law. Hence they formed variety of proceſſes, whereof they themſelves were the judges, and which were always decided in favour of the crown.

4. When the king's wards had accompliſhed their full age, they could never have livery of their lands without paying exceſſive fines, contrary to the expreſs tenor of Magna Charta [m].

5. When men were out-lawed in perſonal actions, the miniſters would not permit them to purchaſe their charters of pardon, unleſs they paid great and intolerable ſums; ſtanding upon the rigour of the law, which upon out-lawries gives forfeiture of goods. Nay, contrary to all law and colour, they maintained, the king ought to have the half of men's lands and rents during two whole years.

6. They would alſo threaten the jurors, and force them to find as they ſhould direct; and if they refuſed to act ſo unjuſtly, they were cited, impriſoned, and fined [n].

It is needleſs to repeat any more of their courſes. Theſe I have mentioned are ſufficient to ſhow, that men of this character ſcrupled not to commit the moſt enormous injuſtices, provided it was for the king's advantage. Herein leſs blameable than the king himſelf, who ſuffered them to abuſe thus his name and authority.

We do not find in the life of this monarch, that he ever exerciſed one act of grace in point of fines or confiſcations. Remarkable inſtance of the king's rigor. Bacon.

[l] And ſuing them for wardſhips, liveries, primier ſeiſines, alienations, &c. Bacon, p. 630.

[m] They vexed men alſo with informations of intruſion upon ſcarce colourable titles. Ibid.

[n] The lord Bacon obſerves, that their principal working was upon penal laws, wherein they ſpared neither great nor ſmall, nor conſidered whether the law was poſſible or impoſſible, in uſe or obſolete: and had ever a rabble of promoters and leading jurors at command, ſo as they could have any thing found as they pleaſed. See Hall, fol. 57.

H. VII. 1503. On the contrary, he was always inflexible, even with regard to his moſt faithful ſervants. His hiſtorian relates a very remarkable particular, which ſerves to diſcover plainly the character of this prince. Of all the lords of the kingdom, he had the moſt confidence in the earl of Oxford, who had indeed done him the greateſt ſervice, as well in war as in peace. One day, the king went to viſit him at his caſtle at Henningham, and was entertained with all poſſible magnificence. When the king was ready to depart, he ſaw a great number of men dreſſed in rich liveries, and ranged on both ſides to make him a lane. The earl it ſeems had forgot, that it was forbid by ſeveral acts of parliament to give liveries to any but menial ſervants, but the king remembred it. Wherefore turning to the earl, he ſaid, "My lord, I have heard much "of your magnificence and hoſpitality; but I find they ex- "ceed all report. Theſe handſome gentlemen and yeomen I "ſee on both ſides of me, are ſure your menial ſervants." The earl, not perceiving the king's aim, ſmiled and anſwered, he did not keep ſo many domeſtics, but theſe people were only his retainers, come to do him ſervice on ſuch extraordinary occaſions. The king ſtartled a little, and ſaid, "By "my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer; but "I muſt not ſuffer to have my laws broken before my face. "My attorney muſt talk with you." The hiſtorian adds, this treſpaſs coſt the earl fifteen thouſand marks [o].

The ſame hiſtorian ſays, he had ſeen a book of accounts of Empſon's, with the king's hand almoſt to every leaf, by way of ſigning, and was in ſome places poſtilled in the margin with the king's hand likewiſe, where among many others was this memorandum:

"Item, Received of ſuch a-one, five marks, for the par- "don to be procured, and if the pardon do not paſs, the "money to be repaid; except the party be ſome other ways "ſatisfied." And over againſt this memorandum of the king's own hand, was written by him in the margin, "Other- "ways ſatisfied." He was unwilling to pardon the man, and yet could not reſolve to reſtore the five marks. Hence it is plain he did not neglect ſmall profits.

The earl of Suffolk's conſpiracy. Hall. Bacon.

It is eaſy to gueſs, the king's and the miniſtry's conduct bred great diſcontent and murmurs among the people. The great men themſelves meeting with no better quarter than the meaneſt, groaned under the oppreſſion of Empſon and Dudley, two leaches, who ſpared neither friend nor foe. The

o It is ſaid in the original fifteen hundred; but I ſuppoſe it is an error of the printer, for the lord Bacon ſays, fifteen thouſand.

earl

earl of Suffolk, whom the king had lately pardoned, fancied, these diſcontents would raiſe in the end ſome violent ſtorm againſt the king, if the people could find a perſon of diſtinction to head them. As he was of the houſe of York by his mother, he imagined, the time was come to proſecute his rights, and the people would not fail to declare for him. In this belief, he perſwaded ſeveral lords and gentlemen to promiſe to ſupport him at a proper ſeaſon, and then retired into Flanders, from whence he made his friends expect a powerful aid by means of the ducheſs of Burgundy [p]. H. VII. 1503.

He withdraws into Flanders.

The king, ſurprized at the earl of Suffolk's retreat, did not queſtion that he had contrived ſome plot in England before his departure, and had his accomplices. To be fully informed, he believed the beſt way was to recur to the ſame arts he had uſed with reſpect to Perkin Warbeck. To that end, he ſent orders to Sir Robert Curſon, governor of the caſtle of Hammes near Calais, whom he knew to be fit for his purpoſe, and entirely at his devotion. Purſuant to his inſtructions, Curſon relinquiſhing his government, under colour of ſome affront deſignedly put upon him by the king, came to the earl of Suffolk with offers of his ſervice. He played his part ſo well, that the earl imparted to him all his ſecrets. By that means the king came to know, that William Courtney, earl of Devonſhire [q], married to Catherine daughter of Edward the Fourth, William de la Pole, brother of the earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tyrrel, Sir John Windham, and ſeveral other meaner perſons, were concerned in the plot. They were all apprehended in one day [r]. But as probably there was not ſufficient evidence againſt the two firſt, the king was contented with detaining them in priſon. This gave occaſion to think they were not guilty, but that the king uſed that pretence to ſecure them, becauſe their relation to the houſe of York made him uneaſy. As for Tyrrel, againſt whom the blood of Edward V. and the duke of York cried for vengeance, he was beheaded, with Windham his accomplice. The reſt of inferior rank ſuffered the puniſhment of traitors.

Henry diſcovers his ſecrets. Bacon.

His accomplices are apprehended Hall. Stow. Bacon.

Mean while, Henry deſiring to be better informed of the earl of Suffolk's ſecrets, took care to preſerve Curſon's credit

The king uſes an extraordinary method to deceive him. Hall.

[p] Hall ſays, that the earl having made a very great appearance at prince Arthur's marriage-ſolemnity, had thereby run himſelf extremely in debt, which was the occaſion of his retiring now into Flanders. fol. 54.

[q] He was not yet earl of Devonſhire, for his father lived till 1510. See Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. p. 640.

[r] At the ſame time were taken up Bacon. George lord Abergavenney, and Sir Thomas Green, but upon leſs ſuſpicion, and therefore were ſoon ſet at liberty. Bacon, p. 630. Hall, fol. 59.

by

H. VII. 1503. by an extraordinary method. He cauſed Innocent VIII's bull of excommunication to be publiſhed at Paul's-Croſs, againſt all perſons that ſhould diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of the throne, and particularly againſt the earl of Suffolk and Sir Robert Curſon. But when Curſon had drawn from the earl all his ſecrets, he returned into England, where he was graciouſly received by the king; but the people looking upon him with horror, loaded him with curſes. The earl of Suffolk being diſconcerted by Curſon's flight, roved about for ſome time in Germany, and at length returned into Flanders, where the archduke, notwithſtanding his treaties with Henry, took him into his protection.

Hall. Stow.

Project of marriage between the princeſs of Wales and prince Henry.

The king knowing the earl had not in England a party capable to ſupport him, ſhowed no farther uneaſineſs. Another affair troubled him much more. He had now received a hundred thouſand crowns of gold, in part of the portion of the princeſs of Wales his daughter-in-law, Arthur's widow. As that prince died without iſſue, he muſt either ſend back the widow to Spain, and conſequently return the hundred thouſand crowns, or if he kept her in England, give her the third part of the principality of Wales[s], which was ſettled upon her. Both were equally grievous to a prince of Henry's temper. However, he could not diſpenſe with one or other, without breaking with Ferdinand, which did not agree with his preſent circumſtances. For indeed, the deference paid him by all the other princes, and particularly by the king of France, was properly owing to his ſtrict alliance with the Spaniſh monarch. In this perplexity, he thought of a very proper expedient to preſerve the friendſhip of Ferdinand, with the ſum already received, and procure him the other hundred thouſand crowns which remained to be paid. And that was to marry Catherine to his ſon Henry, now prince of Wales by the death of his elder brother. The propoſal being made to the king and queen of Spain, they agreed to it, on condition the pope's diſpenſation was firſt obtained.

Agreement between Henry and Ferdinand, June 23. Act. Pub. xiii. p. 76.

This was the ſubject of an agreement between the two crowns the 23d of June, without a particular mention of the articles of the intended marriage. It muſt be obſerved, that in this agreement, it was alledged, as a neceſſary reaſon for demanding the diſpenſation, not only that Arthur and Henry were brothers, but moreover that Arthur's marriage with Catherine was duly ſolemnized and conſummated.

[s] And likewiſe of the dukedom of Cornwal, and earldom of Cheſter, for a third of all three was ſettled upon her. Bacon. Rymer's Fœd.

Alexander

Alexander VI. dying in the mean time, Pius III. ſucceeded him. But as he out-lived not the 18th of October, it was to Julius II. elected the 1ſt of November, that the two kings applied for the diſpenſation. The new pope granted a bull for that purpoſe, where he ſaid, that in the petition lately preſented to him, Henry and Catherine declared, that Catherine was married "per verba de præſenti," to the late prince Arthur, and that the marriage was ſolemnized in form, and perhaps conſummated [t]. Upon the word "perhaps," it muſt be remarked, that on this occaſion, it cannot be a term denoting a doubt, ſince it is not the pope that ſpeaks in the petition, but Catherine, who muſt know whether the marriage was conſummated or not. It is only a term which gives more ſtrength to the diſpenſation, as obviating all the objections that might be made. This evidently appears in the ſequel of the bull, where the pope permits Henry and Catherine to remain in the ſtate of matrimony, though they ſhould be married before, publicly or privately, and had perhaps conſummated their marriage by carnal copulation. It is eaſy to ſee, the word "perhaps," is inſerted only to give the more force to the diſpenſation, by preventing all caſes that might render it invalid. It was neceſſary to make theſe obſervations, by reaſon of the important conſequences of this affair in the following reign.

H. VII. 1503.

Pope Julius's diſpenſation for the marriage. Dec. 26. p. 89.

The king of Scotland's marriage was conſummated in September [u] according to agreement, Henry having conducted the queen his daughter to York, from whence ſhe purſued her journey into Scotland [w].

Margaret is conducted to Scotland. Hall.

The archduke Philip returned this year into Flanders, having ſtaid about a year in Spain. As he paſſed through France, he endeavoured to adjuſt a difference between king Ferdinand his father-in-law, and Lewis XII. concerning the kingdom of Naples. He even took upon him to conclude in Ferdinand's name, a treaty which was afterwards diſclaimed. Had he been concerned with a prince of leſs goodneſs and equity than Lewis XII. that diſclaiming might have thrown him into great trouble. But Lewis was ſo generous as not to take the advantage. The occaſion, in ſhort, of the rupture between the two monarchs was this:

The archduke returns to the Low-Countries. Mezerai.

[t] — "Cum aliàs tu Catherina, & "tunc in humanis agens quondam "Arthurus,—Matrimonium per verba "legitimé de præſenti contraxiſſetis, "illudque carnali copulâ forſan con"ſumaviſſetis."—Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 89.

[u] Stow ſays, it was the 8th of Auguſt, at Edinburgh, p. 484.

[w] Being attended by Thomas Howard earl of Surrey, and Henry Percy earl of Northumberland. Hall. Hollingſhead, p. 791.

They

H. VII. 1503. They had, as I have obſerved, divided the kingdom of Naples after conquering it. It was hardly poſſible that theſe two princes ſhould long poſſeſs the portion fallen to each, without ſome occaſion of quarrel. Accordingly a diſpute aroſe concerning the province of Capitanata, which each would have to be in his diviſion. Whereupon the French and Spaniards came to blows. At firſt the French had the advantage, but afterwards loſt two battles, one near St. Severina in Calabria the 21ſt of April, the other on the 28th of the ſame month at Cerignoles, where the duke of Nemours their general was ſlain. After theſe two victories Gonzolvo, who commanded Ferdinand's troops, became maſter of the whole kingdom of Naples. Lewis, deſirous to repair his loſſes, ſent a powerful army into Italy, which was by ſundry unexpected accidents rendered unſerviceable.

Rupture between Lewis XII. and Ferdinand.

The French are driven out of Naples.

1504. The 16th of January 1504, the king aſſembled the parliament on pretence of the neceſſity of reviving certain ſtatutes, and making ſome new ones. But the real motive was to demand a ſubſidy for his eldeſt daughter's dowry. The cuſtom of demanding money on ſuch occaſions was too advantagious to the king to ſuffer it to be aboliſhed. The queen of Scotland's portion was but thirty thouſand nobles [x]; but this ſubſidy granted by the parliament may well be thought to be much more conſiderable, beſides a handſome preſent made him by the clergy on the ſame account. So, inſtead of emptying his coffers by the marriage of his daughter, he filled them the fuller. Nothing ſhows more the almoſt abſolute power of the king, than the choice of Dudley for ſpeaker of the houſe of commons [y]. He was the moſt generally hated perſon in the kingdom, except Empſon his aſſociate, who was as odious as himſelf. Wherefore it muſt be that the fear of diſpleaſing the king, by rejecting the perſon he recommended, led the commons to that choice.

Subſidy given the king for the marriage of his daughter. Hall.

Bacon.

Dudley ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. Stow.

Advantagious ſtatutes for the king. Bacon.

The ſubſidy was not the only thing, the king politically turned to his advantage in this parliament. He found means to obtain acts which ſeemed to aim wholly at the good of the public, but in reality tended only to procure him money. For inſtance, all patents of leaſe or grant were diſannulled to ſuch as came not upon lawful ſummons to ſerve the king againſt the

x Rapin calls them crowns. But Rymer, tom. xiii. p. 118, ſays, thirty thouſand angel nobles, the value of each noble being Viginti Groſſos.

y Hollingſhead ſays, that there was a parliament in 1503, in which a ſubſidy was granted by the lords and clergy, and another on Jan. 25, 1504, of which latter Dudley was choſen ſpeaker, p. 791.

rebels.

rebels [z]. As the number of delinquents in that reſpect was very great, this act was a very fertile ſource of treaſure to the king, by reaſon they were obliged to renew their leaſes and grants, which could not be done but upon very hard terms. H. VII. 1504.

Another ſtatute made all ſorts of clipped or impaired coins of ſilver not to be current in payments, without ſuffering them even to paſs for the value of their weight. As there were ſcarce any other in the kingdom, every one was forced to bring in his ready money to the Mint, in order to be new coined, by which the king was a very conſiderable gainer.

The ſtatute againſt giving liveries to any but menial ſervants, was alſo revived, from whence Empſon and Dudley had an opportunity to attack many perſons [a].

Thus the king continually amaſſing without being obliged to any extraordinary charge, at a time when his ordinary expences were very moderate, and huſbanded in the beſt manner poſſible, could not but be extremely rich in ready money. But then he doubly ruined his ſubjects; firſt by draining their purſes, and ſecondly by hindering the coin, of which he had great quantities in his coffers, from circulating in trade. On the other hand, Empſon and Dudley continued their extortions without any reſerve, and with a rigour unexperienced by the Engliſh, under any of their former kings.

The king thinks of canonizing Henry VI. but drops it. Bacon.

About this time Henry had thoughts of canonizing Henry VI. the laſt king of the houſe of Lancaſter. But there were two grand obſtacles. The firſt, that the miracles aſcribed to that prince ſince his death were not well atteſted, and the actions of his life, which were oſtentatiouſly diſplayed, ſhowed rather his weakneſs than ſanctity. But the ſecond difficulty, that is, the neceſſary charges of this canonization, quite fruſ-

[z] The like act had been made before (in the 11th of this king's) for offices, and by this ſtatute it was extended to lands. Bacon, p. 631.

[a] The other ſtatutes made in this parliament were theſe: 1. That no pewterers and braſiers ſell, or change, any pewter or braſs, new or old, at any place within the realm, but in open fairs or markets, or in their dwelling houſes. What gave occaſion to this law, was, that many perſons went about the kingdom privately, buying pewter and braſs, which encouraged wicked people to ſteal diſhes, plates, &c. knowing they had receivers for them. 2. It was ordained, That no bodies corporate make any acts or ordinances, but what are examined and approved by the chancellor, treaſurer of England, chief juſtices of either benches, or juſtices of aſſize, upon pain of forfeiting forty pounds. 3. That perſons concerned in a riot, ſhall forfeit twenty pounds, and be impriſoned. 4. That no perſon bring, or cauſe to be brought into the realm, to be ſold, any manner of ſilk wrought by itſelf, or with any other ſtuff, upon pain of forfeiting the ſame. See Statut. 19. Hen. VII.

trated

H. VII. 1504.

trated the project. As this is an act of grace and favour, the pope generally proportions the expences not to the person of the saint himself, but to the riches of him that solicites the canonization. The king even perceived, that the Court of Rome's questioning Henry the Sixth's sanctity, tended only to magnify the favour, and inhance the price accordingly. This was sufficient to cause him to desist from his intention. So avaricious a prince could hardly resolve to empty his coffers for so needless a thing, and which at most, would have procured him only the praises of the Lancastrians. He was contented therefore to obtain a bull for the removal of Henry VI's body to Westminster among his ancestors [b]. He was obscurely buried at first in Chertsey monastery near London, from whence he was removed to Windsor.

Bull to remove his corps to Westminster Act. Pub. xiii. p. 103. May 20.

The 19th of August, Henry issued out a proclamation, giving notice that he had appointed commissioners to whom his creditors, and such as had any demands upon him, might apply for the space of two years, to commence the 19th of August, and to continue till Michaelmas come two years. It is hard to judge whether he did this from a principal of equity, and with intent to satisfy those he had injured, or designed only to blind people's eyes by this act of justice. The first would be most probable, if from that time he had put a stop to the exactions of Empson and Dudley. But it is difficult to believe that whilst he suffered his subjects to be oppressed by these ministers, he really intended to do justice to all the world.

Proclamation in favour of the subjects. Aug. 19. p. 106.

Isabella queen of Castile dying the 26th of November, Ferdinand her spouse writ the same day to Henry to give him notice thereof. He told him in his letter, that the deceased queen had appointed him in her will administrator of the kingdom of Castile, for Jane their daughter, wife of the archduke of Austria, and who by the death of the queen her mother was become queen of Castile.

Death of the queen of Castile. p. 112. Hall. Bacon. Hollingsh.

When the archduke received the news of Isabella's death, he was employed in making war upon the duke of Gueldres. This war preventing him from repairing into Spain so soon as he could have wished, he was obliged to leave to king Ferdinand his father-in-law the government of Castile, fully bent however, to take it from him as soon as possible. On the other hand, Ferdinand improving Isabella's will, pretended

Dispute between Ferdinand and the archduke his son-in-law.

[b] At the same time the pope sent a bull, wherein he ordered, That traytors and robbers, &c. who had taken sanctuary, should be carefully watched, so as not to be suffered to escape; and if they did, they should be then delivered to justice. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 104.

to

to keep the adminiſtration of that kingdom during his life, probably, becauſe the deceaſed queen had not limited the continuance. H. VII. 1504.

This diſpute bred ſome uneaſineſs in Henry, whoſe caſe was the ſame with Ferdinand's, in the opinion of many people. He was not ignorant that moſt of his ſubjects were perſuaded, Elizabeth his ſpouſe had been of right the true queen of England, and conſequently the crown was fallen after her deceaſe to Henry her ſon and lawful ſucceſſor. Though he affected to hold for certain, that the houſe of York had never any right to the crown, he was however very uneaſy, becauſe in general the Engliſh were of another opinion. It is true, that beſides his deſcent from the houſe of Lancaſter, he founded his right upon two other titles, namely, conqueſt, and the approbation of the parliament. But he perceived how weak theſe two foundations would prove, ſhould the houſe of York, by ſome revolution, come to gain ground. Upon this account, he was very attentive to what paſſed in Spain, looking upon the deciſion of that conteſt as a precedent for or againſt him. On the other hand, he was afraid that Philip, who had appeared for ſome time cloſely united with Lewis XII. would join in a league with that monarch and the emperor, to oblige Ferdinand to reſign him Caſtile. In that caſe he foreſaw, he ſhould be forced either to abandon Ferdinand to theſe three potent enemies, or enter into a war with them to ſupport him. Both were equally oppoſite to his intereſts. In fine, he had caſt his eyes upon the queen dowager of Naples, widow of king Ferdinand, for a wife, in order to enjoy the large dower aſſigned her in that kingdom. Perhaps he hoped by marrying that queen, to render himſelf umpire of the differences between Lewis XII. and Ferdinand, concerning the kingdom of Naples.

Henry's uneaſineſs at it. Bacon.

1505.

He projects to marry the queen-dowager of Naples. Bacon.

To be fully informed therefore of the diſpoſition of the Caſtilians, and the qualities of the queen of Naples, he ſent three perſons into Italy and Spain, not as ambaſſadors, but as travellers for their pleaſure [c]. However, to procure them acceſs to the queen of Naples and Ferdinand, he ſo ordered, that the princeſs of Wales gave them letters both for the king her father and the young queen. Theſe gentlemens private inſtructions, with reſpect to the queen, were very particular. The king wanted to be exactly informed of her age, com-

[c] They were Francis Marſin, James Braybrook, and John Style. Bacon, p. 632.

plexi. n,

H. VII. 1505.

plexion, ſtature, health, temper, inclinations, behaviour and eſtate. This ſhows he was not willing lightly to reſolve But the project vaniſhed when the king heard from his envoys, that indeed the queen's jointure was very considerable; but had been changed by Ferdinand, ſince he was poſſeſſed of the kingdom of Naples, into a penſion for life.

Affairs of Ferdinand and Philip.

When the gentlemen arrived in Spain, the conteſt between Ferdinand and Philip his ſon-in-law was ſtill in the ſame ſtate. They therefore acquainted the king, that Ferdinand continued to govern Caſtile as adminiſtrator, and even hoped to perſuade Philip to leave him the adminiſtration freely during life, both by means of ſome of his council whom he had gained, and by threatening him to marry again, and ſo give an heir to the kingdom of Arragon: That therefore, there was a project of marriage between Ferdinand and Germaine de Foix, which would be certainly accompliſhed, in caſe Philip moleſted the king his father-in-law. They informed him moreover, that Ferdinand's ſecretary had diſcovered to them, as a great ſecret, that the marriage of prince Charles of Auſtria with Claude of France would not take effect, becauſe Lewis XII. was reſolved to give his daughter to Francis duke of Angouléme his preſumptive heir. That then, on ſuppoſition that Philip would remain in the Low-Countries with his queen, Ferdinand intended to demand Mary the king's ſecond daughter for the young prince of Auſtria. Theſe informations containing nothing certain, Henry could take no meaſures, till he ſaw the courſe of the Spaniſh affairs.

Philip and Jane take the title of king and queen of Caſtile.

Whilſt Ferdinand and Philip were in treaty concerning their difference, Philip and Jane were proclaimed king and queen of Caſtile at Bruſſels; which ſhowed, they intended not to reſign for ever the adminiſtration of Caſtile to Ferdinand, as he had flattered himſelf. Mean while, the war of Gueldres, and queen Jane's being near her time, hindered them from executing their reſolution of going to Caſtile. They knew, the Caſtilians were not pleaſed with Ferdinand, and did not doubt that as ſoon as they appeared, all would declare for them. For the ſame reaſon, Ferdinand uſed all ſorts of artifices to diſſuade them from the voyage.

Death of the duke of Savoy.

In the mean while, Margaret of Auſtria, Philip's ſiſter, loſt her ſpouſe the duke of Savoy, who died the 10th of September. Some days after, the new queen of Caſtile was delivered of a princeſs, who was called Mary, and was afterwards queen of Hungary.

This

This year was very barren of remarkable events with regard to England. Beſides what has been related, we find only a treaty of alliance between Henry and George duke of Saxony, hereditary governor of Friſe, to whom Henry had ſent ambaſſadors [d] ever ſince February. The treaty was concluded the 30th of December. H. VII. 1505.

Henry's alliance with the duke of Saxony. Act. Pub. xiii. p. 114, 120.

The war of Gueldres being ended, and queen Jane able to travel, Philip reſolved to carry her into Caſtile, knowing it to be the only way to ſecure the government of that kingdom. Though they intended to go by ſea, they choſe the winter, it ſeems, to ſurpriſe Ferdinand, who probably would not expect them in that ſeaſon. They departed the 10th of January under a ſtrong convoy prepared for that purpoſe. But before they got out of the channel, a terrible ſtorm [e] diſperſed their fleet, and the ſhip on which they were, with much difficulty ran into Weymouth [f] in England, having been in great danger. The king and queen were ſo fatigued and ſick, that contrary to the opinion of their council, they would land to refreſh their ſpirits. 1506.

Philip and Jane ſet out for Spain. Hall.

A ſtorm drives them into England

They land at Weymouth. Hall. Stow. Bacon. Hollingſh.

Men while the people of the country ſeeing a numerous fleet, were very much alarmed. They immediately ran to their arms, and Sir Thomas Trenchard at the head of ſome troops marched to Weymouth [g], to concert meaſures with the inhabitants in caſe of an invaſion. When he heard, the king and queen of Caſtile were landed, he waited upon them, humbly inviting them to his houſe, till the king was informed of their arrival. Philip would have gladly re-imbarked, but perceived he ſhould not be ſuffered till the king's orders were received, to whom an expreſs was diſpatched. So, without much intreaty, he conſented to ſtay till that time.

As ſoon as Henry had notice of the king and queen of Caſtile's arrival, he ſent the earl of Arundel [h] with his compliments, and to tell them, he would make all poſſible haſte to come and embrace them. The earl withal aſſured them from the king, that they were as much maſter in his dominions as himſelf. Philip finding there was no avoiding the king's viſit, believed he ſhould gain time by going to him.

The king ſends his compliments to them. Hall.

[d] Richard Nanſan deputy of Calais, Nicholas Weſt doctor of laws, and Hugh Conwey treaſurer of Calais. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 114.

[e] This ſtorm laſted from the 15th to the 26th of January. Stow, p. 484.

[f] Falmouth, ſays Stow, ibid.

[g] And ſoon after was joined by Sir John Carew, with a choice body of men. Hall. fol. 58. Hollingſh. p. 792.

[h] Thomas Fitz-Alan. The earl came to king Philip in great magnificence, with a brave troop of three hundred horſe, and (for the more ſtate) by torch-light. Bacon, p. 633. Hall, fol. 58.

H. VII. 1506.

To that end, he posted to Windsor [i], whilst his queen followed by easy journeys. Henry received them both with all imaginable marks of friendship, but however, ruminating all the while, how to reap some advantage from the accident which had thrown them into his dominions [k].

They go to the king at Windsor. Hall.

Some days after, he insinuated to Philip, that as his condition was altered, it would be proper to renew their treaty of commerce, to which Philip agreed, though the reason alledged by Henry was of no force. For Philip, by being king of Castile, was not less sovereign of the Low Countries, the first dignity causing no alteration in the last. But Henry had his aim, and Philip plainly perceived, that being in his power, he ought carefully to avoid all occasions of offending him, lest he should find some pretence to detain him in England. He was not ignorant of the strict union between Henry and Ferdinand, and was under some apprehensions, that Henry would think of obstructing his voyage, in order to oblige his father-in-law. However, the treaty was renewed, but with some alterations to our advantage of the English. Amongst other things, an article of the old treaty was suppressed, which permitted Philip's subjects to fish on the coasts of England. This made the inhabitants of the Low Countries call it Intercursus Malus, or the bad treaty.

Treaty of commerce renewed in favour of the English. Act. Pub. xiii. p. 123, ——132.

Henry's marriage with the duchess of Savoy agreed upon. Act. Pub. xiii. p. 127, 151, 155.

This affair being finished, Henry opened his mind to Philip concerning his design to marry Margaret his sister, widow of the duke of Savoy [l]. Philip seemed very well pleased with the proposal. And indeed, nothing could be more for his advantage than to make Henry his friend by this alliance, lest he should openly espouse the king of Arragon's quarrel. So the marriage was concluded at Windsor the 20th of March [m]. By the articles signed by both, Philip promised to give the duchess his sister, three hundred thousand crowns

[i] He was received five miles from Windsor, in a very splendid manner, by the prince of Wales, who was accompanied with five earls, and several lords, knights, and others, to the number of five hundred persons; and about a mile from Windsor, he was met by the king himself, and most of the nobility of the realm, who went out to welcome him. Hall, fol. 58.

[k] Philip at their first meeting told the king, "That he was now punish-"ed for his refusing to come within "his walled town of Calais when they "met last." The king replied, "That "walls and seas were nothing, where "hearts were open; and that he was "here only to be served." Bacon, p. 633.

[l] The famous Thomas Wolsey, being then the king's chaplain, was employed in managing this affair. Bacon, p. 634.

[m] This treaty of marriage is not found in the Fœdera, but is supposed and referred to by the acts which follow the treaty of alliance or commerce, dated Feb. 9. See tom. xiii. p. 127, 129, 151, &c.

of

of French gold [n], with a yearly penſion of three thouſand eight hundred and fifty. Mean while, Henry fearing Philip would go from his word, when he was out of his power, cauſed to be inſerted in the treaty, that the principal lords of the Low Countries ſhould ſwear, they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to procure the accompliſhment of the marriage. The oaths of ſeveral of the lords, in purſuance of this article, are to be ſeen in the Collection of the Public Acts. H. VII. 1506. Ib. p. 146—157.

Henry had one thing more to obtain of Philip, without which he could not think of letting him go; though outwardly he continued to careſs him. And that was, to deliver to him the earl of Suffolk, who was then in *Flanders*. But at the firſt overture, Philip told him plainly, he could not comply with his requeſt, being bound in honour not to ſacrifice a lord whom he had taken under his protection; that beſides, it would be diſhonorable to himſelf, ſince the world would not fail to ſay, he was uſed as a priſoner. Henry, who little regarded what the world ſaid, provided he obtained his ends, replied, he would take all the diſhonour upon himſelf. This anſwer threw Philip into great perplexity. He was unwilling to betray the earl of Suffolk, after his promiſe to protect him. But on the other hand, he perceived Henry was bent upon having that lord at any rate, and had in his hands an infallible means to obtain him. Beſides, in the preſent poſture of his affairs, not being yet certain, whether he ſhould not be forced to go to war with his father-in-law, it was eaſy to foreſee, he might ſtand in need of the king of England, and conſequently it would be very wrong to diſoblige him. Wherefore, he ſuddenly came to a reſolution, and with an air of confidence ſpoke in this manner: "Sir, ſince you are pleaſed "to give law to me, permit me to do the ſame by you. I "will deliver the earl, but you ſhall give me your honour "not to touch his life." Henry agreeing to the condition, Philip deſired the thing might be done in a manner honorable for both. "I will ſo order it, added he, that the earl ſhall "come to England of his own accord, by which it will ap"pear that I have ſollicited and obtained his pardon, and "that you were very ready to grant it." Henry approving the expedient, the earl of Suffolk willingly accepted the offer made him [o]. Mean while, Henry being deſirous to have the

Henry demands of Philip the earl of Suffolk. Philip denies him. Hall. Bacon. Hollingſh.

He complies on condition Henry would not put him to death. Bacon. Hall. Hollingſh.

[n] Each crown worth four ſhillings ſterling. Ibid. p. 130.

[o] The two kings ſent ſeverally for him. He landed at Dover, and with a ſufficient guard was conveyed to the Tower of London. Bacon, p. 633.

H. VII. 1506. earl in his power before Philip's departure, continued his entertainments and diverſions, on pretence of doing honour to the king and queen of Caſtile, but in reality, to gain time till the earl's arrival. He admitted Philip to the order of the garter, and Philip made the prince of Wales, knight of the golden-fleece. After that, Henry carried his gueſts to London, where they were magnificently entertained. Shortly after, the earl of Suffolk came from Flanders, and was conveyed to the Tower. Thus, Henry under colour of doing him honour, kept Philip in England above three months, till he had obtained his deſires[p]. In all appearance, Philip ſaw plainly through all the careſſes he received, that it was not in his power to depart when he pleaſed. Elſe, it is not likely, as he intended to ſail into Spain in January, he would have willingly ſtaid in England till the end of April or the beginning of May.

Hall. Bacon.

The earl of Suffolk is ſent to the Tower.

Philip and his queen ſet out for Spain.

When Philip and Jane were in Caſtile, the people ſhowed ſo great an affection for them, that Ferdinand could eaſily ſee, his endeavours to keep the government of the kingdom would be vain. Accordingly, without inſiſting any more upon his adminiſtratorſhip, which could take place only in the queen his daughter's abſence, he withdrew into his own realm of Arragon. Afterwards, he made a voyage to Naples, where Gonzolvo his general began to make him uneaſy, and Philip and Jane remained, though not long, in poſſeſſion of Caſtile. Within a few months, Philip was ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he died the 25th of September. He left the guardianſhip of his ſon Charles to Lewis XII. who appointed the lord de Chievres for his governor. This choice, which was generally approved, and was a clear evidence of Lewis's ſincerity and diſintereſtedneſs, proved fatal to France, as the governor made his pupil more able than was neceſſary for the good of the kingdom.

Ferdinand retires to Arragon. Pet. de Angl.

Philip's death. Hall. Bacon.

The death of Philip ſo affected his queen, that ſhe loſt her reaſon, and became uncapable of governing the ſtate. Whereupon Ferdinand her father reſumed the adminiſtration of affairs, of which he had been deprived but five months. He is ſaid to take no great care of the queen's cure, leſt recovering her ſenſes, ſhe ſhould ſend him back again to Arragon.

Jane loſes her ſenſes, and Ferdinand returns to Caſtile. Bacon.

n Each crown worth four ſhillings ſterling. Ibid. p. 130.

o The two kings ſent ſeverally for him. He landed at Dover, and with a ſufficient guard was conveyed to the Tower of London. Bacon, p. 653.

p King Philip went by land to Falmouth, where he embarked April 23. Hall, fol. 58. Haræus.

The

The diſintereſtedneſs ſhown by Lewis XII. with reſpect to the young archduke prince of Spain, did not hold long. He had promiſed to give him Claude his eldeſt daughter in marriage, but thought it more proper to marry her to Francis duke of Angoulême his preſumptive ſucceſſor. Moreover, being apprehenſive of a league againſt him, between the emperor, the archduke, and Ferdinand, and that the king of England might alſo come into it, he endeavoured to embroil young Charles's affairs by exciting the duke of Gueldres to renew the war. H. VII. 1506.

Lewis XII. gives to the duke of Angoulême his daughter, promiſed to Charles of Auſtria. Hall. P. Daniel.

The archduke being too young to govern, the Flemings prayed the emperor his grandfather to take the adminiſtration in his grandſon's name. Maximilian granted their requeſt, and till he could come himſelf, ſent them Margaret his daughter, widow of the duke of Savoy. 1507.

Margaret dutcheſs of Savoy governs the Low-countries.

Upon that princeſs's arrival at Bruſſels, ſhe concluded with Henry a proviſional treaty of commerce, till ſome differences cauſed by the late treaty between the merchants of both nations could be adjuſted. The treaty was ſigned at Bruges the 5th of June.

Treaty of commerce with the Low-countries. Act. Pub. xiii. p. 168.

The ſame ambaſſadors that were aſſembled at Calais ſpent there the reſt of the year, in treating of the marriage of Charles archduke of Auſtria, ſovereign of the Low-countries, and prince of Caſtile, with Mary, Henry's ſecond daughter [q]. At length, on the 21ſt of December, they ſigned a treaty that Charles ſhould marry the princeſs Mary, as ſoon as he was fourteen years old, and that her portion ſhould be two hundred and fifty thouſand crowns of gold [r]. The young prince ran the hazard of looſing the kingdom of Arragon, Valencia, Granada, and the principality of Catalonia, his grandfather Ferdinand having married Germaine de Foix. But happily for him, they had no children.

Marriage agreed upon between Mary the king's daughter with Charles of Auſtria. p. 171--230 Bacon.

Though Henry's coffers were full, he was not weary of heaping up money. We have ſeen, that in the year 1504, the parliament gave him a ſubſidy for the marriage of the queen of Scotland his daughter. But the year was not expired before he iſſued out a proclamation to levy a benevolence by his own authority, and without any apparent neceſſity, ſo that this conduct could be aſcribed only to his inſatiable deſire of hoarding up money [s]. He was grown ſo abſolute in

Henry heaps up vaſt riches. Hollingſh. Bacon.

q She was his third daughter. See Sandford and Speed.

r At the ſame time the treaty of perpetual peace, amity, and alliance was renewed between the emperor Maximilian, and king Henry. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 189——212.

s Beſides what he got by the recoinage of groats and half groats, now ſhillings and ſix-pences; and the five thouſand marks which he made the city of London pay for the confirmation of their liberties in 1504, &c. Bacon, p. 631.

H. VII. 1507. his kingdom, that no man durſt oppoſe his will, or even ſhew the leaſt diſcontent. Mean while, Empſon and Dudley continued their extortions and oppreſſions with all imaginable rigor. This very year 1507, they ſharply proſecuted the mayor of London [t], for neglecting to bring to juſtice a coiner of falſe money, and becauſe he would not or could not pay an exorbitant fine, ſent him to the Tower. The ſheriffs, aldermen, and all that had borne any office in the city, were queſtioned and proſecuted with the ſame rigor, and compelled to pay to the king fines, proportioned not to their abilities, but to the king's and his miniſters rapaciouſneſs [u].

Empſon and Dudley continue their exactions. Hall. Stow. Bacon. Hollingſh.

The king is ſeized with the gout, which turns to a ptiſic. Hall. Bacon.

Whilſt the king was wholly intent upon heaping up riches, he found himſelf frequently ſeized with the gout. At firſt he diſregarded it, as not believing it dangerous. But by degrees the humour falling upon his lungs, it turned to a ptiſic, which made him perceive he had not long to live. He ſuffered however his two miniſters to continue their exactions without any reſpect of perſons. He was ſo charmed to ſee his coffers full of gold and ſilver, that he could not reſolve to put a ſtop to the ſhameful proceedings which daily brought him in freſh ſums. He is ſaid to have amaſſed eighteen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. This ſum will appear prodigious, if 'tis conſidered that money was then much ſcarcer in Europe than at preſent. He laid up his treaſures under his own key and keeping in ſecret places at Richmond [w].

He heaps up 1,800,000l. Bacon.

1508. As the marriage of the princeſs Mary with the archduke was then the only conſiderable affair Henry was employed in, he ſpent the whole year 1508 in taking meaſures to ſecure its accompliſhment. The acts of this year in the Collection, ſcarce regard any other affair. At length, on the 17th of December, the marriage was accompliſhed "per verba de "præſenti", the lord de Berghes being the young prince's proxy. As ſuch, he eſpouſed the princeſs, gave her a ring,

Marriage of Charles and Mary ſolemnized by proxy. Act. Pub. xiii. p. 230—236. Hall. Bacon. Act. Pub. xiii. p. 171—230. p. 236.

t Sir William Capel. He was not mayor this year; but was now fined two thouſand pounds, for having, in the time of his mayoralty (which was in the year 1503) received falſe money, and not inflicted due puniſhment upon the perſon that was accuſed of having coined it. Stow, p. 485.

u Sir Thomas Knefworth, mayor in 1505, and both his ſheriffs, were impriſoned for abuſes committed in the execution of their offices; and not releaſed, but upon paying fourteen hundred pounds. Sir Laurence Aylmer, mayor in 1507, and both his ſheriffs, were fined a thouſand pounds, and Sir Laurence impriſoned for refuſing to pay his fine. Alderman Hawis was put to trouble, and died with vexation, before his buſineſs was decided. Stow, p. 485. Bacon, p. 635.

w This year the ſweating ſickneſs raged again in England. Hall. fol. 59. And alſo this year died Gilbert lord d'Aubeney. Hollingſhead, p. 795.

and

and saluted her publicly in the name of the prince her spouse[x]. H. VII. 1508.

About the same time, the archduke pawned to the king a jewel called the rich flower-de-luce[y] for the sum of fifty thousand crowns. The emperor, as grandfather and guardian of Charles, approved of the marriage and loan. In all likelihood, the money was borrowed for him. He had occasion for it to make a figure in the league of Cambray, which he had concluded this year with the pope and the king of France against the Venetians, who were become formidable to all Italy.

Charles borrows of Henry 50,000 crowns upon a jewel. Act. Pub. xiii. p. 224—239.

As to Henry's marriage with Margaret of Austria, though it was concluded in 1506, it was no more thought of, after that monarch, fallen into a ptific, perceived he was fitter to think of death than a wife.

Henry thinks no more of his own marriage.

The king finding he daily grew worse, was pleased to prepare for death by granting a general pardon. He discharged likewise with his own money, all prisoners about London that lay for fees or debts under forty shillings. Then he made his will, ordering that his heir should make restitution of whatever his officers and ministers had unjustly taken from his subjects. But this remorse came too late. As he could not resolve to make this restitution in his life-time, the prince his son thought not proper to part with the money amassed by the king his father. He died at Richmond the 22d of April 1509, having lived two and fifty years, and reigned three and twenty and eight months. His death is said to happen very seasonably, for had he lived much longer, the prince his son, now in his seventeenth year, might not have had patience to wait till his father's death put him in possession of the throne. In that case, he might have supported himself with the queen his mother's title, heiress of the house of York, and pretended that the king his father reigned only in right of his queen. This pretension would have been capable of reviving the old quarrel, and rekindling a civil war in the kingdom. But the king's death removed the fears of the English.

1509. A general pardon. Hall. Stow. He orders his heir to make restitution. Bacon.

Henry VII. had three sons[z] and four daughters. Arthur

His issue. Sandford.

[x] Henry was so pleased with this alliance, that in a letter to the city of London, he expressed himself as if he thought he had built a wall of brass about his kingdom, in having for his sons-in-law a king of Scotland, and a prince of Castile and Burgundy. Bacon, p. 635.

[y] There is in the Fœdera the inventory of the jewels contained in the rich flower-de-luce, which weighed, in gold and precious stones, 211 ounces and a half. tom. xiii. p. 241.

[z] He had four sons. The fourth, born in February 1500, was named Edward. Hollingshead, p. 788.

H. VII. 1509. his eldeſt, as was obſerved, died in his ſeventeenth year. Henry his ſecond ſucceeded him, and Edmund his third died at the age of five years. Of his four daughters, two died in their childhood [a], and the other two, Margaret and Mary, are ſufficiently known by what has been ſaid.

His character. Bacon. Hall.

If the hiſtory of this reign be read with ever ſo little attention, it will eaſily be perceived, that Henry's views were but two. The firſt was to keep the crown, acquired by extraordinary good fortune, and perhaps unthought of before he was invited into England by the duke of Buckingham. The other was, to accumulate riches. As he never ſuffered himſelf to be diverted by other thoughts, his whole application centered upon one ſingle object, namely, upon thoroughly examining every thing that could have any relation to the two ends he had propoſed. Ambition, honour, glory, love, pleaſures, and all the other paſſions which generally diſquiet the hearts of princes, made but little impreſſion upon his. Content with enjoying his crown, he thought neither of new acquiſitions, nor of rendering his reign glorious by great actions. All his thoughts were confined to prevent or defeat the deſigns of his domeſtic enemies, or to fill his coffers. He had a wonderful ſagacity to diſcover in the affairs that occurred, the ſide from whence ſome advantage could be drawn. This is what he plainly ſhewed in the affair of Bretagne, in his pretended wars with France and Scotland, and even in his domeſtic troubles, which by his addreſs turned all to his profit [b].

Though he was ſometimes forced to take up arms, never prince loved peace more than he [c]. As he had no ambition, he ſaw no advantage for him in war. On the contrary he conſidered that all the events of a war, whether foreign or domeſtic, were againſt him. The former could at moſt but procure him ſome glory and acquiſitions abroad, of which he was not very fond, and by the latter he might be a great loſer. Beſides, a time of commotions afforded no opportunities to accumulate riches. So, laying down this fixed principle of his policy, not to engage in any war without an abſolute neceſſity, he never ſwerved from it. It is this that made him unconcernedly behold the loſs of Bretagne, and without re-

[a] Their names were Elizabeth and Catherine. Sandford, p. 477.

[b] Hall gives however this inſtance of his generoſity, that he lent merchants a great deal of money, without gain or profit, in order to encourage trade. fol. 61.

[c] His uſual preface to his treaties was, that when Chriſt came into the world, peace was ſung; and when he went out of the world, peace was bequeathed. Bacon, p. 635.

ſentment

ſentment ſuffer the inſults of the king of Scotland, becauſe it was not from war that he intended to reap any advantage, but only from the preparations to ſupport it. However, this policy would have been unſeaſonable when he was attacked by domeſtic enemies, whoſe aim was to rob him of his crown. As his all was then at ſtake, he chearfully faced the danger, though with all the precautions poſſible not to run any hazard. He won two battles upon the rebels, one at Stoke, the other at Blackheath. But in both he was very ſuperior in number of troops, and fought againſt perſons ill-armed and unſkilled in the art of war. So, it cannot be ſaid what he would have done, had he been oppoſed with equal forces. It is no leſs difficult to know, whether it was owing to his courage that he headed his armies in perſon, or to his diſtruſt of thoſe that ſerved him. However this be, he was always fortunate in his domeſtic wars, and thereby gained ſo great a reputation, that all the princes of Europe earneſtly courted his alliance. On the other hand, the eſteem foreigners expreſſed for him, did not a little contribute to render him formidable to his ſubjects. I ſay, formidable, for it is certain he was never beloved. In a word, his method of governing, which approached to arbitrary power, eſpecially towards the end of his reign, his inſatiable avarice, his haughtineſs, his pride, and his dark and reſerved temper, were no proper qualities to win the affection of his people. H. VII.

He never opened his mind to any man, except perhaps to one or two of his miniſters. As for the reſt, he ſet them to work without their knowing themſelves the motives of their own proceedings. The world was ſo perſuaded, he had always ſome hidden deſign even in his moſt indifferent actions, that what was only a pure effect of chance, was often aſcribed to his policy.

His ſpies in foreign courts gave him an extenſive knowledge of all that paſſed there. On the other hand, his ambaſſadors were always charged to inform themſelves by all ſorts of ways of the ſecrets of the princes to whom they were ſent. Very often this was the principal article of their inſtructions. By that means he made ſuch diſcoveries as enabled him to convince the foreign miniſters reſiding at his court of his great inſight into their maſter's affairs. Hence he reaped many conſiderable advantages, chiefly in that the princes of Europe fearing his abilities, were very forward to live in a good underſtanding with him. His ſtrict friendſhip with Ferdinand king of Arragon, a prince of much the ſame character, was extremely uſeful to him. Probably, it hindered the court of France

H. VII. France from interpoſing more in the affairs of England, and was one of the principal cauſes of his conſtant peace with his neighbours.

Inſtead of increaſing the credit of the nobility, he took all poſſible care to leſſen it. His council was almoſt wholly compoſed of churchmen and lawyers, who being devoted to him, and aiming only to pleaſe him, never oppoſed his will. This unlimited compliance of his council was the cauſe of his entirely addicting himſelf to his natural paſſion of heaping up money, there being no perſon about him, that had boldneſs or conſcience enough to give him good advice upon that head. This conduct drew upon him the hatred of the Engliſh, which at firſt made him a little uneaſy, but when he had ſurmounted all his troubles, he regarded it not. On the contrary, he affected to rule with an abſolute power, making of his council a court of juſtice, where all the pleas of the crown were decided, which had never been ſeen before.

He has been extremely praiſed for the good laws made in his reign, as if he had been the ſole legiſlator, and his parliament no ways concerned. Hence perhaps was given him the glorious name of the Solomon of England, though he much more reſembled that prince in the heavy yoke he laid on his people. But if theſe laws are carefully examined, it will doubtleſs be found that the king's intereſt was the true motive, though in appearance they ſeemed for the good of the people. Thus did William the Conqueror formerly act, whom our Henry reſembled in ſo many things, that they may be very juſtly compared. In ſhort, Henry's moſt diſtinguiſhing character was, that he lived entirely for himſelf, conſidered things only with reſpect to his own private intereſt, and regarded not any affairs where that was not concerned. But he had this in particular, that whereas the intereſt of other princes is uſually divided into ſeveral branches, Henry's was in a manner contained in one ſingle branch, namely, to have always full coffers.

He was extremely ſuſpicious, as are generally thoſe who act by ſecret-ways, becauſe they think all the world like themſelves. The houſe of York's title, and the people's opinion concerning it, filled his mind with fears and ſuſpicions, with which he was continually racked. It is true, he took great care to conceal his uneaſineſs: but his conduct and precautions plainly demonſtrated, his mind was not as he would have it thought to be, at reſt. This perpetual diſtruſt led him inceſſantly to ſeek means to prevent the dangers, in which he

he was not always ſucceſsful. Witneſs the report he cauſed to be ſpread that the duke of York was alive, which had a quite contrary effect to what he expected. His genius was but narrow: he ſaw better near than at a diſtance, and his wiſdom conſiſted more in extricating himſelf out of difficulties, than in finding means to avoid them. The chief troubles of his reign, may be ſaid to happen by his fault. However, he acquired, by a long experience, qualities which by nature he had not. H. VII.

It is not ſurprizing that a prince always intent upon preventing the rebellion of his ſubjects, and continually employed in heaping up money, ſhould have performed nothing glorious for himſelf or the kingdom. Conquerors do not always make the greateſt kings. On the contrary, peace would have been very advantageous to the Engliſh, had it rendered them happy. But it was ſtill more fatal to them than war itſelf, ſince the king's inſatiable avarice inceſſantly carried him to deviſe means to accumulate riches, which could not be done but at their expence. There are princes that heap up money ſolely to diſperſe it; but Henry kept it carefully in his coffers, without any communication. Liberality was a virtue he did not pretend to. If he made any preſents, it was only to ſpies or informers.

As for his religion and morals, nothing certain can be affirmed, by reaſon of the contrarieties which met in him. He was chaſte, temperate, an enemy to open and ſcandalous vices, conſtant in the exerciſes of devotion, and obſerving ſtrict juſtice where his intereſt was not concerned. But on the other hand, his extreme avarice made him commit many injuſtices, and the fear of loſing his crown, cauſed him to conſider as lawful all means which could free him from that danger, how unjuſt ſoever they might be in other reſpects. The earl of Warwick's death, will be an everlaſting ſtain to his memory. His making a jeſt of religion, in cauſing a ſolemn proceſſion to be made on purpoſe to ſhow that prince to the people, and the excommunications he ordered to be pronounced againſt his own ſpies, are clear evidences that his religion was not proof againſt his intereſt.

In general, it cannot be denied, this prince had great abilities. But as theſe abilities centered only in himſelf, they would have been more valuable in a private perſon than a great monarch. Though all his projects were crowned with ſucceſs, his reign cannot be ſaid to be happy, either for himſelf or for England. He lived under continual fears and ſuſ-

picions,

H. VII. picions, and his ſubjects were always expoſed either to domeſtic troubles or oppreſſion. One thing rendered this reign remarkable, namely, that by Henry's abilities, the civil wars, which had ſo long afflicted England, were at length happily ended. I ſay happily, ſince it was very indifferent, with reſpect to the welfare of the Engliſh, whether the kingdom was governed by a prince of the houſe of Lancaſter, or a prince of the houſe of York.

Henry VII. was of a ſerious temper, ever thoughtful and intent upon his affairs, without being diverted by his pleaſures, to which he was little addicted. He had a book wherein he marked down with his own hand, the qualities and characters of the perſons he knew, in order to employ them upon occaſion. A monkey [d] that he kept in his chamber, having one day tore his note-book all to pieces, he appeared grieved as at ſome very great loſs.

He was of ſtature taller than the common ſort. His face was long, thin, and lean, like the reſt of his body, but withal very grave, which made people ſpeak to him with fear. He could however be affable when his affairs required it. He was rather ſtudious than learned. What he read in his leiſure hours was generally in French, though he underſtood Latin too.

He founded a chapel at Windſor, for which he obtained of the pope privileges and indulgences. He turned into an hoſpital the palace of the Savoy, built by Peter earl of Savoy in the reign of Henry III. He founded likewiſe ſeveral convents of Dominicans and Franciſcans [e]. But of all his ſtructures, that which did and ſtill does him the greateſt honour, is his chapel in Weſtminſter-Abbey, which gives not place in any reſpect to the moſt ſtately chapels in Chriſtendom [f]. There he was buried [g], and there the bodies of his ſucceſſors lie with his [h].

Act. Pub. xii. p. 565, 591, 644, 672. Act. Pub. xiii. p. 60. Stow. Hollingſh. Act. Pub. xiii. p. 100, 102.

[d] Set on, as it was thought, by one of his chamberlains. Bacon, p. 637.

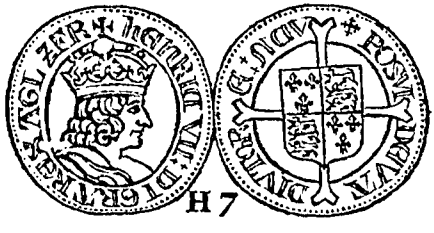
[e] He built three houſes for Franciſcans called Obſervants, at Richmond, Greenwich, and Newark; and three others for Franciſcans, called Conventuals, at Canterbury, Newcaſtle, and Southampton. Stow, p. 486.—He alſo new built Baynard's caſtle, and enlarged Greenwich, calling it Placentia. Hollingſhead, p. 796.

[f] In the 18th year of his reign, the chapel of our Lady above the eaſt ſide of the high-altar at Weſtminſter Abbey church, with a tavern adjoining, called the White Roſe, were taken down, and in their room was built king Henry VIIth's famous chapel. Stow, p. 484. Hollingſhead, p. 796, 797.

[g] May 11. Stow, p. 486.

[h] In the fifth year of king Henry the VIIth it was ordained, That the mayors of London ſhall have conſervation of the river Thames, from Yendale bridge to the waters of Yendale and Medway. In his eighteenth year, king

Henry being himſelf a brother of the Taylor's company, as ſeveral king's had been before him, namely, Richard III. Edward IV. Henry IV. V. VI. and Richard II. beſides dukes eleven, earls twenty-eight, lords forty-eight, he gave them the name of Merchant-Taylors. Hollingſhead, p. 790. In his thirteenth year, was the paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies round the Cape of Good Hope diſcovered, by Vaſco de Gama, a Portugueſe. In his tenth year, the body of Alice Hackney is ſaid to be found, in the church of St. Mary-Hill, London, whole of ſkin, and the joints of the arms pliable, after having been buried a hundred and ſeventy-five years. In this reign John Collet, dean of St. Paul's, founded Paul's ſchool in the church-yard. The colleges founded in the two univerſities in this king's reign, were, Chriſt's college, and St. John's in Cambridge, by Margaret counteſs of Richmond, the king's mother; Jeſus college in the ſame univerſity, by John Alcock, biſhop of Ely; Corpus Chriſti in Oxford, by Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter; and Brazen-Noſe college, by William Smith, biſhop of Lincoln. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 653. Stow, p. 488.



It appears by an indenture of the 9th of Henry VII. that a pound weight of gold, of the old ſtandard, was coined into as many, and the ſame pieces, as in the 5th of Edward IV. (See the coin-note at the end of that king's reign.) The gold coins of Henry VII. were a ſoveraign, half ſoveraign; ryal, half ryal, and quarter ryal; angel, and half angel. His ſilver money was groats, half groſſes or two-penny pieces, pennies, half-pence, and farthings. Thoſe old pennies that bore divers ſpurs, or the mullet betwixt the bars of the croſs, were to go only for half-pennies. To avoid clipping for the future, the king cauſed new groats and two-pences to be coined, having a circle round the outer part; and ordered, that the gold hereafter to be coined, ſhould have the whole ſcripture, or inſcription, about every piece. See Statut. 19 Hen. VII. c. 5. He was the firſt that after Henry III. added the number to his name. He left off the roſe that uſed to ſurround the king's head, and inſtead thereof, gives his head with a ſide-face, which was uſed before only on the coins of William Rufus; but was continued by all his ſucceſſors, except on the bad money of Henry VIII. and beſt of Edward VI. and likewiſe crowned with an arched crown; having this inſcription, HENRIC. VII. DI. GRA. REX. ANG. Z. FR. leaving out on the ſmaller monies the title of France. On the reverſe, inſtead of the inner circle with the place of coinage and the pellets, he placed the arms of France and England quartered, which he the firſt of our Engliſh monarchs uſed conſtantly, but retained the outer

outer circle and motto, POSVI DEV. ADIVTORE MEV. except on the ſmall coins, whereon ſometimes is the place of coinage. Of theſe, the pennies exhibit the king in his robes upon the throne, with crown, ſceptre, and ball: reverſe, the keys, which diſcover it to be of the archbiſhop's coining. Theſe are the only pieces that have not the number, and are inſcribed HENRIC. DI. GRA. REX. ANG. In his 20th year, there were ſome few ſhillings coined, and they (being only forty in a pound of ſilver) were fair and large pieces, a full third heavier than ours at this day. They are now choice rarities in the cabinets of the curious. He is likewiſe ſaid to have coined ſmall pieces, called Dandy-Prats, but of what metal, value, or faſhion, is unknown. Num. Brit. Hiſt.

THE STATE of the CHURCH OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

THE chriſtian church had never been in ſo deplorable a ſtate as in the XVth century. God's juſtice and mercy, and Chriſt's meritorious death, were ſcarce any more the object of a chriſtian's faith. Moſt people's religion conſiſted in pilgrimages, and in the worſhip of the bleſſed virgin, ſaints and relicts. As for the clergy, their whole attention was confined to ſupport that grandeur and power they had enjoyed for ſeveral centuries, and to take care that no man preſumed to diſpute their immunities. Diſcipline was never more remiſs. The clergy ſeemed to look upon their ſpiritual juriſdiction, only as a means to prevent the violation of their temporal privileges. Provided their rights were untouched, every one might do what ſeemed good in his own eyes. The authority of the church was become the capital point of religion. State of the affairs of the church in the xvth century.

The papal power had ſtrangely increaſed every century, each pope having made it his buſineſs to enlarge it as much as poſſible. They were come at length to diſpoſe of all the church-preferments in Chriſtendom, and to be the ſupreme judges in all cauſes eccleſiaſtical. National ſynods were no longer held: and indeed, of what uſe would they have been, ſince the court of Rome claimed the cognizance of all church-matters? In a word, the pope was become the centre of religion, to which every thing was to tend. The privileges of churches, the prerogatives of ſovereigns were all annulled by the Non-obſtante clauſe, uſually inſerted in every bull. But it was not only over ſpirituals that the popes had ſtretched their authority; they pretended alſo to extend it over temporals, under colour that religion was concerned in all affairs. Kings themſelves were not out of their reach. In all the marriages of princes, there was occaſion for the pope's diſpenſation: neither peace nor truce of any moment, was concluded with-

without the pope's mediation or guaranty. Some popes were ſeen to carry their pretenſions ſo far, as to enjoin peaces or truces without the conſent of the parties. In ſhort, it is extremely probable, they would have wholly engroſſed the temporal power as well as the ſpiritual, if the ſchiſms of the XVth century had not cauſed them to loſe ground. The revolutions of the following century, made them loſe ſtill more. However, the popes were become real ſovereigns, not only with reſpect to the power they had aſſumed, but alſo with regard to the immenſe riches, which through numberleſs channels flowed into the vaſt ocean of the apoſtolic chamber. Tenths, firſt-fruits, taxes for the ſervice of the chamber, diſpenſations for all ſorts of caſes, as well contrary to the law of God as to the canons of the church, ſubſidies extracted from time to time from the clergy, for the occaſions of the holy ſee, cruſades, benefices which were ſeldom beſtowed without a previous bargain with the apoſtolic chamber; in a word, ſimony openly practiſed by many popes, ſome of whom were accuſed and convicted, were inexhauſtible fountains which maintained the affluence and luxury of the court of Rome. It was almoſt impoſſible, that purity of life and true religious principles ſhould be preſerved undefiled, amidſt ſo much grandeur and riches. On the contrary, the popes were the more liable to make an ill uſe of their power, as moſt of them were not born for ſo high a ſtation. Accordingly we find in hiſtory, that Rome and Avignon were the centre of pride, avarice, luxury, ſenſuality, and all the moſt ſcandalous vices. The popes were neither learned nor religious. Hardly was there one to be found that might paſs for an honeſt man, even according to the maxims of the world. And yet, all the preambles of their bulls were only expreſſions of their zeal, their charity, their humanity, their juſtice; whilſt for the moſt part what they enjoyed was an authentic proof of their pride and tyranny. This is no aggravation; for the authors who writ before the reformation, have ſaid a hundred times more: nay, it has even been publicly preached before the councils.

It may be eaſily imagined, that ſuch popes did not take much care to fill, what they called the ſacred college, with perſons truly pious and devout. It is true, during this century, there were cardinals of great repute, and eminent for their wit, their eloquence, their political virtues, and their capacity for temporal affairs. But theſe, for the moſt part, were men governed by the maxims of the world, and who conſidered religion but as a means to eſtabliſh their fortune. The legates,

gates, ſent to the ſeveral ſtates of Chriſtendom, were ſo many incendiaries, who ſought only to ſow diſcord and diviſion among princes, or excite them to ſhed the blood of their own ſubjects. In a word, they regarded only the intereſt of their maſter and the Roman ſee, making no conſcience to violate all the rules of religion and equity to accompliſh their ends.

The reſt of the clergy in general were no better. Moſt of the biſhops were promoted to the epiſcopacy, purely for having rendered themſelves commendable by their attachment to the intereſts of the court of Rome, or for their ſervices to princes in their temporal concerns. They were perſons educated at court, and inſtructed in the maxims of the world. Cruelty, injuſtice, diſhoneſty, were but too common among them. Nay, they were conſidered as ſo many virtues, when employed in the perſecution of ſuch as were termed Heretics, eſpecially of thoſe that dared to conteſt any of the pope's or the clergy's pretended rights.

As for real learning, it was ſcarce heard of in this century. School-divinity, and the knowledge of the canon-law, made the whole merit of the eccleſiaſtic. It was the only thing by which they could hope to arrive at church-dignities. On the other hand, the monks, who were crept into moſt of the profeſſorſhips in the univerſities, had overwhelmed divinity and philoſophy with ſuch a heap of jargon, as ſerved only to give their diſciples falſe notions of learning, and teach them to wrangle.

Such was in general the ſtate of the church in the century we are ſpeaking of. As for the civil affairs of Europe, they were in this and the following centuries, as in the foregoing. The ſovereigns divided among themſelves by their different intereſts, thought only of ſupplanting one another, and making their neighbour's loſs turn to their own gain. This drew them into bloody wars, which rendered their people miſerable, and ſuffered neither princes nor ſubjects to attend to the breaches in the church, nor think of means to heal them. Corruption was ſo great in the world, and in the church, that God ſeemed to have abandoned men to a reprobate ſenſe, ſo blind and inſenſible were they grown. We may add, for the farther repreſentation of the ſad eſtate of the church, the great progreſs of the Turks in Europe, during this unfortunate century. The Greek empire entirely deſtroyed, and ſeveral other chriſtian ſtates over-run by the Infidels, were plain tokens of the divine wrath againſt chriſtians, to move them to ſearch after the cauſe. But inſtead of ſeeking the Lord, they per-

ſecuted with fire and ſword ſuch as ſought God alone, and refuſed to pay divine worſhip to creatures.

To accompliſh a reformation in the church, which was ſo much wanted, all or at leaſt the chief princes of Europe ſhould have joined their endeavours to promote ſuch a project. But how was it poſſible that ſo many ſovereigns who had religion ſo little at heart, ſhould ſacrifice their paſſions to ſo great a good? or how could ſo many different intereſts be reconciled? All Europe paſſionately wiſhed that the church were reformed: ſeveral biſhops appeared to have the ſame deſire: nothing was talked of in the councils but the neceſſity of executing ſo noble a deſign: nay, it ſeemed that the councils of Conſtance and Baſil intended to ſet about it effectually. But the well inclined had neither prudence nor reſolution enough to oppoſe the artifices and violence of the contrary party. We ſhall ſee hereafter that it was the popes, the cardinals, and the principal clergy who oppoſed to their utmoſt the projected reformation, becauſe they were ſenſible it would prove prejudicial to their temporal intereſts. On the other hand, when it is conſidered with what eagerneſs and animoſity they laboured to root out the pretended hereſies which combated the temporal grandeur of the clergy, no other inference can be made than that they themſelves perceived the neceſſity of a reformation which they would not admit, and that the fountain of corruption was in the principal members of the clergy, from whence it had but too great an influence upon the reſt.

To repreſent to the life the ſtate of the church of the fifteenth century, and ſet it in its true light, it would be neceſſary to give a particular account of what paſſed at the councils of Conſtance and Baſil. But this detail would lead me too far: beſides the hiſtory of the firſt of theſe councils is lately publiſhed, and writ with that plainneſs, circumſpection, and impartiality, that there is no room to ſuſpect that the author[i] has ſuffered himſelf to be biaſſed by paſſion or prejudice; the hiſtory of the council of Baſil, by the ſame hand, is ſoon to appear[k]: ſo, referring the reader to theſe two hiſtories, I ſhall only relate in few words the moſt remarkable paſſages of theſe councils. This knowledge will be of uſe to underſtand the ſtate of the church of England, which I ſhall preſently ſpeak of.

A brief account of the council of Conſtance.

The ſchiſm begun in 1378, by Urban VI. and Clement VII. was continued to the beginning of the fifteenth

[i] Mr. l'Enfant, late miniſter at Berlin. L'Enfant.

[k] It was publiſhed in 1724.

century

century by Boniface IX. and Benedict XIII. their ſucceſſors. Boniface ſucceeding Urban VI. reſided at Rome, and Benedict ſucceſſor of Clement VII. remained at Avignon, where he was kept by the king of France, for fear he ſhould eſcape before the ſchiſm was ended.

The univerſity of Paris had propoſed a method to end the ſchiſm, namely, that the two popes ſhould reſign the pontificate, which was called the Method of Ceſſion. Boniface IX. and Benedict XIII. pretended both to be willing to take this method for reſtoring peace to the church: but withal they uſed ſo many evaſions, that it was eaſy to ſee they had no ſuch deſire; and therefore the king of France had thought fit to ſecure the perſon of Benedict. That monarch's illneſs afterwards placing the duke of Orleans his brother at the head of affairs, the young prince was a great favourer of Benedict XIII. and in 1404, gave him an opportunity to make his eſcape. The ſame year Boniface IX. died, and the cardinals of his party choſe Innocent VII. who behaved like his predeceſſor with reſpect to the ceſſion. To Innocent, who ſat in the papal chair but two years, ſucceeded Angelo Corario, who aſſumed the name of Gregory XII. Thus the ſchiſm ſtill continued between Gregory and Benedict. Theſe two popes pretending to deſire to end it by the method of ceſſion, long amuſed the world with their diſſimulation and artifices. In ſhort, the ſchiſm having now laſted thirty years, without any appearance that the two popes would perform their promiſe, Gregory XII. ſaw himſelf deſerted on a ſudden by his cardinals, who retired to Piſa: there remained but four with him. On the other ſide, France, which was the principal ſupport of Benedict XIII. being tired with his evaſions, withdrew from his obedience, and the pope having loſt that protection, went and reſided in Spain: but his cardinals refuſing to follow him, choſe to join Gregory's. Preſently after, the cardinals of both parties with one conſent called a general council at Piſa, to which moſt of the princes of Europe ſent their ambaſſadors and prelates.

This council, held in 1409, depoſed the two popes, and gave the cardinals leave to chuſe a new one, who aſſumed the name of Alexander V. But as Gregory and Benedict did not think themſelves lawfully depoſed, it happened that inſtead of the two popes before the council, there were now three.

Alexander V. dying in 1410, John XXIII. was elected in his room, who called a general council to meet at Con-

ſtance in November 1414[1]. This council found no better way to end the ſchiſm than by removing the three popes. John XXIII. and Benedict XIII. were depoſed, and Gregory XII. voluntarily reſigned the pontificate. After that, the council elected cardinal Odo Colonna, who took the name of Martin V. John XXIII. who was committed to the cuſtody of the emperor Sigiſmund, having made his eſcape, ſubmitted to Martin V. who honoured him with a cardinal-ſhip. As for Benedict XIII. he ſtill kept the title of pope; and retiring to the caſtle of Reniſcola, belonging to the kingdom of Valencia, was ſuffered by the king of Arragon to live there in quiet. After his death, which happened not till 1424, his cardinals choſe a canon of Barcelona, who took the name of Clement VIII. But in 1429, he quitted his dignity in favour of Martin V. Thus ended the ſchiſm at length, after a one and fifty years continuance.

This abſtract, though ſhort, will enable us to judge of the character of the popes who governed the church during theſe fifty years: they were men who ſacrificed the peace and tranquillity of the church to their own private intereſts, and damned without mercy, as far as lay in their power, all that were not of their party. They would without ſcruple have engaged all chriſtendom in a bloody war for their intereſts, if the ſovereign princes had not been wiſer than they. Surely one cannot but form a very melancholy idea of the ſtate of of the church in thoſe days, when it is conſidered that the Chriſtians of both ſides acknowledged for Chriſt's vicars, popes whom they abhorred, and who indeed were ſo little worthy of the ſtation they enjoyed, that ſeveral were depoſed for hereſy, ſimony, and perjury.

But I have ſtill one important reflection to make upon the conduct of the council of Conſtance, the motive whereof is at firſt hard to be conceived. If the council of Piſa was general and lawful, as that of Conſtance could not forbear owning, why were her deciſions not obſerved? Why was

[1] The deputies to this council from England were, firſt the biſhops of Saliſbury, Bath, and Hereford, the abbot of Weſtminſter, and prior of Worceſter: but upon the death of the biſhops of Saliſbury and Hereford, the Engliſh prelates underſtanding that other churches were repreſented by a more numerous delegation, ſent Clifford biſhop of London, the chancellors of both univerſities, with twelve doctors, to this council. Walſingham, p. 387. — The deputies mentioned in Rymer's Fœdera, are theſe, Nicholas biſhop of Bath and Wells, Robert of Sarum, John of St. David's, William abbot of Weſtminſter, John prior of Worceſter, Thomas Spofford abbot of St. Mary's at York, Richard earl of Warwick, Henry Fitz-Hugh lord chamberlain, ſir Walter Hungerford, ſir Ralph Rocheford, John Honyngham doctor of laws. Tom. ix. p. 162, 167, 169.

Gregory

Gregory XII's reſignation accepted, a reſignation which ſuppoſed him ſtill to be pope notwithſtanding his being depoſed? Why were terms offered him to induce him to quit the pontificate? Why was Benedict XIII. once more depoſed, when he had been already depoſed by a general council? In ſhort, why was John XXIII. deprived of his dignity for not keeping his promiſe to reſign the papacy, ſince it could not be queſtioned that he was really pope and his miſſion lawful? Was not the authority of the council of Piſa ſacrificed by theſe proceedings? . .

Let it not be objected that John XXIII. was not depoſed for any defect in his miſſion but for his crimes. It is certain, when his promiſe to reſign the pontificate was required, it was ſolely with a view to put an end to the ſchiſm. Had he reſigned with a good grace, he would never have been accuſed, much leſs condemned for the crime for which he was afterwards depoſed. It will be ſaid perhaps, that this inconvenience was not ſo great as that of perpetuating the ſchiſm. But ſhould the ſtriking at the authority of a general council be deemed a ſlight inconvenience? Did not the council of Conſtance give occaſion to have her own authority diſputed? For there is no reaſon why the depoſing of Benedict XIII. and of John XXIII. by the council of Conſtance ſhould be more valid than the depoſing of the ſame Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. by the council of Piſa.

However, through all this intricacy, the motive of the council of Conſtance's proceedings is diſcoverable. The ſchiſm manifeſtly tended to the diſſolution of the papal dignity, which ſerved for baſis and foundation to moſt of the clergy's privileges, and to the hierarchy itſelf. Caſtile, Arragon, Navarre, Portugal, had been neutral ſome years, without owning any of the contending popes. France had withdrawn her obedience from Benedict XIII. without transferring it to Gregory XII. In a word, the whole world in general began to contemn their excommunications, which they ſo viſibly abuſed. There was danger therefore that by degrees a pope would be thought uſeleſs, and thereby the foundation of the hierarchy would have been undermined, and perhaps a new form of government introduced into the church. The cardinals and prelates, of whom the council of Conſtance was compoſed, were ſo highly concerned to avoid this inconvenience, that their ſacrificing all to that end is not ſurprizing. This is the true reaſon of their conduct. But they took care to proceed very differently with regard to the pretended heretics, who openly conteſted the privileges of the clergy. To extir-

pate a hereſy ſo prejudicial to them, they made uſe of fire and ſword rather than ſacrifice the leaſt of their intereſts. This is what we are going to ſee in the manner they acted on that account.

All the world knows that John Huſs and Jerome of Prague were burnt alive at Conſtance. But every one has not been at the pains to examine for what errors they ſuffered that rigorous puniſhment. They were then and ſtill are to this day charged with maintaining impious, horrible, and damnable tenets. They were condemned as ſeditious, obſtinate, and incorrigible followers and defenders of Wickliff, hardened, crafty, malicious, and convicted heretics: had there been yet ſtronger terms to expreſs their abhorrence of theſe hereſies, they would have been uſed without ſcruple. But, wherein conſiſted theſe hereſies? In their being diſciples of Wickliff? If the authors who ſpeak of their ſentence be conſulted, ſcarce one will be found that ſays more. John Huſs and Jerome of Prague (ſay they) were followers of Wickliff, and conſequently abominable wretches deſerving to be burnt. In the opinions of Wickliff therefore we are to ſearch for their errors. Now here is an ambiguity, which has been conſtantly uſed to juſtify the condemnation of theſe two doctors: it is hardly to be doubted that the council of Conſtance had the ſame ambiguity in view, when ſhe cauſed the errors and memory of Wickliff to be firſt ſtigmatized, before John Huſs and Jerome of Prague were brought upon their trial.

Wickliff's opinions were of two kinds: ſome concerned the principal doctrines of faith; others related to the hierarchy, the clergy, their juriſdiction, power, and riches. Wickliff did not believe tranſubſtantiation; he rejected the invocation of ſaints, the adoration of the croſs and images, pilgrimages, and relics. On the other hand, he thought the hierarchy had no foundation in Scripture; from whence he drew ſeveral concluſions againſt the exceſſive authority uſurped by the popes, the cardinals, and the biſhops. Moreover, he taxed the clergy with leading very immoral and diſſolute lives, and maintained that the revenues of the church were greatly miſapplied. From theſe principles his enemies inferred numberleſs conſequences, ſome whereof had never perhaps entered into his thoughts. There were at laſt found in his writings two hundred and ſixty capital errors: his followers added many more which he had never taught, and the whole was imputed to him as if he had maintained them all in expreſs terms.

However

However it be, John Huſs embraced Wickliff's opinions, but it was only in what concerned the hierarchy and clergy. It is certain he believed tranſubſtantiation, and died in that belief. As for images, his opinion was that a man might honour them, kneel to them, light up wax-tapers before them, kiſs them, becauſe the intention referred that worſhip to the originals. So, it is a thing out of doubt, that he was not but for maintaining errors in the principal doctrines of faith, burnt for opinions which combated the exorbitant power and riches of the church, that is to ſay, of the clergy. All poſſible endeavours were uſed to make him confeſs he believed not tranſubſtantiation, but he could never be brought to ſuch a confeſſion. And yet, by the advice of the cardinal of Florence, the council condemned him upon the depoſition of the witneſſes, who accuſed him of rejecting that doctrine, without regarding his own expreſs declaration to the contrary. It is not very difficult to conceive the council's aim in cauſing that article to be inſerted in Huſs's ſentence. The council was ſenſible it muſt have appeared very ſtrange, that a perſon ſhould be burnt, whoſe principles tended to a reformation in the head and in the members of the church, which all chriſtendom required, and which the council itſelf feigned to believe neceſſary. It was requiſite therefore to juſtify the ſentence by rendering the man odious, as rejecting a fundamental article of faith. For this reaſon, without diſtinguiſhing Wickliff's errors, John Huſs and Jerome of Prague were condemned as followers of that arch-heretic. It was thereby inſinuated, that they embraced all the opinions of their maſter.

But to ſhow by an unexceptionable teſtimony that theſe two men were burnt for their opinions concerning the clergy, I need only quote what Æneas Sylvius, alias pope Pius II. ſays in his Hiſtory of Bohemia. The deputies of the council having admoniſhed the accuſed to forſake their errors, and conform to the church's ſentiments, they anſwered, "That they were indeed lovers of the holy Goſpel, and true "diſciples of Chriſt: that the church of Rome, and all the "other churches of the world were far ſwerved from the "apoſtolical traditions: that the clergy ran after pleaſures "and riches: that they lorded it over the people, affected "the higeſt ſeats at entertainments, and bred horſes and "dogs: that the revenues of the church, which belonged to "the poor members of Chriſt, were conſumed in vanity and "wantonneſs: that the prieſts were ignorant of the com-

" mandments of God; or if they did know them, lightly " regarded them.

" The fathers of the council (continues the hiſtorians) per- " ceiving and knowing the invincible obſtinacy of theſe people, " judged that the corrupted members of the church that were " incurable, ought to be cut off, leſt they ſhould infect the " reſt of the body. Accordingly ſentence was paſſed upon " them, all the fathers unanimouſly agreeing that perſons " who rejected ſound doctrine approved by the church, de- " ſerved to be burnt."

This account moſt evidently ſhows wherein conſiſted the hereſy of John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, namely, in their accuſing the clergy of corruption. It was therefore to deſtroy theſe enemies of the clergy, that the council made no ſcruple to violate the ſafe-conduct given by the emperor Sigiſmund to John Huſs, or at leaſt to allow him to violate it himſelf. Moreover, the council had no regard to the promiſe they had publicly given to Jerome of Prague, in order to draw him to Conſtance: it is true, the council had inſerted theſe words in their engagement, " Without prejudice to juſtice, and as far as " the catholic faith requires it:" a captious clauſe, if ever there was one. For was not the catholic faith the very point in queſtion; and of what uſe could the council's promiſe be to Jerome of Prague, unleſs againſt juſtice? did he run any hazard, or ſtand in need of ſuch a promiſe, if he had not held the tenets he was charged with?

Let us proceed now to the decree of the council againſt communion in both kinds. We ſhall ſee in this, as well as in the foregoing article, that the authority of the church or the clergy, was the ſole point in queſtion. The fathers of Conſtance condemned not communion in both kinds as ſinful in itſelf; on the contrary, they owned it was practiſed in the primitive church, and that the church had power to grant it to the laity, if ſhe thought proper. But they anathematized ſuch as maintained the church had not a right to aboliſh that practice. What did they mean then by the church? Did they not mean the councils compoſed of the ſeveral members of the clergy? It is ſo true, that in this decree the council's ſole view was to ſupport the authority of the church repreſentative, that ſome years after another general council made no ſcruple to allow the Huſſites the liberty of communicating in both kinds, without any apprehenſion that the faith was therein concerned; when they were willing to receive that liberty as a favour from the church.

As

As to other opinions which appeared at the ſame time, but which attacked not the clergy, the council of Conſtance behaved with an aſtoniſhing coolneſs. John Petit, advocate of the duke of Burgundy, maintained it was lawful for any private perſon to kill a tyrant even by ſurprize. This tenet being brought before the council, how did they proceed? After much ſollicitation, they declared it erroneous, without naming the author or attacking his perſon, though they had ordered Wickliff's bones to be dug up thirty years after his burial. The ſect of the ſcourgers[m] broached ſeveral capital errors: but the council was content with the bare propoſal of finding ſome gentle means to reſtore them to the unity of the church.

What reformation could be expected from a council, which ſo rigorouſly proſecuted ſuch as conteſted the privileges of the pope, the cardinals, and the clergy? The reformation muſt have begun with the ſuppreſſion of moſt of theſe prerogatives. Indeed, before Martin V's election, the reforming of the court of Rome was talked of in the council, and a liſt of the abuſes to be redreſſed was drawn up: but by the artifices of ſome, and particularly of the cardinals, that deſign came to nothing. A pope was elected, and a pope elect found means to have that article deferred to a more convenient ſeaſon.

This is the ſum of the moſt remarkable tranſactions in the council of Conſtance. A very full account of theſe things will be found in the fore-mentioned new hiſtory, to which the reader is referred. Let us ſee now what the council of Baſil acted with reſpect to the Huſſites, and the quarrel of pope Eugenius IV. with the ſame council. Nothing is more proper to ſhow the ſtate of the church in thoſe days.

The Bohemians, who for the moſt part had embraced the opinions of John Huſs, highly reſented the uſage he had met with. This ſeverity ſerving only to confirm them in their tenets, they reſolved to maintain them in ſpite of the council's decrees. Communion in both kinds was the principal doctrine. This occaſioned terrible commotions in Bohemia, which Martin V. greatly inflamed by his haughty treatment of the Huſſites. In the midſt of theſe troubles, Wenceſlaus king of Bohemia dying, Sigiſmund his brother, who

Hiſtory of the council of Baſil.

[m] Otherwiſe called Flagellantes. This ſect appeared firſt at Perouſa in 1260, having for its author a hermit named Rainerus. They carried a croſs in their hands, wore a cowl on their heads, and went naked to the waiſt. Twice a day, and once in the night they laſhed themſelves with knotted cords ſtuck with points or pins, which gave occaſion to their name. They affirmed, that their blood united in ſuch a manner with Chriſt's, that it had the ſame virtue. They perſuaded the people that the Goſpel had ceaſed, and ſuffered all ſort of perjuries.

was

was emperor, pretended to the ſucceſſion. But the Bohemians rejected him, becauſe he would not conſent they ſhould live in the faith they profeſſed. Martin V. ſupporting Sigiſmund, publiſhed a cruſade againſt the Huſſites, and thereby obliged them to arm in defence of their lives. It is needleſs to enquire here, whether Sigiſmund had any right to mount the throne of Bohemia without the conſent of the ſtates: this is a query which would lead me too far. However that be, Ziſka, a Bohemian, heading the Huſſites, defeated Sigiſmund ſeveral times, and made him as well as the pope deſpair of extirpating theſe pretended heretics by arms. The war laſted till the council of Baſil, without Sigiſmund's being able to take peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Bohemia.

The council of Baſil, which met in 1431, finding that the arms of Sigiſmund and the Croiſés had not the ſucceſs that was expected, reſolved to make peace with the Huſſites. Probably, their aim was to ſet Sigiſmund at any rate on the throne of Bohemia, in order to enable him the better to take proper meaſures to extirpate theſe people. For that purpoſe, they ſent deputies into Bohemia, to invite the Huſſites to come and produce their reaſons before the council. They agreed to it, and their deputies being arrived at Baſil, required theſe four things, for which they offered to be reconciled to the church.

Firſt, That communion in both kinds ſhould be adminiſtred to the Bohemian laity.

Secondly, That offenders ſhould be puniſhed according to the law of God, and by thoſe whoſe proper buſineſs it was.

Thirdly, That the word of God ſhould be preached by able prieſts.

Fourthly, That the clergy ſhould have no temporal juriſdictions.

Theſe were the ſentiments of the Huſſites, for which ſo bloody a war had been made upon them, even to the exciting all Europe againſt them. But it was not ſo much for their doctrines that they were thus cruelly perſecuted, but for their obſtinate refuſal to ſubmit to the deciſions of the church, and for their contempt of the clergy. The council uſed all poſſible endeavours to perſuade the Bohemian deputies to an unconditional ſubmiſſion to the church. But at laſt, perceiving they inſiſted upon the four articles, the council thought fit to grant them upon this condition, that they ſhould be firſt explained, becauſe being couched in general terms, they might give occaſion to freſh diſputes. The Huſſites conſenting, the council explained the four articles as they judged convenient.

After

After that, an agreement was drawn conformable to the four articles and their explication.

The affair being thus ſettled, Sigiſmund demanded to be received for king of Bohemia, and was ſo accordingly, after ſigning certain conditions; namely, the approbation of the agreement, and ſome others relating thereto. It ſeemed that the perſecution againſt the Huſſites was thereby to ceaſe. But Sigiſmund was no ſooner on the throne of Bohemia, but he diſappointed them. On the other hand, the pope pretending, they obſerved not the conditions on which the four articles were granted, poſitively refuſed to confirm the agreement. This occaſioned in Bohemia freſh troubles, which were always fomented by the court of Rome, and which properly ended not till the middle of the laſt century, in the utter ruin of the Huſſites.

Before we leave this ſubject, let us make one reflection. Let the Huſſites be inveighed againſt as much as you pleaſe: let them be accuſed of holding impious and deteſtable errors, yet theſe errors muſt be reduced to the four articles exhibited by themſelves to the council of Baſil. For that, cruſades were publiſhed againſt them, and John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, were burnt. But a general council, owned for ſuch by all the world, when the agreement was granted them, judged that theſe articles might be ſuffered without prejudice to the catholic faith. It follows therefore, that war was made upon them ſolely for the ſupport of the church's authority. That was the main point of religion. But why were they perſecuted afterwards? It was becauſe the popes would never ſtand to the agreement, though the Huſſites frequently offered to ſubmit to the church upon that condition. It is therefore evident, that the war from the beginning to the end, was wholly founded upon this principle, that the church has a deſpotic power, and that it is unlawful to bind her to any conditions. But what church is this, inveſted with ſo high a prerogative? It cannot be a general council, ſince ſuch a council has not judged that article unqueſtionable. It is therefore the pope alone which muſt be meant by the church. It will be ſaid perhaps, that the authority of the council of Baſil is not acknowledged by a great part of the church: but this will be groundleſs. For the agreement with the Huſſites, was made before the council was removed to Ferrara, and the council of Baſil is acknowledged by all the world for lawful before that removal.

We are now going to ſee a quarrel of another nature, not of the church with her heretical enemies, but of the church with

with herſelf, of the members with the head. Till the council of Baſil, the popes and the councils were very well agreed to improve the church's authority, and cauſe it to be abſolutely obeyed. By the help of the equivocal word church, an entire ſubmiſſion was required of chriſtians, ſometimes to the pope as the head, ſometimes to the councils as repreſentatives of the body, according as occaſion offered to improve that term for the benefit of either. As for the chriſtian laity, they had been long excluded out of the meaning of the word Church. However, though in confining the ſignification of the word Church to the clergy alone, there ſtill remained ſome ambiguity, it had not yet been removed, by deciding whether the authority of the church was lodged in the body of the clergy, or in the pope as head. The councils of Piſa and conſtance had taken ſome ſteps towards aſſuming this authority, in depoſing the popes themſelves. But Martin V. after his election, had artfully evaded the deciſion of this important point, either by breaking up the council, or by confirming whatever was done with regard to the doctrines, without meddling with any of the other articles. He knew, it would be very prejudicial for him if the queſtion was decided by the council, as it would be for the council the moment they broke up. At length, the council of Baſil had occaſion to take this queſtion into conſideration.

The council had been called by Martin V. who had now appointed cardinal Julian Cæſarini to preſide as legate. Martin dying in 1431, before the council was aſſembled, Eugenius IV. was choſen in his room. The new pope oppoſed not the opening of the council, but intended it ſhould not continue long. For ſome time, the neceſſity of reforming the church both in the head and members, had been every where talked of. Now as ſuch a reformation muſt have been made by a general council, ſuch a council could not but terrify a pope, who had not yet had time to taſte the ſweets of the pontificate. The council of Baſil was no ſooner aſſembled, but Engenius ſought means to diſſolve it. He found a pretence in the council's invitation of the Huſſites to Baſil, during the firſt ſeſſion. He affirmed, theſe heretics having been condemned in the council of Conſtance, ought not to be allowed a re-hearing. Upon this frivolous pretence, he publiſhed a bull for diſſolving the council.

Inſtead of ſubmitting to the pope's pleaſure, the council reſolved to continue their ſeſſions. Hence ſprung a quarrel, which produced a real ſchiſm, ſome maintaining the authority of the council, and others remaining attached to the pope.

The

The council made ſeveral decrees, which placed the authority of a general council above that of the pope, and the pope annulled theſe decrees, affirming, the body could not act but by the direction of the head. The emperor, the king of France, and moſt of the other princes declaring for the council, Engenius ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity to confirm the council, and conſent that the ſeſſions ſhould be continued. But having ſent other legates to preſide in his name, the council refuſed to receive them as preſidents. This was a freſh occaſion of diſſention. The pope threatned to diſſolve the council, and the council threatned to ſuſpend the pope. Accordingly, they made ſome advances towards it: whereupon Eugenius finding himſelf the weakeſt, was obliged once more to approve and confirm the council.

The forced compliance of the pope, appeaſed the quarrel for ſome time. But in 1435, the council having ſhown, they would ſeriouſly endeavour a reformation of the church in the head and members, and having made for that purpoſe decrees to aboliſh the firſt-fruits [n], and ſettle the rights of the apoſtolic chamber, the pope ſaw himſelf ruined, unleſs he found ſome way to ſtop their proceedings. On the other hand, the cardinals eaſily perceived, that ſince the pope was begun with, their turn would ſoon come. There were biſhops too, who were ſorry to ſee a reformation going forward, which would be to their prejudice in many things, though they might hope to be gainers by it in ſome reſpects. This occaſioned the forming of two oppoſite parties in the council; but however, the reformers had the majority. Mean while, the pope continued to gain ground, ſince the cardinals and ſeveral biſhops thought it for their intereſt to ſupport him.

Another thing helped likewiſe to ſet the pope's affairs upon a good foot. Some time ſince, John Emanuel Palæologus, emperor of Conſtantinople, had been vigorouſly attacked by the Turks. As he wanted aſſiſtance, he imagined, if he could unite the Greek church with the Latin, the pope and princes of Europe would aſſiſt him with all their forces in defence of his empire. This affair had been already propoſed to Martin V. and it was chiefly with deſign to accompliſh the union, that pope Martin had called the council of Baſil, where the Greek emperor was to come in perſon, with the biſhops of his church. Eugenius IV. failed not to improve the opportunity to ſtrengthen his party. He ſent nuntios to the emperor, to ac-

[n] The annates or firſt-fruits were deviſed by Boniface IX. on pretence of carrying on a war againſt the Infidels.

quaint him, that the time was come to perform his promiſe; but as it might be inconvenient for him and his attendants to repair to Baſil, he promiſed to remove the council to ſome good town in Italy, provided he would engage to be preſent. On the other hand, the council ſent likewiſe ambaſſadors to Conſtantinople, to diſſuade the emperor from coming to any other place than Baſil. But the emperor had already reſolved to repair wherever the pope ſhould appoint. The fathers of Baſil plainly perceiving, the pope intended to move the council elſewhere, made haſte, and paſſed ſeveral decrees, which very much leſſened the papal authority, and at length cited the pope before them.

Eugenius little regarded the proceedings againſt him at Baſil. When he heard the Greeks were arrived at Venice, he publiſhed a bull for tranſlating the council of Baſil to Ferrara. The council refuſed to comply with the bull, and by a majority of votes, ſuſpended the pope till he ſhould come in perſon and make his defence. Mean while, cardinal Julian, preſident of the council, and the reſt of the cardinals, except one, left Baſil, carrying with them a good number of biſhops, and repaired to Ferrara, where the pope opened his council the 10th of February 1438. Thus aroſe a new ſort of ſchiſm between the councils, which both called themſelves general, and condemned one another. But the pope's had ſoon a conſiderable advantage of the other, by the arrival of the Greek emperor at Ferrara, with a great many prelates of his nation. The next year Eugenius tranſlated the council to Florence, where a ſort of union was made between the Greeks and Latins, which laſted not long °.

Mean time, the council of Baſil ſtill continuing their proceedings againſt Eugenius IV. came at laſt to depoſe him, and elect another pope in his room, namely, Amedus duke of Savoy, who having reſigned the government of his dominions, was retired to the ſolitudes of Ripaille. The new pope aſſumed the name of Felix V. Hence was formed in the church a double ſchiſm between two general councils and two popes, who thundred their Anathemas againſt one another, to the great ſcandal of Chriſtendom. It was no ſmall embarraſſment to moſt people, to ſee thus two popes and two councils condemning one another, and each excommunicating the adhe-

° The emperor, in order to compaſs his ends, compelled the Greek fathers to aſſent to the four articles: 1. "That "there is a purgatory. 2. That the "pope is head of the church. 3. That "the holy ghoſt proceeds from the father and the ſon. 4. That unleavened bread may be uſed in the Euchariſt." But when they came home, they declaimed againſt the council, and recanted their ſubſcriptions.

rents

rents of the other party, without ſparing even thoſe who thought to eſcape by ſtanding neutral.

Charles VII. who then reigned in France, cauſed a ſynod to be held on this occaſion, in which it was reſolved, that France ſhould own the council of Baſil for lawful, but ſhould remain however in the obedience of pope Eugenius: another embarraſſment to the French. Indeed, it is hard to conceive, how two ſuch oppoſite things could be reconciled.

In 1441, was held in Germany another ſuch aſſembly, where no better expedient was found, than the calling a new council ſomewhere elſe than at Baſil and Florence; and that Germany ſhould remain neuter, till the new council was aſſembled. A diet held at Francfort in 1442, approved of this expedient, and the council of Baſil conſented to it, though with reluctance. But obſtacles occurred, that prevented the execution of that deſign.

Mean while, Felix V. not being pleaſed with the council of Baſil for taking ſo much upon them, reſolved to withdraw to Lauſanne, on pretence that Baſil air did not agree with him. On the other hand, Eugenius tranſlated the council of Florence to Rome, in the church of St. John of Lateran, where they began their ſeſſion in 1444.

At length, in 1446, the princes of Germany, aſſembled at Francfort, unanimouſly reſolved, that if Eugenius would not redreſs the grievances complained of, they would all recognize pope Felix. Eugenius demurred at firſt. But the emperor telling him, he muſt comply, or reſolve to loſe all Germany, he granted whatever the Germans deſired, whereupon an agreement was made.

This was a terrible blow to the council of Baſil, who had now loſt Italy, Arragon, and ſeveral other ſtates. As for France, they could not much rely upon her, ſince ſhe ſtill continued in obedience to pope Eugenius. England had likewiſe ſo far declared for that pope, as that we find, in the Collection of the Public Acts, Henry VI. ſent an embaſſy to make a league with him.

Eugenius IV. died whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, and had for ſucceſſor Nicholas V.

The council of Baſil loſing great part of their authority, and Felix V. having but very few friends, the king of France held a ſynod at Lyons, to ſeek means to put an end to the ſchiſm. Felix V. ſending legates thither, it was reſolved, with his conſent, that if Nicholas V. would grant him certain conditions, he would reſign the pontificate. This was the ſubject of a negotiation, which laſted the whole year

1448.

1448. Mean while, the council of Baſil, finding themſelves forſaken by almoſt all the world, and deſpairing of farther protection at Baſil, ſince the emperor and Germany had declared for Eugenius, reſolved to remove to Lauſanne.

At laſt, Felix having obtained moſt of his deſires, reſigned the papal dignity in 1449. But it was with the conſent of his council, who found means to preſerve ſtill ſome remains of authority. By their laſt decree, they approved of Felix's reſignation, created him cardinal and legate a latere [p] in Savoy and the Tarentaiſe, and allowed him to wear the papal habit all his life. Nicholas V. confirmed the decree according to agreement. Thus ended at length the ſchiſm, in which there was a complication of three ſchiſms: firſt, between Eugenius IV. and the council of Baſil; then between two general councils; and laſtly, between two popes. The firſt may be ſaid not to be yet ended, ſince the diſpute which occaſioned it ſtill ſubſiſts. The court of Rome's adherents perpetually inveigh againſt the council of Baſil, for decreeing, that a general council is above the pope. On the other hand, their oppoſers reſt upon the decrees of that council to ſupport their opinion, very probably, this queſtion will remain long undecided.

I have a little enlarged upon what paſſed in the two famous councils of Conſtance and Baſil, becauſe nothing, in my opinion, is more proper to diſcover the wretched ſtate of the church of thoſe days. From the cloſe of the laſt ſchiſm, to the end of the XVth century, the papal chair was filled with popes cruelly bent upon the deſtruction of the Huſſites, contrary to the faith of the agreement, or wholly employed in maintaining the exorbitant power uſurped by their predeceſſors, and generally in ſatisfying their avarice.

1455. Characters of the popes of the xvth century.

Calixtus III. Succeſſor to Nicholas V. ſo oppoſed the Germans, that they were forced at length to break the Concordat [q] made with Eugenius IV. plainly perceiving it was entirely uſeleſs.

1458.

Pius II. lately canonized, was ſo far from conſenting to a reformation in the head of the church, that he excommunicated by a bull, all perſons that ſhould dare to appeal from the pope to a general council.

[p] Legates a latere are properly the pope's extraordinary ambaſſadors to emperors and kings.

[q] Or agreement. Whereby the pope reſerved to himſelf the collation of all benefices in Rome, and two days journey from it: the confirmation of metropolitans, biſhops, &c. The diſpoſal of certain benefices; and the annates.

Paul

Paul II. was no ſooner choſen than he broke the oath taken before his election, concerning the redreſs of certain abuſes, which himſelf with the reſt of the cardinals had deemed neceſſary. Never were the Gratiæ expectativæ (or bulls for church-preferments before they become void) more frequent than whilſt he ſat in the papal chair. He ſpent the whole time of his pontificate in ſtriving to aboliſh the Pragmatic ſanction[r] in France, which debarred him of the liberty of doing there whatever he pleaſed. 1464.

Sixtus IV. raiſed by one of his bulls the hierarchy to the higheſt degree it could be carried, at a time when the exceſſive power uſurped by the clergy was generally complained of. 1471.

Innocent VIII. quarrelled with Ferdinand of Arragon, king of Naples; and by his ſollicitations inclined Charles VIII. to carry his arms into Italy. 1484.

Alexander VI. was one of the moſt corrupt men of his age. It is of him a famous Roman catholic writer gives this fine character, that he would have been the wickedeſt man in the world, if his baſtard-ſon[s] had not been more wicked than himſelf. 1492. Mezerai.

I paſs over in ſilence the cruel eagerneſs of all theſe popes to perſecute the Bohemians, contrary to the faith of their Concordat. The cruſades againſt the Turks, in which they would have engaged all the princes of Europe, appeared very ſpecious: but ſovereigns were ſo well ſatisfied that in publiſhing cruſades the popes had only their own private intereſt in view, that they could never confide in them.

Such in general was the ſtate of the Chriſtian church in the fifteenth century, upon which I ſhall make but one ſingle remark; leaving my readers at liberty to add as many as they pleaſe. What I would obſerve, is that the abſtract I have given evidently ſhows how trifling their opinion is, who ſay it is not the buſineſs of private perſons to endeavour a reformation of the church, but it muſt be left to the care of the church herſelf. What then is this church, from which we are to expect this happy reformation? Is it all Chriſtians in general agreeing together, as by a ſudden inſpiration, to reform abuſes? Doubtleſs this is not what is meant by the word

[r] This is an edict paſſed in the council of Bourges, in the reign of Charles VII. It was levelled againſt papal proviſions, the payment of firſt-fruits, and other encroachments of the court of Rome. In a word, it contains the privileges of the Gallican church, and was taken out of the acts of the councils of Conſtance and Baſil.

[s] Cæſar Borgia. See the hiſtory of them publiſhed by Mr. Gordon.

Church. Is it the pope with his cardinals? But theſe are the very men who have all along hindered it, and very probably will to the utmoſt of their power, hinder it for ever. Shall a general council undertake this reformation? But what has hitherto paſſed in theſe aſſemblies affords no room to expect ſo great a benefit: beſides, who ſhall call this general council? of whom ſhall it be compoſed? who ſhall preſide? Can the pope be perſuaded to convene a general council to reform the church? will he give the precedency to another, that himſelf and court may be with more freedom reformed? In a word, will it not be the pope, the cardinals, the prelates, that will have the deliberative vote in this council? but theſe are ſo many perſons concerned to leave things as they are.

Will it be ſaid with ſome, that the church has no need of reformation? that ſhe is innocent and pure, without ſpot or wrinkle, or any thing like it? that all the prerogatives enjoyed by the popes, the cardinals, the biſhops, belong to them by divine right? that the pope exerciſes only the power committed to him by Chriſt? that his deciſions are infallible, as well in point of fact as of right, and the ſame obedience muſt be paid to his decrees as to thoſe of God himſelf? but if, purſuant to this principle, the popes ſhould unhappily enlarge their phylacteries, and every day form new pretenſions, as it has but too frequently happened, how ſhall they be ſtopped, if it is confeſſed the church has no need of reformation, or muſt be left to reform herſelf?

State of the church of England.

After viewing the ſtate of the church in general, it is time to proceed to that of the church of England in particular. England, with regard to religion, was in the ſame condition with the reſt of Europe. The people paſſionately wiſhed for a reformation of ſundry abuſes crept into the church: the clergy ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, as every change would be to their prejudice. As for the kings, they made religion ſubſervient to their intereſt. When they imagined they wanted the clergy, they found ways enough to evade the people's deſires. But when the parliament's favour was requiſite, they aſſented to the ſtatutes by which the incroachments of the pope and clergy were reſtrained.

In the beginning of the century, Henry IV. whoſe chief aim was to fix himſelf in the throne, and who thought he could not effect it without the clergy, ſeemed throughout his whole reign to have a great deference for them: hence proceeded all the ſtatutes paſſed in thoſe days againſt the Lollards. Henry V. ſhowed at firſt great inclination to ſtrip the clergy of

of their riches, according to the parliament's deſire; but afterwards, turning his thoughts to the conqueſt of France, he carefully avoided that religion ſhould cauſe any troubles in his kingdom. It was highly neceſſary, in order to execute his grand projects, that his ſubjects ſhould be ready to aſſiſt him with their purſes. But on the other hand, he was no leſs concerned to live in a good underſtanding with the court of Rome, leſt ſhe ſhould hinder his enterprize. He knew what ſhe was capable of, when ſhe thought herſelf injured; ſo, artfully managing both the pope and his ſubjects, he prevented the firſt from abuſing his power too much, without depriving him however of what he poſſeſſed. By this prudent conduct he made his reign peaceable with reſpect to religion. We muſt except however what he did in the beginning againſt the Lollards. He had ſuffered himſelf to be prepoſſeſſed that they had conſpired againſt his life, and that belief made him at firſt a little ſevere. But as he was endowed with an excellent judgment, he ſoon diſcerned the intereſts of the clergy from thoſe of religion, and put a ſtop to the perſecution of the unhappy Lollards. Henry VI. was a weak man, ever ready to receive the impreſſions that were given him. Had he held the reins of the government himſelf, very probably the clergy would have gained much ground in his reign. But the directors of his affairs, as well during his minority as after, were men of a very different character: beſides the French war, the diſturbances at court after the king's marriage, and the civil war which quickly followed, gave thoſe at the helm no time to think much of religious affairs. For the ſame reaſon the reign of Edward IV. was not diſturbed either by the Lollards or their adverſaries. It is true, Edward ſhowed a great condeſcenſion for the clergy in granting them a favour conſtantly denied by the former kings: but his complaiſance did not go ſo far as to indulge perſecution. The reigns of Edward V. and Richard III. were wholly ſpent in domeſtic troubles, which had no influence upon the affairs of the church. As for Henry VII. he made it a rule to keep the church upon the ſame foot he found it when he mounted the throne. He ever avoided as a rock all innovations which might obſtruct the execution of his two ſole deſigns, namely, to ſecure the crown to himſelf and his heirs, and to heap up money. Such was, with regard to religion, the diſpoſition of the kings that reigned in England during the fifteenth century.

As for the Engliſh nation, it is certain, it was generally Wickliffite in ſome reſpects. Wickliff's opinions manifeſtly

tended to theſe two principal ends: firſt to reform the government of the church, and to ſet bounds to the power of the pope and clergy: ſecondly, to alter the church creed concerning ſome doctrines long ſince received, and which he thought contrary to Scripture. Now as he found it almoſt impoſſible that Chriſtians ſhould return to what he believed the ancient faith of the church, becauſe the clergy were concerned to maintain the eſtabliſhed errors, he ſtrongly inſiſted upon the firſt point, as being abſolutely neceſſary to the attainment of the ſecond. It is certain, that with reſpect to his general aim in the firſt of theſe two articles, not only his profeſſed followers, but all the reſt of the people did as it were join with him. For many ages the Engliſh had felt the oppreſſion wherein the pope and clergy had kept them. In all chriſtendom no nation had more experienced the rigour of this dominion. The hiſtory of England ſhows it ſo manifeſtly, that a man muſt be blind not to ſee it. But though the hiſtory were ſuſpected, the ſtatutes of Proviſors and Præmunire ſo frequently revived, leave no room to queſtion that the Engliſh thought themſelves oppreſſed. So it may be ſaid, that in general the Engliſh nation was Wickliffite as to the firſt point, though many believe Wickliff would have carried the reformation a little too far, and to correct the abuſes of the hierarchy was fallen into the contrary extreme. But the nation was not generally Wickliffite with reſpect to the ſecond article, namely, the alteration of belief, concerning the doctrines. Indeed Wickliff had in this reſpect many followers, but they were not the majority. Thus the name of Wickliffite, or Lollard, was an equivocal term, capable of being underſtood in two different ſenſes: ſometimes it ſignified a man, who ſeparating from the church, embraced all Wickliff's opinions: it might likewiſe be underſtood of one, who remaining in the church as it was then, and adhering to the received doctrines, was however of Wickliff's opinion concerning the temporal and ſpiritual juriſdiction of the clergy. In this laſt ſenſe there were more Lollards in England than can be imagined. This diſtinction may ſerve to account for divers proceedings of the parliaments in the beginning of the fifteenth century, which ſeem to be contrary one to another. Sometimes they were ſeen to ſpeak and act like Lollards, earneſtly demanding that the clergy ſhould be ſtripped of their riches; and ſometimes to condemn theſe ſame Lollards to the flames, when they conſidered them in the firſt ſenſe before-mentioned. The clergy knew how to take advantage of the ambiguity of that term: when a man was ſo hardy as to ſhow that it were

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to be wiſhed ſome alteration were made in the government of the church, he was infallibly accuſed of being a Lollard, and charged with all Wickliff's opinions. Hence he became odious, becauſe the true Lollards maintained doctrines repugnant to the faith of thoſe days. The firſt parliament which petitioned Henry IV. to ſeize the church-lands, could not eſcape that imputation, which made a deep impreſſion in the king's mind. Thus it often happened, that people did not dare openly to approve Wickliff's firſt opinions, for fear of being taxed alſo with holding the others, and expoſed to ſuffer for tenets they received not, as it happened to John Huſs and Jerome of Prague. It was not without cauſe that the clergy proſecuted the Lollards with ſuch animoſity, ſince their principles tended to no leſs than to deprive them of all their prerogatives. At this very day, the church of England, though embracing Wickliff's opinions concerning the doctrines, cannot forbear expreſſing very little eſteem for that doctor, becauſe he has combated the hierarchy, which ſhe has thought proper to retain.

The Lollards were perſecuted ſometimes more ſometimes leſs, according to the character of the kings, the archbiſhops, and the reſt of the prelates, but chiefly according to the circumſtances of affairs. In general, the beginning of the fifteenth century was much more ſevere for them than the middle or the end. The reaſon is evident; for as their number continually increaſed, their enemies found much leſs ſupport, and themſelves more protection. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, which was the moſt troubleſome time for them, there were however but very few burnt, of which three principal reaſons may be given: firſt, as the ſtatutes did not enact that all in general ſhould be burnt who held the tenets of Wickliff, but only ſuch as preached or taught them publicly, the number of the guilty was not very great. Theſe ſtatutes were not obſerved after the manner of the inquiſition, but agreeably to the liberties and privileges of the Engliſh nation. In the next place, the idea which the clergy were pleaſed to give of the Lollards, was that they entirely ſubverted religion: but often, in the examination of the parties accuſed as ſuch, it appeared that they only believed the pope and clergy abuſed their power too much, which was the general opinion of the kingdom. It was well known the parliament had not that in view in their ſtatute againſt the Lollards. Laſtly, the judges themſelves ſometimes happened to be of the ſect, and this was the occaſion of the ſtatute in the reign of Henry V. obliging all magiſtrates at their entrance

into office, to ſwear to the execution of the laws againſt the Lollards: but I do not know whether that ſtatute was ever punctually obſerved. If we believe Walſingham the monk, the judges and ſeveral biſhops themſelves were very remiſs in the proſecution of the Lollards. This he ſcribes to the general corruption which reigned in England: but this corruption was nothing elſe but the inclination of the Engliſh for Wickliff's opinions, or at leaſt their ſcruple to put people to death on account of religion. The moſt remarkable thing in England concerning the Lollards, is the trial and puniſhment of ſir John Oldcaſtle, otherwiſe called lord Cobham, of whom I have ſpoken in the reign of Henry V. We muſt now proceed to another ſubject, namely, the conteſts which England had with the court of Rome during the fifteenth century.

Diſputes between England and the popes.

Notwithſtanding all the complaints frequently carried to the court of Rome concerning her continual encroachments, and the precautions taken by ſeveral parliaments to ſcreen themſelves from the ſame, the popes did not abate their pretenſions. The acts of parliament were to them but like thunders without execution, which reached not their rights. Upon every occaſion they made no ſcruple to act contrary to the ſtatutes as if they had not been made, and aſſert their apoſtolic power, without troubling themſelves whether they prejudiced the king or his ſubjects. The parliament, willing to remedy the abuſes flowing from the continual diſpenſations granted by the pope without hearing the cauſe, paſſed, in 1400, an act, "That all perſons who purchaſed or execut-"ed any bulls to be diſcharged from the payment of tythes, "ſhould incur the penalties contained in the ſtatute of Pro-"viſors." It was enacted by another ſtatute paſſed at the ſame time, "That if any perſon ſhould procure a proviſion "to be exempt from the juriſdiction of the biſhops, he ſhould "incur the ſame penalties. Theſe acts being made chiefly with a view to the monks, were not capable of producing the intended effect, becauſe the pope, by the fullneſs of his apoſtolic authority, exempted the monks from the obſervance of theſe parliamentary ſtatutes. The biſhops, whom this affair chiefly concerned, not daring to diſpute the power aſſumed by the pope, it was the parliament's buſineſs to defend their cauſe as well as their own. To that purpoſe the ſtatutes upon this ſubject were revived, with an additional clauſe prohibiting the monks in particular to purchaſe or execute any ſuch exemptions, upon the penalty compriſed in the ſtatute of Præmunire.

This ſtatute, which I have mentioned upon ſeveral occaſions, was a terrible fence againſt the court of Rome's uſurpations.

tions. Indeed it did not directly attack the pope, ſince the parliament had no juriſdiction over him: but as it hindered the Engliſh from applying to the court of Rome for things contrary to the prerogatives of the crown and the laws of the realm, it abridged the pope of good part of the advantages which he pretended to reap from his apoſtolic power. It will perhaps be thought ſtrange that the popes ſhould be ſilent, when and long after this ſtatute was paſſed. But it is eaſy to diſcover the reaſon. The ſchiſm which began in 1378, and laſted till 1409, hindered them from ſtirring. The popes owned by England took care to give no offence in ſuch a juncture. It is true there was an interval of ſome years, during which Alexander V. and John XXIII. might have made ſome attempt againſt that law: but Alexander's pontificate was very ſhort, and John was employed in affairs, as he thought, of more importance. Martin V. conſidered not this affair with the ſame indifference: in 1426, he writ a thundering letter to Chicheley archbiſhop of Canterbury, upbraiding him for his remiſſneſs, and enjoining him to exert his utmoſt that this ſtatute might be repealed. Henry VI. who then reigned, not being above five years old, the pope thought it a favourable juncture to compaſs his ends. It will not be perhaps unacceptable to inſert part of this letter, which ſhows the pope's ſentiments concerning the pretended privileges of his ſee.

MARTIN, ſervant of the ſervants of God, to his reverend brother, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, greeting, and apoſtolical benediction.

Martin V's letter to the archbiſhop of Canterbury. Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. tom. i. col. p. 95.

" HAD you conſidered what a ſtrict account you muſt give to almighty God for the flock committed to your care: had you called to mind the obligations of your office, and how much you are bound to maintain the rights and honour of the Roman church, of whom you hold your dignity: had you, I ſay, duly recollected theſe things, you would never have ſuffered yourſelf to be ſeized with ſuch a lethargy and negligence. No, you would have done your duty long ſince: you would have endeavoured to ſet right the miſled, and oppoſed with all you power thoſe who had ſacrilegiouſly invaded the privileges granted by our Saviour to the church. Was the authority of your character beſtowed upon you only to enrich yourſelf, and give you opportunity of ſeeking your own, and not the things which are Jeſus Chriſt's? If this be your opinion, you greatly miſtake the

" inſtructions of our bleſſed Saviour, who, when he com-
" mitted his ſheep to St. Peter's care, only commanded him
" to feed them; neither received he this command till he had
" given his maſter repeated aſſurances of his love. Is this
" then your manner of ſhowing your love to Chriſt? Is this
" feeding and taking care of the flock? Will ſuch conduct as
" this diſcharge your duty to the holy ſee? Alas, your flock
" are running down a precipice before your eyes, and you
" are regardleſs of their danger, and make no attempt to ſave
" them: you ſuffer them to feed in dangerous paſtures with-
" out warning them; and, which is horrible, you ſeem to put
" poiſon in their mouths with your own hands: you ſee the
" wolves ſcatter and tear them in pieces, and like a dumb dog
" vouchſafe not ſo much as to bark. You can behold the au-
" thority of our bleſſed Saviour and the holy ſee deſpiſed
" and trampled on, without dropping one word of remon-
" ſtrance. One would have thought you might at leaſt have
" whiſpered your diſlike, though you had been ſo very pru-
" dent as not to have declared it publicly. Are you not
" ſenſible you muſt one day account to the utmoſt farthing
" for all omiſſions and prevarications of this kind? Do not
" you think, if any of your flock are loſt by your neg-
" lect (and, alas! there are a great many), their blood
" will be required at your hands? Conſider and tremble
" what vengeance God denounces by his prophet Ezekiel:
Ezek. xxxiii. 7. " Son of man, I have ſet thee a watchman unto the houſe of
" Iſrael; if thou ſeeſt the ſword come, and doſt not blow
" the trumpet, and any perſon is taken away, his blood will
" I require at thy hands."

To ſee this beginning, would not one think the point in queſtion was ſome new hereſy, tending to ſubvert the foundations of religion? At leaſt, one ſhould believe, the pope had the Wickliffites in view. But it was not ſo: we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of the letter what the affair was; namely, the ſtatute of Præmunire, which the archbiſhop had not cauſed to be repealed, the pope groundleſsly ſuppoſing, it was in that prelate's power to annul the laws of the realm. He continued in this manner;

" I leave it to your ſelf to conſider, what abominable
" violence has been committed upon your province. Pray
" read that royal law, if there's any thing in it that is either
" law or royal. For how can that be called a ſtatute, which
" repeals the laws of God and the church? Or how can it
" deſerve the name of royal, when it deſtroys the antient
" cuſtoms

" cuſtoms of the realm; and it is ſo contrary to theſe words " of ſcripture, " The king loveth judgment? Tell me then, " reverend brother, whether you, who are a catholic biſhop, " can think it reaſonable ſuch an act as this ſhould be in " force in a chriſtian country?

" In the firſt place, under colour of this execrable ſtatute, " the king of England graſps at the ſpiritual juriſdiction, " and governs ſo abſolutely in eccleſiaſtical matters, as if our " ſaviour had appointed him his vicar. He makes laws for " the church and clergy. In ſhort, he makes ſo many pro- " viſions about clerks, benefices, and the concerns of the " hierarchy, that one would think " the keys of the king- " dom of heaven " were put into his hands, and the ſuper- " intendency of theſe affairs had been intruſted with him, and " not with St. Peter.

" Beſides theſe hideous uſurpations, he has enacted ſeveral " penalties againſt the clergy. Such a rigor is the more un- " juſtifiable, as the Engliſh government does not treat Turks " and Jews with ſo great ſeverity. People of all countries " and perſuaſions have the liberty of coming into England. " Only thoſe who have cures beſtowed upon them by Chriſt's " vicar are excluded: Only thoſe, I ſay, are baniſhed, ſeized, " impriſoned, ſtripped of their fortunes. If any eccleſiaſtical " perſon, charged with the execution of the mandates and " cenſures of the holy ſee, happens to ſet foot on Engliſh " ground, and proceed in the buſineſs of his commiſſion, he " is treated like an enemy, thrown out of the king's pro- " tection, and expoſed moreover to ſtill greater hardſhips. " Was ever ſuch iniquity as this paſſed into a law? Pray " conſider whether ſuch ſtatutes as theſe are for the honour " of the kingdom; and whether it becomes you to be ſilent " under all this outrage. Is this an inſtance of filial obe- " dience? Is this the Engliſh people's way of ſhowing their " regards to their mother church and holy ſee? Can that be " called a catholick kingdom, where ſuch profane laws are " practiſed; where application to Chriſt's vicar is prohibited, " where St. Peter's ſucceſſor is not allowed to execute our " Saviour's commiſſion? Chriſt ſaid to St. Peter, and in him " to his ſucceſſors, " feed my ſheep." But this ſtatute will " not ſuffer him to feed them, but transfers that office upon " the king, and pretends in ſeveral caſes to give him apo- " ſtolical authority. Chriſt built his church upon St. Peter; " but this act of parliament hinders the effect of this diſpo- " ſition, not permitting St. Peter's ſee to proceed in the " functions of government, or to make proviſions ſuitable to

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" the neceſſities of the church. Our lord has ordered, that
" whatever his high-prieſt " Shall bind or looſe in earth,
" ſhall be bound or looſed in heaven: But this ſtatute over-
" rules the divine command: For if the immediate repre-
" ſentative of our Saviour thinks fit to delegate any prieſt to
" execute the power of the keys, contrary to the intent of the
" ſtatute, he is refuſed admittance, forced out of the king-
" dom, ſtript of his effects, and made liable to farther pe-
" nalties. If any diſcipline, if any apoſtolic cenſure, appear
" againſt this uſage, it is puniſhed as a capital offence.

" And what does your prudence think of all this? Is this
" a catholic ſtatute? Can it be ſuffered without diſhonour to
" our Saviour, without a breach upon the laws of the goſpel,
" and the ruin of people's ſouls? Why therefore did you
Iſaiah lviii. 1. " not " Cry aloud?" Why " did you not lift up your voice
" like a trumpet? ſhow your people their tranſgreſſion, and
" the houſe of Jacob their ſins, that their blood may not be
" required at your hands?" If all perſons who have the
" cure of ſouls, are bound to this duty, how much more
" are you, who have both the prieſts and people committed
" to your care by the holy ſee, by whoſe favour you enjoy
" the privilege of primate and legate for the church of Eng-
" land, and have the honour of being ſucceſſor to that glo-
" rious martyr St. Thomas, who, to remove the oppreſſion
" of ſuch ſtatutes, ſcrupled not to ſacrifice himſelf for the
" intereſt of the church.

" Theſe things conſidered, you, who ought to have ſet up
" the church's ſtandard, been moſt forward in the defence of
" religion, and animated your fellow biſhops to a noble con-
" teſt, are the firſt that turn your back, and decline the
" ſervice. Thus, either by your great cowardice, or, as it
" is generally believed, by your downright prevarication, you
" diſcourage thoſe who offer to make a ſtand. If therefore
" the church complain of your conduct; if the whole be
" laid to your charge, be not ſurprized, but troubled at the
" imputation. Let this reproach ſerve to put you upon re-
" forming your conduct, and make you boldly perform the
" duties of your office; which, were you but inclined to
" make the moſt of your power, would not be very difficult.
" Exert therefore your character among the laity; inform
" their underſtandings in this point, and endeavour to re-
" claim them. Show them what a ſnare this ſtatute will
" prove, and how much guilt it will draw upon their con-
" ſciences. Let your admonitions be preſſing and ſharp, and

" then

" then " The crooked will be made ſtrait, and the rough " ways ſmooth."

After ſo ſevere a reprimand, the pope continues to tell the archbiſhop, that he thought himſelf bound in conſcience to deal thus plainly with him. Then he charges him, upon pain of excommunication, to go immediately to the privy-council, and make what intereſt he could, for repealing the ſtatute of Præmunire, to apply to both houſes of parliament for the ſame purpoſe, and let them know, that all thoſe who obey that ſtatute were under excommunication. Moreover, he orders him to enjoin all the clergy to preach publickly, and every where, the ſame doctrine; to take with him two grave perſons to atteſt his diligence, and to certify him of the reſult of the affair.

If it be inquired what made Martin V. ſo very angry with Chicheley, who was not concerned in the ſtatute of Præmunire, paſſed long before he was archbiſhop, and who had not the power to procure a repeal, the reaſon is this. Chicheley had oppoſed to his utmoſt, the papal Exemptions. He had diſſuaded Henry V. from conſenting, that Henry Beaufort his uncle ſhould be made cardinal, Legate a latere for life, and hold the biſhopric of Winchester in Commendam. Moreover, he had ſaid publicly, that all the pope's proceedings tended only to drain England continually. Reaſons of the pope's conduct.

The archbiſhop willing to juſtify himſelf, did not do it to the pope's ſatisfaction. On the contrary, he drew upon himſelf a ſtill more thundering letter, and after that a third, directed to the two archbiſhops, wherein, to mortify Canterbury, York is named firſt. Chicheley fearing the pope's threats, got ſome biſhops to write in his behalf, but nothing was capable of pacifying him. At length, he ſent him a letter himſelf, telling him, he heard by common report, that his holineſs had proceeded to a ſentence againſt him, which had never happened to any archbiſhop of Canterbury ſince the days of St. Auguſtine. That however, he was not certain of the thing, becauſe he was commanded by the king to bring all the inſtruments received from Rome, with the ſeals whole, and lodge them in the paper-office till the parliament ſate. Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. t. 1. p. 111.

Mean while, Martin V. reſolving to puſh this affair, writ to the king and parliament in a more haughty ſtrain than had ever been uſed by any pope. He admoniſhes, or rather commands them to repeal the ſtatute of Præmunire, otherwiſe he aſſures them they cannot be ſaved.

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At laſt, the archbiſhop, ſeeing the pope thus obſtinate, and not daring any longer to diſobey him, went with ſeveral other biſhops to the houſe of commons, where he made a long ſpeech, tending to perſuade the houſe to repeal the ſtatute, and put them in mind of the danger of an interdict upon the whole kingdom. But neither his arguments nor threats were capable of inducing the commons to repeal, or even explain the act. On the contrary, they addreſſed the king to take the archbiſhop into his protection, and to write to the pope in his behalf.

Pope Martin's letter, and his extraordinary endeavours for repealing the ſtatute of Præmunire, afford matter for three remarks. The firſt is, this letter is a demonſtration, that the main of religion was then made to conſiſt in the pope's prerogatives, and the clergy's immunities. Hence it alſo appears, how averſe Martin was to conſent to the leaſt diminution of his pretended rights, and conſequently to a reformation in the head and members of the church, demanded with ſo much earneſtneſs at the council of Conſtance, where he was preſent himſelf.

The ſecond remark is, that at all times the popes, in their conteſts with the ſeveral ſtates of Chriſtendom, have always had great advantages. Theſe advantages conſiſted, in that, by the threats of excommunication and interdict, they puſhed matters ſo far, that there was need of great reſolution not to be over-awed, and loſe ground either by agreement or otherwiſe. But if this reſolution was proof againſt all attempts, and the circumſtances of affairs were not favourable to the court of Rome, ſhe had the power to ſtop when ſhe pleaſed, in expectation of a better opportunity. They who had the misfortune to contend with her, always reckoned it a great victory not to be vanquiſhed, being ſatisfied if ſhe would but ſuffer them to live in peace.

Conjecture upon this matter.

The third remark, is a conjecture which I ſhall leave to the reader's judgment. Though Henry VI. was then but five years old, and his minority ſeemed to countenance the pope's deſign, it is certain, however, England had never been in a more proſperous condition. The Engliſh were quiet, and pleaſed with the government, and the victories of Crevant and Verneuil had put their affairs in France upon a very good foot. On the other hand, the affairs of Charles VII. were in ſuch diſorder, that there was no appearance of their being ever reſtored; and therefore Martin V. could not but deem it a proper time for him. Beſides, the king's two uncles were

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not diſpoſed to ſuffer the prerogatives royal, and the people's rights, to be trampled upon, when their affairs were in ſo flouriſhing a condition. It is therefore probable, that Martin V. who was much more inclined to France than to England, made then all that ſtir, only to excite troubles in England, which would be of ſervice to king Charles, and give him time to breathe. If the archbiſhop had punctually obeyed him, and the clergy every where preached againſt the ſtatute of Præmunire, purſuant to the pope's expreſs orders, the parliament would have been forced to ſupport their act, and puniſh the clergy's preſumption. Then the pope would have had a pretence to put the kingdom under an interdict, which would have greatly embroiled the affairs of the Engliſh in France. But Chicheley's prudence prevented the miſchief which might have ſprung from Martin's haughty proceedings. In ſhort, Martin perceiving, he was ſupported neither by the king's council, nor the clergy, nor the people, dropped the affair, not thinking proper to expoſe his authority any farther. This conjecture is built upon Martin's continual partiality to France, whether out of inclination, or becauſe, indeed, it was not for the intereſt of the court of Rome, that France ſhould be ſubject to England.

Before I leave the Præmunire, it will not be improper to obſerve, that this ſtatute had two principal clauſes. The firſt containing the ſtatute of Proviſors in the reign of Edward I. prohibits the procuring of Benefices from the court of Rome by way of proviſion, contrary to the rights of the crown or the patrons. The ſecond forbid to carry to the court of Rome, or elſewhere, cauſes belonging to the king's courts. The clergy complained that by theſe words, or elſewhere, the king's judges pretended to deprive the eccleſiaſtical courts of numberleſs cauſes, which before they had the cognizance of. They maintained, that theſe words, or elſewhere, inſerted in the act, had no relation to the eccleſiaſtical courts, but only to the ſeveral places where the pope might reſide. That nevertheleſs the judges underſtood them in the firſt ſenſe, and if there was in a proceſs the leaſt point belonging to the royal juriſdiction, took occaſion, from theſe two words, to remove it from the eccleſiaſtical court, as well as from the court of Rome. In 1439, the convocation complained to the king of the explanation of theſe terms by the lay judges, pretending it was contrary to the intent of the law, for ſeveral reaſons alledged in their addreſs. For that time, the clergy had no anſwer, or, if they had, it was not to their mind. But in the reign of Pat. 2. Edw. IV. p. 2. m. 3.

of Edward IV. they obtained the king's charter, prohibiting his judges to meddle with criminal matters where the clergy were concerned. I do not know whether Edward granted this charter out of policy, to gain the clergy's protection, or was convinced that the words, or elſewhere, were explained contrary to the parliament's intention.

Other conteſts between the parliament and pope.

Beſides the conteſts occaſioned by the ſtatute of Præmunire between England and the court of Rome, there were alſo others which I ſhall but juſt mention. In 1403, in the reign of Henry IV. the parliament paſſed an act, forbidding all perſons that ſhould have proviſion of any benefice, to pay into the apoſtolic chamber more than was paid in old time. The penalty for offenders was, that they ſhould forfeit to the king the ſame ſum they paid the pope. The occaſion of this ſtatute was a grievance introduced ſome time before by the court of Rome, which was, that no perſon ſhould have proviſion of any benefice that was void, till he had compounded with the apoſtolic chamber, as well for the firſt-fruits, as for other leſſer ſervices in that court, and paid beforehand the ſum agreed upon.

But the greateſt diſpute between England and the popes, was concerning the collation of the biſhopricks. Though the popes, when the firſt Anglo-Saxons were converted, had ſent Italian or other foreign biſhops into England, it is certain that towards the latter-end of the Saxon monarchy, the biſhops were choſen by the chapters. The ſame privilege was continued to them after the Norman conqueſt, and confirmed by king John's charter. Mean while, the popes having gradually extended their authority, aſſumed the power of beſtowing archbiſhopricks and biſhopricks, by way of proviſion, ſometimes on one, ſometimes on another pretence. This is what I have had frequent occaſion to remark. They would have at once eſtabliſhed this rule, that the diſpoſal of all the biſhopricks belonged to them by divine right; but meeting with obſtacles, bethought themſelves of another expedient, and that was, to get poſſeſſion by degrees, in order afterwards to plead preſcription. Thus being content at firſt with maintaining, that on certain occaſions they had a power to fill the vacant ſees, they afterwards framed theſe occaſions whenever they pleaſed. In ſhort, they multiplied them ſo very faſt, that hardly was there a vacant biſhoprick but what they filled by way of proviſion. Time and favourable junctures confirming them in this prerogative, there was no poſſibility to wreſt it from them. Thus the privilege of the chapters was entirely deſtroyed.

Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, dying in 1413, the monks of St. Auguſtin choſe Henry Chicheley, biſhop of St. David's. But pope John XXIII. annulled the election, declaring, that, for this turn, he had reſolved to diſpoſe of the archbiſhoprick by way of proviſion. However, to avoid diſputes, he made choice of the ſame Chicheley; preſerving thereby his pretended right, without detriment to the perſon elected.

But Martin V. dealt not ſo gently with England. He was no ſooner ſeated in the Papal chair, than he boldly diſpoſed of all the vacant ſees, without any regard to the privilege of the chapters. In two years only he filled, by way of proviſion, thirteen biſhopbricks in the province of Canterbury. It was not only with reſpect to the ſees, that England had cauſe to complain of the pope; he diſpoſed likewiſe of all the other benefices of the kingdom, without troubling himſelf about the right of the patrons, or the inſtruction of the people. The beſt preferments were generally conferred upon foreigners, who underſtood not a word of Engliſh, or reſided not in England, and ſometimes even upon children. For inſtance, he made Proſper Colona, his nephew, who was but fourteen years old, archdeacon of Canterbury. Henry V. a high-ſpirited prince, ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to complain both of theſe, and other grievances. But Martin V. delayed his anſwer ſo long, that the ambaſſadors told him, the king their maſter, purely out of reſpect to the holy ſee, had proceeded by way of requeſt, to which he was not obliged; but for the future he would uſe his prerogative: That accordingly they had inſtructions to make a ſolemn proteſtation before himſelf and the conclave, if his holineſs would not give them immediate ſatisfaction. I know not what anſwer the pope returned; but not long after, Martin having tranſlated the biſhop of Lincoln to the ſee of York, by way of proviſion, the chapter refuſed to admit him, and the pope was forced to revoke his bull.

In 1438, the univerſity of Oxford complained, that church-preferments were beſtowed without any regard to learning or merit: That the colleges were thereby become empty, becauſe there was no need of ſtudy or learning, to be qualified for a benefice. Whereupon the convocation, to whom this complaint was addreſſed, paſſed a canon, That none but graduates in the univerſities ſhould be capable of benefices. But this was a weak fence againſt the papal power. See Spelman Conc. t. ii. p. 675-677.

Mean while, though the court of Rome made the apoſtolick authority ſound very high, the popes now and then

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met with mortifications. For example, in the reign of Henry IV. the parliament ordered, that the Peter-pence ſhould be depoſited in the king's hands till the ſchiſm was cloſed.

In the reign of Henry V. the alien priories were ſuppreſſed without aſking the pope's conſent.

Under Henry VI. Pope Nicholas V. demanding an extraordinary ſubſidy of the clergy of England, for the occaſion of the holy ſee, the king forbid the clergy to grant it.

The like demand, made ſome years after by Vicentini, a nuntio, was ſharply denied by the clergy. The papal power, formerly ſo dreadful to the whole church, and particularly to England, began to be leſs feared. The ſchiſms did the pope irreparable damage.

Councils. Spelman Conc. t. ii. p. 662, 672, 712.

During the whole XVth century, it does not appear that any national councils were held in England, but only convocations of the clergy, in the two eccleſiaſtical provinces of Canterbury and York. The condemnation of the Lollards was almoſt the ſole buſineſs of theſe convocations. As for national ſynods, they were become uſeleſs, ſince the popes had engroſſed the cognizance of all eccleſiaſtical affairs. Beſides, the leaſt appeal to the pope was ſufficient to annul all the canons of a council. On the other hand, the popes had ſo managed, that no national ſynods could be held without their licence. Now, as in theſe ſynods there was but too frequent occaſion to inquire into the extent of the Papal authority, they were grown ſo odious to the court of Rome, that the uſe of them was inſenſibly laid aſide. At this day, in the ſtates which have not yet received the reformation, national councils are no more talked of, or at leaſt, ſo very rarely, that it is plain the popes allow them with reluctance and very great difficulties. Of this we have in France a late remarkable inſtance in the tranſactions concerning the famous conſtitution Unigenitus of Clement XI. King Lewis XIV. though powerful and formidable, could never obtain the pope's leave to call a national council, except on ſuch terms as rendered the thing impracticable, though that monarch's ſole aim was to cauſe the conſtitution to be approved.

The article of the eminent men, who flouriſhed in the church of England during this century, will not long detain us. Indeed, there were cardinals, archbiſhops, biſhops, and other clergymen, very famous, but it was neither for their piety nor learning. Their poſts at court, their embaſſies, intrigues of the cabinet, and ſhare in the revolutions in the

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court and kingdom, were the only things by which they were diſtinguiſhed. Henry Chicheley, archbiſhop of Canterbury was one of the beſt. For which reaſon he obtained not the honour of the Cardinalate, laviſhly beſtowed upon Henry Beaufort, biſhop of Wincheſter, upon Kemp, Bourchier, Morton, who were leſs worthy of it than he, if true merit had been regarded. But Chicheley wanted one indiſpenſable quality of a cardinal, namely, to be entirely devoted to the holy ſee [a].

If there were any learned men beſides, they were ſo with reſpect to the time they lived in, when true learning was not much in vogue. And therefore it would be very needleſs to ſpeak of each in particular, ſince their fame hardly out-lived them. Some were noted for their great animoſity againſt the Lollards, and amongſt the reſt, Arundel archbiſhop of Canterbury. That prelate, in his funeral ſermon for Ann of Luxemburgh, Richard the Second's queen, highly commends her for ſpending her time in reading the holy ſcriptures in the vulgar tongue: And yet, ſome years after, in the reign of Henry IV. he condemned in convocation the tranſlations of the bible, as very pernicious [b].

[a] In 1439, he ordained, That vicarages ſhould not be endowed with a leſs ſum than twelve marks a year. Spelman Conc. tom. II. p. 686.

[b] As there was a ſcarcity of perſons eminent in other parts of learning in this rude and illiterate century, ſo was there likewiſe of hiſtorians. The moſt noted were:

Sir John Froiſſart, who wrote a general hiſtory of the affairs of France, Spain, &c. but chiefly of England. He was a Frenchman born, but was brought up in his youth in the court of Edward III. and familiarly converſant in that of Richard II. He wrote in his own tongue, which was then the court language of England. In the Engliſh edition, publiſhed by Sir John Bourchier, at the command of Henry VIII. the miſtakes that had crept into the French copies are corrected. His account of matters ſeems to be plain and honeſt; and perhaps none gives a better of the affairs of Edward III. and Richard II. Rapin has made good uſe of him.

Enguerrand de Monſtrelet, and Philip de Commines, may not improperly be called Froiſſart's continuators. They give a faithful and complete account of the affairs of England, as far as they are intermixed with, or have any relation to thoſe of France, Burgundy, &c.

Thomas Walſingham, a Benedictine monk of St. Albans. His Hiſtoria Brevis [or ſhort hiſtory] begins at the concluſion of Heny III's reign, where Matthew Paris ended his. The account he gives is well enough; and we are indebted to him for many things not taken notice of by any other writer of thoſe times. His Ypodigma Neuſtriæ (as he calls it) gives an account of Normandy, from the time it came firſt into the hands of Rollo and his Danes, down to the ſixth year of Henry V. wherein the readers will find many occurrences not elſewhere to be met with. Both theſe works were publiſhed by archbiſhop Parker, in 1574, and reprinted at Francfort in 1603.

John Harding comes next, a northern Engliſhman, and an inveterate enemy to the Scots. He collected whatever might tend to the proof of the antient vaſſalage of Scotland to the crown of England;

England; and hearing of an old record in that kingdom which put the matter paſt diſpute, he went in diſguiſe, with much ado brought it away, and ſhewed it to Henry V. Henry VI. and Edward IV. To the laſt of theſe he dedicated his two books of Chronicles in Engliſh Rhime. Printed at London, 1543.

William Caxton was a menial ſervant for thirty years together to Margaret ducheſs of Burgundy, (ſiſter to Edward IV.) in Flanders. Finding, as he ſays, after his return to England, an imperfect hiſtory, he continued it in Engliſh, under the Latin title of Fructus Temporum. It begins with the firſt inhabiting of this iſland, and ends (the laſt year of Edward IV.) 1483. Folio, printed 1515.

John Roſe, or Ross, travelled over the greateſt part of England, and having made large collections out of the libraries where he came, he writ the Hiſtory of our Kings, which was publiſhed in 1716, by T. Hearne, from a MS. in the Cottonian Library. He died 1491.

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APPENDIX

TO THE

FIVE FIRST VOLUMES.

DISSERTATION I.[a]

Concerning ICCIUS PORTUS in CÆSAR's Commentaries.

OF all the points of the Britiſh hiſtory, there is none that ſeems to be of leſs conſequence, and yet that has occaſioned more controverſy and exerciſed the pens of learned men, than that which I propoſe at preſent to examine, namely, what was the port were Cæſar took ſhipping when he paſſed over into Britain, and what is the exact ſituation of the place, which in his writings he calls Iccius Portus.

Concerning this minute piece of hiſtory there are above twenty different writers and no leſs than twelve opinions of learned men that are directly oppoſite to each other, and ſome of theſe ſo puzzling and difficult, that the learned Hutterus declares he cannot fix upon the true account. Even Cellarius, the moſt judicious geographer among the moderns, confeſſes himſelf unable to decide the controverſy. I ſhall not here undertake to examine the ſeveral opinions of thoſe many writers, but, to avoid prolixity, ſhall only take notice of ſuch as ſeem to be moſt rational, and ſubmit my remarks to the reader's judgment. The 1ſt I ſhall mention is Adrian Valeſius, who ſaith Cæſar ſet out from Eſtaples, a port at the mouth of the river Quantia. 2d, Malbranche, in his Notitia Morinorum, places this haven ſomewhere between Calais and Sandgate, but does not fix the place. 3d, Abraham Ortelius, a geographer of note, is wavering and uncertain, but ſeems inclined to believe it was Calais, and in this he is followed by Hadrian Junius in his Animadverſiones. But to this it is replied by a ſkilful antiquary, cited by Camden, that Calais is no very ancient town, and was no more than a ſmall village, 'till it was walled about by Philip earl of Boulogne, not many years before the Engliſh became maſters of it. 4th, James Chiflet fancies there were but two ports of that name, the firſt at Mardyke near Graveline, the other at Sithin, now called St. Omar.

Camden Britan. Kent. p. 348.

[a] Theſe diſſertations were communicated to the tranſlator by De la Motte, late rector of Kettering in Northamptonſhire, and inſerted here to avoid breaking in upon the reign of Henry VIII. which will be the ſubject of the next volume.

Our learned antiquary Somner, who embraced the opinion of Cluverius, has written a curious diſſertation againſt this conjecture of Chiflet, and entirely deſtroys it, by ſhewing that St. Omar, where he would fix Iccius Portus, was in the country of the Attrebates, or the diſtrict of Arras; whereas 'tis certain from Cæſar, that Iccius was in the territory of the Morini, now called the Seigneurerie of Boulogne. But the two opinions that carry the greateſt air of probability, and ſeem to bid the faireſt for the truth, are thoſe of Cluverius and Camden. The firſt of theſe, who is followed by Joſeph Scaliger, Velſerus, Bergerius and Samſon, aſſerts that Iccius Portus was the town of Geſſoriacum, which has ſince been called Boulogne, and to prove this he brings the teſtimonies of Pliny, Suetonius, Florus, Mela, and Olympiodorus, who all agree, this was the moſt convenient and almoſt the only port on the coaſt of the Morini. To confirm this, 'tis added, that all the great military roads directly tend to that ſtation. But to this it is anſwered, 1ſt, that Geſſoriacum was not the only port upon that coaſt, for Cæſar himſelf ſpeaks of two beſides, which he calls the Portus inferior and ſuperior. But 2dly, as to the proof drawn from the military ways, it is replied, that this will not bear any great ſtreſs, ſince thoſe roads were not made at the time of Cæſar's expedition, but finiſhed and compleated by Auguſtus, for the conveniency of thoſe that travelled from Gaul into Britain. 3dly, Cæſar himſelf ſays expreſly, that he took the ſhorteſt courſe, and ſailed from the neareſt place to the Britiſh coaſt; now 'tis certain there are two places nearer England than Boulogne, Witſand and Blackneſſe. 4thly, What I lay much ſtreſs upon is, the ſilence of all that have written of this paſſage of Cæſar into Britain. For can it be conceived that neither Strabo nor Ptolemy, nor Cæſar himſelf, who twice names the place that he ſailed from; that not one of theſe, I ſay, ſhould make the leaſt mention of Geſſoriacum, but all agree in the name of Iccius Portus. I ſhall add but two obſervations more, which I think have not yet been made upon this ſubject. The 1ſt is, that according to the hypotheſis of Cluverius, this place in proceſs of time muſt have had no leſs than three different names, Iccius Portus, Geſſoriacum and Boulogne. That Geſſoriacum loſt its name and was called Boulogne, about the time of Conſtantine, is what is agreed upon by the learned. But that it had not changed its name in the time of the emperor Claudius, who lived about eighty-four years after Julius Cæſar, we are aſſured from [b] Suetonius, who ſaith, that emperor ſet out from Geſſo-

[b] Suetonius in vitâ Claudii.

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riacum for his expedition to Britain. I conceive therefore that thoſe writers who ſide with Cluverius to prove their point ſhould ſhow the time when this port loſt the name of Iccius, and came to be called Geſſoriacum; a matter, I dare ſay, they will find very difficult to perform. As to what Cluverius ſaith, that it is probable Claudius choſe to ſail to Britain from the ſame port Cæſar had done before, this is a bare preſumption, and by no means concluſive, ſince 'tis poſſible from Cæſar's time the port of Boulogne may have been made more uſeful and convenient for a numerous fleet. My other remark is, that the crowd of authors produced by Cluverius and other writers to ſhew the antiquity and commodiouſneſs of Geſſoriacum, ſeems to make againſt themſelves, and to deſtroy their own hypotheſis, ſince it cannot be imagined that among thoſe many writers that ſpeak ſo honourably of that place, not one of them ſhould ſay nor even ſo much as hint, that it was formerly called Iccius Portus, and was the place whence Cæſar ſailed into Britain, which would have added honour and credit to the place.

Theſe proofs, I conceive, are ſufficient to deſtroy Cluverius's conjecture, and to make one incline to the opinion of Camden, who fixes Iccius Portus at a place upon that coaſt now called Witſand. For 1ſt, it was nearer Britain than Boulogne, and by conſequence better anſwers the deſcription that Cæſar himſelf gives of his expedition, namely, that he took the ſhorteſt paſſage between the Morini and the Britiſh coaſt. 2dly, There are not wanting military ways leading from Boulogne to Witſand. But ſince 'tis likely that thoſe roads are of a later date than Cæſar's invaſion, I ſhall lay no ſtreſs on that argument here. 3dly, Camden produces two reaſons, that ſeem to carry much weight along with them, to ſhew that this was the uſual and common paſſage from Gaul to Britain. The 1ſt, from ſome grounds in Kent called copperlands, which the lord held of the crown by the tenure of holding up the king's head, when he croſſed the ſea from Dover to Witſand. 2dly, That when Lewis the younger, king of France came over in pilgrimage to viſit the tomb of Thomas of Canterbury, he begged of that ſaint, by way of humble interceſſion, that no paſſenger might be loſt and ſhipwrecked in ſailing from Witſand to Dover; as who ſhould ſay that at that time this was the uſual paſſage to and fro. Neither in truth, adds he, is the narrow ſea any where elſe more ſtreightened. De Thielle, a learned man in Germany (who has lately publiſhed ſome diſſertations upon ſeveral parts of the Britiſh hiſtory, and among the reſt upon theſe paſſages of

Cæſar into Britain,) takes up Camden here, charges him with a great miſtake in aſſigning to Lewis IX. this act, that really belongs to Lewis VII. who was the perſon, that came to viſit the ſhrine of Becket at Canterbury. "The relation of "Camden (ſaith he) is true, if he had not miſtaken Lewis "IX. for Lewis VII. and aſcribed to the great grandſon, "that which happened to the great grandfather." I was ſurprized a writer of Mr. Camden's exactneſs ſhould be guilty of ſuch a miſtake, and conſulted his Britannia. I don't know what edition de Thielle made uſe of, but in mine which is about one hundred and twenty-three years old, the matter ſtands right and exact; there is not one word of St. Lewis, but Lewis the VII. or younger is expreſly mentioned, as the prince that made that pilgrimage, and put up his petition to the ſaint. The learned Du Cange, who embraced Camden's opinion, carries the point ſtill higher. He ſaith the port of Witſand was ſo remarkable for being the uſual paſſage between Britain and Gaul, that though it was ſituated in this laſt country, yet it was called Portus Britannicus. He farther quotes an Arabian writer in the fourteenth century, who ſaith, it was uſual to ſail for Britain from the town of [d] Witſand. And in the preceding century Gulielmus Gemeticenſis, a writer of note, ſpeaking of the return of Alfred, brother to St. Edward, from France into England, ſaith he went to the port of [e] Witſand and thence ſailed to Dover. Gulielmus Pictavienſis, who was chaplain to William I. came with him into England, and has written the life and actions of that conqueror, ſpeaking of this ſame voyage of Alfred into England expreſly ſaith, "he came to
De Thielle. "Dover, having taken ſhip at Iccius [f] Portus." If theſe words do not come to a full proof of Camden's Hypotheſis, they will at leaſt ſerve to ſhew what were the opinions of learned men at that time. If this point be once fairly ſettled, it will give light to ſome paſſages in Cæſar's Commentaries, and will clear up what he means by the Portus ſuperior and inferior, which muſt be Boulogne and Calais; between which is ſituated the port of Witſand, which 'tis likely had its name, not from the word Itius, as Camden by a very far-fetched etymology ſeems to inſinuate, but from what the poet calls Candentia litora, from the brightneſs of the coaſt, and the white-

[c] Illuſtr. Controvers. pag. 6.

[d] Ex hâc urbe Vadiſant conſcenduntur naves adeuntes Inſulam Angliam. ——Aldriſi.

[e] Portum Witſant petiit, & hâc transfretans Doroberniam venit.

[f] Doroberniam venit Alvredus tranſvectus ex Portu Iccio.

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neſs of the ſand. Since the writing of this, I find the biſhop of London has publiſhed a diſſertation upon this ſubject, prefixed to thoſe of Somner and Du Cange. But as it is very ſcarce, and I could not get a ſight of it, I fear this piece of mine may be very defective for want of it.

As there is ſuch diverſity of opinions concerning the paſſage of Cæſar into Britain, ſo the writers have been much divided about the reaſon and motive that induced him to that invaſion. Some have imputed it to revenge; others to covetouſneſs and the love of riches, and others, laſtly, to ambition, and deſire of glory. The 1ſt of theſe reaſons is given by Cæſar himſelf, who ſaith [g], "he was aſſured that the Britons ſent ſuccours to the Gauls in almoſt all their wars againſt the Romans," for which he deſigned to puniſh them, and to hinder them for the future from oppoſing the Roman arms and aſſiſting their enemies. Suetonius gives an odd account of the deſign of Cæſar's expedition into Britain. He ſaith, it was in hopes of getting Britiſh pearls, which he was very fond of, and uſed to compare their weight by poiſing them in his hand. Several writers have ſpoken of theſe Britiſh precious ſtones. Marbodæus, a French poet in the eleventh century, mentions them with great encomium in theſe words, cap. 47.

Gignit & inſignes antiqua Britannia Gemmas. Marbod. de Lapid. Pret. c. 61.

But this is rather to be taken for a poetical flight than as real matter of fact. For Tacitus, in his deſcription of Britain, ſpeaks far otherwiſe of them. He ſaith, "the Britons have "ſome pearls upon their coaſt, but they were not of much "value, being of a browniſh and livid colour, which ſome "impute to the want of art in gathering the oyſters, and the "not tearing them alive from the rocks, as they did about "the Red ſea; whereas the Britons had only ſuch as were by "the tide caſt upon the ſhore. But he rather believes the "defect to lie in the pearl itſelf, than in the want of ſkill in "the fiſhermen, or of covetouſneſs in the traders." Another Latin writer and a great ſearcher into Nature, Pliny the elder, ſpeaks very ſlightingly of them. He [h] ſaith, they were ſmall and of a bad colour, but that nevertheleſs Cæſar had made a breaſt-plate of them which he conſecrated to Venus, with an inſcription implying that they were Britiſh pearls. But he that conſiders the genius, temper and character of Cæſar, will, I believe, incline to the opinion of Dio, who writes that ambition and the deſire of adding diſtant and unknown

g Cæſar, Bell. Gall. lib. 4. cap. 20. h Plin. hiſt. nat. lib. 9. c. 35.

coun-

countries to the Roman dominions were the main motives of this expedition.

Whatever was the deſign of Cæſar, he had ſome ſucceſs in his firſt paſſage, but in the ſecond a ſudden and unexpected accident for want of a little knowledge of nature, had like to have baffled the whole project, and put an end at once to the Roman glory and the conqueſts of Cæſar; as he himſelf relates it. The moon, it ſeems, was then in the full, when that planet occaſions greater ebbs and floods in the ocean. This was what the Romans (who were only uſed to ſail on the Mediterranean, which has not any ſet and regular tides) were not acquainted with; ſo when they ſaw the ſea ebbing and retiring from their ſhips, which they took to be a ſtratagem of their enemies, they gave themſelves up for loſt, and were ſo frighted and confounded, that ſcarce the courage and conduct of Cæſar could prevent their overthrow. So uſeful is the knowledge of nature in carrying on the greateſt enterprizes. 'Twas the want of this, the ſurprize of an eclipſe, and the ignorance of its cauſe, that amazed and terrified Nicias the Athenian, cut off his retreat from Sicily, betrayed him and his army into the hands of their enemies, and proved a fatal ſtroke to Athens, and the utter ruin of that once noble ſtate. Thus in the holy wars carried on in Egypt, a numerous army of the braveſt men in [i] Chriſtendom, for want of knowing what every Egyptian might have told them, the courſe and time of the overflowing of the Nile, were led up to the neck in that river, and forced to yield to their enemies without ſtriking a ſtroke. This, ſaith a fine [k] writer, was occaſioned by the ſtupidity of the [l] cardinal who com-

[i] The famous Chriſtopher Columbus, in his diſcovery of America, made a wiſe and prudent uſe of his knowledge of nature. For being diſtreſſed for want of water and proviſions, he came to the coaſt of Jamaica, and begged relief of the natives, which they refuſed to give him: upon which he threatened them with God's anger and a plague, and as a proof of what he ſaid, he told them that ſuch a day there would be a total eclipſe of the ſun, and an univerſal darkneſs on the earth. This they ſlighted and laughed at at firſt. But when they found it happened juſt as he had foretold it, they came and begged his pardon, and aſſi rded him all the refreſhments he deſired.

[k] Sprat's hiſt. of the Roy. Soc.

[l] This cardinal was Albano the pope's legate, who in the year 1220, againſt the advice of all the generals, marched the chriſtian army between the branches of the river Nile, which overflowing, they found themſelves cooped up in an iſland without any hopes of ſubſiſting there, or eſcaping out of it. This ſad diſaſter was ſoon followed by hunger and want of proviſions. So the army, ready to ſtarve, was forced to make a truce with the infidels for eight years, and in order to purchaſe bread to ſubſiſt withal, the chriſtians were obliged to abandon the new conqueſt of Damietta, and to deliver all the ſlaves and priſoners that were at Ptolemais and Tyre.

manded.

manded them. If he had been leſs ſkilful in the ſchoolman, and more in nature, that dreadful diſaſter had never happened.

But to return to Cæſar. Had he been foiled in his attempt, and himſelf and army entirely deſtroyed, 'tis hard to ſay which would have been the greateſt ſufferers, the Romans or the Britons, ſince 'twas this invaſion that firſt brought arts and ſciences into this nation, and began to ſoften and poliſh that wild and ſavage people. What was thus happily begun by Cæſar, was carried on and completed by Julius Agricola in his Britiſh expedition. That excellent man, in order to ſoften the fierce and warlike temper of the people, uſed the ſubdued provinces with all clemency and kindneſs, exhorted them to leave their wild manner of living, to build regular houſes, and to erect temples and places of judicature; and by encouraging the diligent, and reproving the ſlothful, he brought them to a more civilized life, and gave them a reliſh for arts and ſciences. The ſons of their princes and nobles he took care to train up and educate after the Roman manner, and to inſtruct them in the liberal arts; and by commending their ſtudies and genius's, and preferring them to thoſe of the Gauls, he fired them with a noble emulation to exceed their neighbours, and thus by degrees engaged them that ſcorned to learn the Latin tongue before, to attempt to imitate and attain to the Roman eloquence.

DIS-

DISSERTATION II.

Of the Native Place of CONSTANTINE the Great.

IT is a juſt obſervation of the Latin poet, that the love of our native ſoil carries ſuch charms and pleaſures along with it, that it is impoſſible ever to forget it [a]. The Roman orator enjoins this national love as an indiſpenſable duty, and carries it to ſuch a height as deſerving a place next to our love and devotion to the gods: "The gods (ſaith he) "do juſtly claim our firſt offices; the next belong to the "place that gave us breath: and when theſe ends are ſerved, "the laſt duties are then due to ourſelves [b]." But though this love of our country is ſo ſtrongly riveted in our natures, and withal is ſo praiſe-worthy and commendable, yet when it is ſtretched too far, it may be carried to a blameable exceſs, and degenerate into vanity, forgeries, and lies. When this national ſpirit ſtrongly poſſeſſes an hiſtorian, it will ſtrangely byaſs and pervert him, will make him ſtick at nothing that tends to the honour of his country, will ſet him upon defending and maintaining old errors and fables, and ſpreading and inventing new ones. There ever were, and ever will be partial writers and zealous men, who make no ſcruple to trump up falſe records and fabulous ſtories, and think it a merit to lie for the honour of their country. Of the force of this national byaſs, there is not perhaps a greater inſtance in hiſtory than that which I propoſe at preſent to examine, namely, the native place of Conſtantine. To have given birth to ſo great a prince, who is ſuppoſed to be the firſt Chriſtian emperor [c], has been thought ſo honourable to a nation, that moſt

Vide Kennet's Life of Somner.

Neſcio qua natale ſolum dulcedine cunctos
Detinet, immemores nec ſinit eſſe ſui. Ovid.

[b] Prima noſtra diis, ſecunda patriæ noſtræ, tertia demum nobis debentur. Tul. de Offic.

[c] I ſay ſuppoſed, becauſe there is ſome doubt about it. For Euſebius and St. Jerom reckon Philip the firſt Chriſtian emperor. The former of theſe writers expreſly affirms that he was baptized by Fabian biſhop of Rome, who ſome time after, as he came to receive the communion, denied him entrance into the church, till he had done penance for ſome crimes that were laid to his charge. Some learned men have denied the truth of this fact, as not being likely that his heathen ſubjects

moſt of the Engliſh hiſtorians for about ſix hundred years, have claimed that prince as their countryman, and have aſſerted that he was born in Britain. How juſtly grounded their aſſertions are, will, I hope, appear in the ſequel of theſe papers.

But to obſerve ſome method, and to ſet this matter in as clear a light as I can, I ſhall impartially examine the ſeveral opinions of the writers concerning this great prince. The firſt I ſhall mention is that of Nicephorus Calixtus, who relates that Conſtantine was born at Drepanum in Bythinia. But as he is a writer of ſlender credit and very careleſs, it is probable he miſtook a paſſage in Procopius, who ſaith that prince had his nurſing or breeding at Drepanum; and ſo took that for the place of his birth, which was only that of his education. Secondly, the famous Meurſius affirms that France was the country that gave birth to Conſtantine. But as his conjecture is grounded upon a place in the writings of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, which I ſhall have occaſion to conſider preſently, I ſhall ſay no more of it in this place. The third opinion is that of Livincius, who fixes this prince's birth at Tharſus: but this is likewiſe founded on a miſtake or falſe reading of Tharſus inſtead of Naiſſus, in the famous paſſage of Julius Firmicus Maternus, which I ſhall alſo examine in the ſequel; for it appears by two MSS. of that writer produced by Camden, that Naiſſus, and not Tharſus, is the true reading in that place. The fourth opinion, and which has the greateſt vogue is, that he was born in Britain: this has been atteſted by the hiſtorians for about ſix hundred years, particularly by Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmſbury, Johannes of Saliſbury, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, Fitz-Stephens, Necham the poet, Camden, Uſher, Stillingfleet, Fuller, and Collier.

Thielle Illuſtres Controve. p. 10.

Ibid. p. 138.

But though all theſe writers agree in making him a native of Britain, yet are they divided as to the particular place that gave him birth; and as ſeveral cities contended for the honour of Homer's nativity, ſo no leſs than three towns in England put in their claim for the birth of Conſtantine. Firſt, the Engliſh ambaſſadors at the council of Conſtance, when they were ſoliciting that aſſembly that Britain ſhould be declared a nation

L'Enfant Hiſt. Conc. Conſt.

jects would have ſuffered him to reign. To which it is replied, that his converſion was ſecret, and only known to the biſhop and a few Chriſtians: beſides, the favours he ſhowed to that religion, the many good laws and regulations he made in the empire, and the letters which Origen wrote to him and his empreſs (which St. Jerom ſaith were extant in his time) ſeem to give great probability to the account. Laſtly, it muſt be owned, the authority of two ſuch writers as Euſebius and St. Jerom muſt needs carry very great weight along with it.

as well as France[d], and as ſuch have a vote in the council, and not be flung into Germany, as they were before, among other arguments to ſupport their claim, one is, that the emperor Conſtantine was born at York in Britain. Secondly, Fitz-Stephens, an ancient writer, who lived in the time of Henry II. and was chaplain and attendant to Thomas Becket, in his Deſcription of London, aſſigns the honour of this prince's birth to that metropolis. Thirdly and laſtly, Fuller quotes Camden as affirming that he was a native of Colcheſter in Eſſex: but his quotation is wrong; all that this antiquary ſaith, is that the inhabitants affirm that Helena, the mother of Conſtantine, was born there, and then quotes a tetraſtic of Necham, in which that poet aſſerts that bright ſtar [e], meaning Conſtantine, firſt appeared in Britain. Which of theſe three towns have the beſt title to this honour, I will not pretend to decide. But I believe, upon a fair and impartial hearing, their claim will appear to be equal, and that neither of them has any juſt title to the birth of that monarch.

But to proceed; of all the writers I have named above, that maintain the Britiſh nativity of Conſtantine, I ſhall chiefly confine myſelf to Camden, becauſe he has treated expreſly of this matter, has waded into the diſpute deeper than any other writer, and entered the liſts with a formidable adverſary, the great Lipſius of Louvain. And firſt it muſt be confeſſed Camden has ſomewhat raſhly and unwarily declared, that all the writers that have ſpoken of the birth of this prince (excepting two indifferent Greek writers, Nicephorus and

[d] Thielle ſaith they claimed the precedency before thoſe of Caſtile and France, but this is a miſtake. They gave ſome pretty odd reaſons to ſupport their pretenſions, as that the Engliſh had no leſs than eight kingdoms, England, Scotland, Wales, who are all united to Great Britain, Ireland, and four other kingdoms bordering upon England. but the moſt extraordinary argument of all was, that France made uſe of but one language, whereas England has no leſs than five or ſix, the Engliſh, the Scotch, the Welſh, the Iriſh, the Gaſcon, and the Corniſh tongues.

[e] Effulſit fidus vitæ, Colceſtria numen
Septem climatibus lux radioſa dedit.
Sidus erat Conſtantinus, decus imperiale,
Serviit huic flexo poplite Roma potens.

Which Camden thus tranſlates:

From out of thee, O Colcheſter, there ſhone a ſtar of life,
The rays whereof to climates ſeven gave great and glorious light.
This ſtar was Conſtantine the great, that noble emperor,
Whom Rome in all obedience lay proſtrate to adore.

Camd. 451. Edit. 1610.

Cedrenus)

Cedrenus) have been unanimous as to his Britiſh original. How unguarded this aſſertion is, will appear in the ſequel of this eſſay. Stillingfleet ſeems to be of the ſame opinion as Camden; for having quoted after him Eumenius the panegyriſt, he ſaith, "This one teſtimony of the panegyriſt weighs more "with me than ten Nicephoruſes and Cedrenuſes, who ſay "Conſtantine was born in the eaſt." But ſure this learned man muſt have ſeen the teſtimonies of Julius Firmicus, of Gothofredus, of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, and of the ancient anonymous writer which I ſhall preſently produce. The firſt argument Camden makes uſe of, is this paſſage of Eumenius in his harangue to Conſtantine: "Oh happy Bri-"tain, and bleſſed above all other lands, which firſt beheld "Conſtantine Cæſar." To give this argument all the fair play I can, I ſhall add another quoted by the learned Uſher, out of another panegyriſt upon Conſtantine's marriage, who addreſſing the emperor, and mentioning his father Conſtantius, hath theſe words: "He reſtored Britain to its liberty, "but you have honoured it by your being born there." To Camden's quotation Lipſius replied, that theſe and ſuch like expreſſions ought not to be underſtood of his nativity, but of his inauguration or acceſſion to the imperial dignity. This is a true and juſt reply, and will ſerve to anſwer the other paſſage cited by Uſher and Baronius; for it is certain that the Natales, or Birth-days of the emperors, were of two ſorts; the Genuinus Natalis, the Natural Birth-day, and the Natalis Imperii, the Acceſſion or Inauguration-day. Gothofredus, one of the greateſt civilians of his age, proves this undeniably by ſeveral laws in the Code of Theodoſius and other ancient writers: of theſe I ſhall quote but one, which is full and home to the point, "I would have (ſaith Theodoſius [f]) the "ſame reverence paid to my days, whether that of my birth "or of my acceſſion to the empire." This alſo appears by many old calendars, where the acceſſion of princes is called Natalis Imperii. This Gothofred applies to the preſent caſe, and maintains that when it is ſaid by ancient writers that Conſtantine was born in Britain, it is to be underſtood, according to this diſtinction, to mean his Imperial Birth-day, and not his Natural one. In this he is followed by the learned Bingham [g], who throws off the byaſs of national love, joins

[f] "Pacem neceſſe eſt haberi reve-"rentiam noſtris etiam diebus qui vel "lucis auſpicia vel Ortus imperii per-"tulerunt." Where it is to be obſerved that the word in the Codex, Ortus, is the very ſame the panegyriſt makes uſe of, viz. Oriundo.

[g] The ſame learned man remarks, that

joins iſſue with Lipſius and Gothofredus, and doth not ſcruple to own that theſe paſſages are not to be underſtood of his real Birth, but of his Coming to the Empire; not of his Breathing the firſt Air in Britain, but of his Receiving the Imperial Purple there.

The laſt opinion, and which carries the greateſt marks of truth, is that Conſtantine was born at Naiſſus in Dacia, now called Niſſa in Servia. In this ſeveral authors are agreed, who could not be byaſſed by the love of their country, nor have regard to any thing but the truth: the writers I mean are Conſtantinus Porphyrogenitus, Julius Firmicus, Stephanus de Urbibus, and an ancient anonymous writer publiſhed by Valeſius. This laſt author hath theſe words: "Conſtan-" tine was born of a very mean woman at Naiſſus, and bred " up there; which town he afterwards adorned with great " magnificence." The laſt I ſhall mention is Cedrenus, who, though he does not name the very town, agrees with theſe other writers as to the country; he ſaith he was born near a town of Dacia. So that Camden was ſtrangely miſtaken, when he declared that all that had written of the birth of this prince, excepting two indifferent Greek hiſtorians, had been unanimous as to his Britiſh original.

Of theſe four writers I ſhall chiefly inſiſt upon the teſtimonies of the two firſt, Conſtantinus Porphyrogenitus and Julius Firmicus, becauſe they are full and to the purpoſe, and have given ſome exerciſe to the critics. The firſt of theſe, in his book De adminiſtrando imperio, mentions an order of Conſtantine the Great that was to be ſeen upon the altar of the church of St. Sophia, the purport of which was, that for the future no Roman emperor ſhould intermarry with any foreigner, unleſs with the Franks, who were excepted upon

that in the like manner they celebrated in the primitive church the Natales Epiſcopi, or Epiſcopatus, which denoted not the days of their natural birth, nor yet the days of their death, as in the caſe of martyrs, but the days of their ordination or nativity to the epiſcopal office or throne of the church. That ſuch days (ſaith he) were obſerved as anniverſary feſtivals I have ſhown before, out of St. Auſtin's and Leo's Homilies, which were preached by them on theſe occaſions. To which I ſhall here add what St. Auſtin ſaith of the Donatiſts, that they agreed with the church in this practice. For though Optatus Gildonianus, one of their biſhops, was a very baſe man, yet they made no ſcruple to obſerve his nativity, the anniverſary of his ordination, with great ſolemnity, honouring him with the kiſs of peace, in the midſt of the holy myſteries, and mutually giving and receiving the euchariſt from him; which circumſtances plainly ſhew, that by his Natalitials nothing elſe can be meant but the anniverſary of his ordination; when it was uſual for a biſhop to invite his neighbouring biſhops to join in the ſolemnity with him: it was obſerved by reading prayers, pſalmody, preaching, and receiving the euchariſt, as in other ſolemn feſtivals. Bingham.

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the account of Conſtantine the Great's being born in thoſe parts. To this Camden and Collier reply, "That it is very "well known the later Greeks comprehended all the weſtern "Europeans under the name of Franks, which is the lan- "guage of the Turks at this day." Whence Collier draws this inference, that it will follow he was born in Britain, becauſe no other weſtern country in Europe pretended to that honour. I have given his very words, that the reader may make the better judgment of the force of his argument: I am ſurprized thoſe two learned men ſhould not know how many writers have fixed his birth in another country, I mean in Dacia, now called Servia, where the inhabitants went by the name of Franks. To make their aſſertion good, they ſhould have produced one ſingle paſſage at leaſt of ſome good writer, where Britain had been called the Country of the Franks, which they have not done, and I dare ſay were not able to do. But let this paſs for nothing, and let Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus be his own interpreter, and who can be a better? This prince then in another place expreſly ſays, "Naiſſus is the country or birth-place of Conſtantine the "Great." It is ſurprizing that Lipſius and other learned men ſhould have overlooked ſo preciſe a paſſage, and which tended ſo directly to eſtabliſh their opinion. Nor is Julius Firmicus leſs clear and expreſs in this matter; his words are theſe: "Our lord and emperor of the whole world, a pious, "fortunate, and prudent prince, who to deliver the world from, "&c. was born at Naiſſus, from his youth keeping the reins "of the government," &c. Then he adds by way of wiſh or prayer, "And you Venus and Mercury, that are the "faithful attendants on the Sun, grant that the great prince "Conſtantine, and his invincible children our Cæſars, may "govern our poſterity, and their ſucceſſors for a long conti- "nuation of ages." Now the great difficulty that gravelled Camden, and which he could not get over, lies in theſe words, "his invincible children," &c. For it is certain that Conſtantius, whom he would have to be the emperor meant here, had no children at all. To ſolve this, he replies, and Collier after him, that it is poſſible that the author might mean Gallus and Julian, who, when they were declared Cæſars, were adopted by the emperor, and ſo might be properly called his children, according to the cuſtom of thoſe days. But, with ſubmiſſion to Camden, I ſay it is not poſſible; for at that time there were not two Cæſars, and perhaps not one in the Roman empire: for the year that Firmicus publiſhed his book Of Aſtronomy (I ſay publiſhed, for it appears by

the preface [h] it was written in the time of Conſtantine; that very year, I ſay, if my chronology deceives me not, Gallus died, and Julian was not declared Cæſar till the ſucceeding year. I wonder neither Lipſius nor any other of thoſe that ſide with him, ſhould take any notice of this calculation, which ſo effectually deſtroys Camden's conjecture.

That learned antiquary finding the weakneſs of his argument, has recourſe to another ſhift; he fancies Cæſar's and emperor's children in nubibus, and ſaith this might be a vow or prayer for children which that emperor might have hereafter. But I believe no one that caſts his eye upon the original of Firmicus, will think theſe words by any ſtrain can be warped to ſuch a ſenſe. Sure a man muſt be much at a loſs for arguments, that can take up with ſuch a one as this.

The laſt proof of Lipſius againſt the Britiſh nativity of Conſtantine, and which ſeems to carry much weight along with it, is the profound ſilence of Bede in this particular: "Would not (ſays he) the ancient Bede have favoured the "glory of his nation? and would he have ſuppreſſed a thing "that is ſo honourable to it." [i] "To this it may be replied "(ſays Collier) that Bede being a Saxon, was not ſo nearly "concerned in the Britiſh honour. And if we conſider this "author, we ſhall find him touch but briefly upon the Britiſh "church-hiſtory. Indeed the Saxons at their firſt coming "had no good underſtanding with the natives, and therefore "we need not wonder if they were leſs diligent in ſearching for records, and dilating upon the advantages of a "nation which they did not fancy." But though Collier diſclaims the authority and evidence of a Saxon writer when it is againſt him, he makes no ſcruple of quoting one, and inſiſting upon him, when he happens to be on is ſide; for in the ſame page where he ſpeaks ſo ſlightingly of the Saxons, he quotes a writer of that very nation as affirming, in the Life of Helena, that ſhe was a perſon of great quality, and that Conſtantine her ſon was born in Britain. So that all writers of that nation, it ſeems, were not biaſſed againſt the the Britons. But to return to the ſilence of Bede; can it be ſuppoſed that a perſon of Bede's learning and knowledge in antiquity, ſhould be ignorant of ſo remarkable an event that happened in his own country? and if he did know it, can it be imagined that ſo pious and good a man, ſuch a venerable father (for that was the epithet [k] he was diſtinguiſhed by, from the

[h] Thielle Illuſtres Controver. p. 17.
[i] Anno Domini 354.
[k] The reaſon of this epithet is not well known. The moſt probable ſeems to be

the other doctors of the church) would have been guilty of ſuch a low piece of malice, as out of ſpleen to the Britons to conceal a particular, which redounded to the honour of that country where he received his birth. Allowing he was a Saxon, yet he was a native of England, born at Newcaſtle upon Tine, or near it, and as ſuch could not but be zealous for the honour of it. The natural love men have for the place of their birth, could not have ſuffered him to conceal a thing that was ſo honourable to it, eſpecially when he had once ſo fair an opportunity of ſpeaking of it, I mean where he relates, from Eutropius, that Conſtantine was declared emperor in Britain; then without doubt (had it been true) he would have ſaid that prince was inveſted with the imperial purple in the ſame country where he received his firſt breath. So that his ſilence in this particular is ſo far from being criminal, as theſe writers inſinuate, that it is rather to be commended, and ſhows that he preferred the cauſe of truth to the honour and the love of his country. What I have ſaid on this ſubject I hope may ſerve to ſet the matter in a clear light, and to prove that the writers I have quoted have been like Poggius[1], better patriots than hiſtorians, and have had a greater regard to their country than to truth. But of all I wonder moſt at Collier, who lived under a greater light, had the advantage of ſome new diſcoveries, and had ſeen thoſe writers that were unknown to Camden and the learned men of that age, ſuch as Gothofred, the anonymous writer publiſhed by Valeſius, Milton's Hiſtory of England, and F. Pagi's diſſertation on this ſubject in his Criticiſms upon Baronius. But what uſe does he make of them, and how does he diſmiſs the matter? After putting Camden's proofs in the fulleſt light, and inforcing them to the utmoſt of his power, he concludes in this manner: "But all theſe reaſons and authorities will "not ſatisfy ſome modern authors, who are of opinion that "Conſtantine the great was born at Naiſſus in Dacia, now

Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 25.

be this, that as they read his works in his life-time, they did not care to call him Saint, but only Venerable. But he was called Saint by ſome, Bleſſed by others. Vide Du Pin, VIII. Cent. ſub init. p. 85. Amſt. edit.

[1] Poggius lived in the fifteenth century: he was ſecretary to the popes Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V. and enjoyed the ſame poſt afterwards under the republic of Florence. He had very great knowledge in the Greek and Roman languages, but was a little too keen and ſatyrical in his writings. He wrote in elegant Latin the Hiſtory of Florence, which wants nothing to recommend it but fidelity and truth. This gave occaſion to the diſtich that Sanazarius made upon him for his partiality:

Dum patriam laudat, lacerat dum Poggius hoſtem,
Nec malus eſt civis, nec bonus hiſtoricus.

"called Niſſa in Servia." But a fair hiſtorian would not have ſtopped here, he would have produced the proofs and arguments of theſe modern authors, and then have left it to the judgment of the reader. But ſome writers have been more ingenuous, and have not ſuffered themſelves to be borne down by the tide of national byaſs. Firſt, Mr. Rapin relates that ſome believe that Conſtantine was born in England, and that his mother Helena was daughter of Coel king of Colcheſter; but this, he ſaith, has nothing but conjecture to ſupport it: this was not ſaying enough; he might have added, that theſe conjectures were entirely groundleſs. Secondly, Milton, in his Hiſtory of England, continued to the Norman conqueſt, is more full and expreſs; his words are theſe: "There goes a "fame, and that ſeconded by moſt of our own hiſtorians (tho' "not thoſe the ancienteſt) that Conſtantine was born in this "iſland, his mother Helena the daughter of Coilus, a Britiſh "prince; not ſure the father of king Lucius, whoſe ſiſter ſhe "muſt then be; for that would detect her too old by a hundred "years to be the mother of Conſtantine. But to ſalve this "incoherence, another Coilus is feigned to be then earl of "Colcheſter. To this therefore the Roman authors give no "teſtimony, except a paſſage or two in the panegyrics, "about the ſenſe whereof much is argued. Others near- "eſt to thoſe times clear the doubt, and write him cer- "tainly born of Helena, a woman meanly born, at Naiſſus "in [m] Dardania." Thirdly and laſtly, let us hear the learned Dr. Bingham, author of the Antiquities of the Chriſtian Church, one of the beſt and moſt impartial books that has been publiſhed in this nation for theſe two hundred years. He entirely gives up the point; he affirms that Conſtantine was born at Naiſſus, and that F. Pagi has undeniably proved it againſt Baronius and other writers, who miſtaking his inauguration, or imperial birth, for his natural one, have concluded from thence that he was born in Britain [n].

[m] Milton. Edit. Kennet, p. 24.
[n] Bingham's Antiq. lib. xx. cap. i. § 4.

Of HELENA, Mother to CONSTANTINE the Great.

IF the birth of Conſtantine in Britain be once fairly diſproved, the account that Camden ſaith the inhabitants of Colcheſter give of his mother Helena, that ſhe was born at that place, and was daughter of Coel king of that country, muſt of neceſſity fall to the ground, and return to the land of fables and legends from whence it came. The truth is, it is almoſt as difficult to ſettle the nativity of the mother, as the birth-place of the ſon; there being as many different opinions about one as the other: for, beſides the opinion of Camden, Cedrenus makes her a native of Dardania; Maxentius aſſerts that ſhe was born among the Treviri, about Treves in Germany; and laſtly, Nicephorus fixes her birth at Depranum in Bythinia. This laſt writer relates, that Conſtantius lodged at her father's houſe at Depranum, as he was going ambaſſador into Perſia, and left her then with-child of Conſtantine, who was born the year after. Though Nicephorus is a writer of very ſlender credit, and liable to ſuſpicion, yet there is one circumſtance, which gives a great air of probability to his account: it is that Conſtantine beſtowed ſeveral favours upon that city, added many beauties and ornaments to it, took away its ancient name, and ordered it to be called Helenopolis, and the ſea near it Helenopontus; which favours cannot well be accounted for, without we ſuppoſe he conferred them to honour the place of his mother's nativity. As to her eſtate and condition before ſhe married Conſtantius, ancient writers have ſunk her very low, and much beneath the princely rank that hath been aſſigned her by Camden. The anonymous writer publiſhed by Valeſius, whom I have quoted above, calls her a woman of very mean and low birth. St. Ambroſe, who cannot be ſuſpected of partiality, or deſign to reflect on Conſtantine and his mother, calls her an hoſteſs [o], or one that kept a victualing houſe. Some authors have written that Conſtantius was obliged to divorce her, to marry Theodora, the daughter-in-

[o] Or rather the daughter of an hoſteſs; and this agrees with the account of the hiſtorian Nicephorus, which I have quoted above, namely, that the emperor Conſtantius lodged at her father's houſe in his journey to Perſia.

law of Maximianus, who upon that conſideration adopted and aſſociated him to the empire. But others of good credit, as Oroſius, Caſſiodore, and Bede, affirm ſhe never was the wife, but only the concubine of that emperor; and that ſhe did not enjoy the title of Empreſs till Conſtantine gave it her, after the death of his father. But though ſhe cannot truly be ſaid "propriis fulgere honoribus," ſhe was ſufficiently honoured in being the mother of ſo glorious a prince.

DISSERTATION III.

Of the Hiſtory of King ARTHUR.

IT is the obſervation of a judicious Roman writer, "That "moſt nations, in order to illuſtrate the lives of their "heroes and princes, and to diſplay the glory of their "country, have been ſtrangely apt to mingle falſehood with "truth, and divine matters with human affairs, in their "hiſtories." This perhaps, was at firſt encouraged by the policy of princes and governors, to ſpur and animate their people to great and noble actions, to engage them chearfully to tread in the ſteps of their glorious anceſtors, and imitate and copy the virtues of thoſe princes and heroes, from whom they pretend to deſcend. But experience has ſhown, that this is a great miſtake, and a very wrong way of thinking. Theſe flouriſhes may paſs upon the world in times of darkneſs and ignorance; but in more clear-ſighted ages, men will ſee through the diſguiſe, take off the falſe varniſh, detect the legends and fables, and from thence be induced to reject whatever may be real and true in ſuch a hiſtory. And indeed it is often the caſe with mens writings, as it is with their perſons. When a man has been found deceitful in his word, and been detected in venting lyes, his character will ſo far ſink, and his credit be ſo entirely loſt, that he will never be believed, even when he utters the moſt ſolemn and undeniable truths. Thus it exactly fares with fabulous writings. When romancers, to pleaſe or ſurprize their readers, ſtuff their relations with incredible ſtories, they may divert and deceive the ſimple and ignorant, but the judicious will ſee through the cheat, will detect the fictions, and for the ſake of theſe, will be tempted to think the ſame of the reſt, and to reject all the other facts though never ſo real and true. Of this, the hiſtory I propoſe now to examine, is a very remarkable inſtance.

The life of king Arthur has been ſo wretchedly diſguiſed, ſo larded with forgeries and lies, that ſome moderns have rejected the whole account, have looked upon it all as a mere romance, and have allowed that prince no better place than among the ideal and fabulous heroes. But this is running into

a blameable exceſs, and not obſerving a due and juſt medium. A cautious reader will take care to ſeparate the light from the darkneſs, to diſentangle truth from falſehood, will reject the one, and pay a due regard to the other. And this is what I propoſe at preſent to do in relation to king Arthur, the pattern of princes, and the honour of Britain. To proceed in ſome method, I ſhall diſplay ſome of the fables that have been grafted upon his hiſtory, and then ſhall lay before the reader what authorities there are to ſhew the being and reality of ſuch a prince, and of his great and glorious exploits.

To begin with his original; Geoffrey of Monmouth and his followers relate, that it was miraculous, that he was got of Ingerna wife of Gortois, a lady of great beauty, by Uther Pendragon, who, by the magic of Merlin, was transformed into the ſhape of her huſband. But beſides that the ſtory of Uther Pendragon is reckoned a meer fable by all the Engliſh antiquaries, ſome thinking with Uſher, that Uther was the ſame perſon as Nazalead, a famous warrior, who for his valour was ſirnamed Uther; others holding with Rapin, that there never was a king of that name in Britain, and that it was no more than a ſirname given to Arthur, becauſe of his valour and victories, a ſenſe which the word will admit of in the Britiſh language, as Uther ſignifies a club, or heavy maſs, and might be applied to this prince for the ſame reaſon that the name of Martel was given to Charles the grandſon of Charlemagne; and that the additional name of Pendragon had its original from the figure of a dragon, which Arthur wore on the top of his helmet; beſides this, I ſay, any body may perceive, that this is only a forgery, an imitation of the ſtory of Jupiter and Alcmena, either to ſkreen the honour of his mother, or to bring the hero into ſome likeneſs and parallel with the great Hercules of the ancients.

But as his original has been ſo much diſguiſed, ſo has his perſon been ſtrangely miſrepreſented by thoſe writers. He was, if you will believe them, of a gigantic ſtature, his eyebrows were a whole ſpan's diſtance one from the other, and the reſt of his body of equal proportion. If we proceed from his perſon to his exploits, we ſhall find they have here alſo mightily flouriſhed and romanced. They make him conqueror of Britain, Gaul and Dacia, and emperor of all thoſe countries; and this they ground upon a ſeal, with which they ſay he ſigned the diploma he granted to the Univerſity of Cambridge, in which are theſe words. Patricius, Arturius, Britanniæ, Galliæ, Germaniæ, Daciæ, Imperator. But Geoffrey of Monmouth goes further, carries his conqueſts to Ireland, Norway,

Norway, and the Orcades, all which, he ſaith, he entirely ſubdued. But as all theſe famous exploits have no better ground than the imaginary ſeal [a], and the teſtimony of this romantic writer, which are of equal credit and authority, they muſt of neceſſity fall to the ground, and be baniſhed for ever to the land of fables, from whence they were at firſt derived. Other hiſtorians who have been aſhamed of ſuch ridiculous fictions, and were willing to come nearer the truth, (though they have ſtill kept at a great diſtance from it) have confined his exploits to the Saxon nations. But here alſo they have very much magnified matters. Nennius [b] ſaith, he was conqueror in all his wars againſt them. Others relate, that he fought twelve pitched battles, in all which he was conqueror, and that in one of theſe, with his truſty Caliburn [c], he ſlew no leſs than eight hundred and forty men. But if theſe accounts are fairly examined, we ſhall find, very little ſtreſs is to be laid upon them, and that great abatements are to be made in theſe exploits and victories of king Arthur. For beſides that Huntingdon and others, when they ſet down the places where theſe twelve battles were fought, after Nennius, do all confeſs, that they were then entirely unknown; beſides this, I ſay, how can all theſe victories be reconciled with that encreaſe of power of the Saxons, who, in Arthur's time, in every neighbourhood, founded ſeveral kingdoms of their heptarchy. Since (as Spelman obſerves) the kingdom of Kent was ſet up by Hengiſt, Anno 457. the kingdom of the South-Saxons began in 491. the kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons bears date from the year 519; and the kingdom of the Eaſt-Saxons began about the year 527. Thus we ſee four kingdoms of the heptarchy were either prior to Arthur's reign, or began and continued in it; and therefore it is evident that he could be no ſuch mighty monarch even in Britain, as thoſe authors would make him. But what gives one

[a] Nicholſon, in his judicious Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, concerning this ſeal of Arthur, ſaith, I am not, I confeſs, ſo much in love with that venerable relick, as Leland ſeems to have been. It might indeed have been brought (as he gueſſes) from Glaſſenbury, where I believe it was hung at a forged charter by ſome monk, who was a better mechanick than an antiquary. This inſcription eaſily diſcovers the cheat. Patricius Arturius, &c. He is certainly called Patricius here, and no where elſe, out of the abundant reſpect that monaſtery has for their guardian St. Patrick, and not, as Leland fancies, upon any account of a Roman faſhion.

[b] "Ipſe dux erat bellorum, & in "omnibus bellis victor extitit." Nennius.

[c] Richard the Firſt made a preſent of this famous ſword to Tancred king of Sicily. The great Talbot's ſword had this motto upon it: "Sum Tal-"botti per occidere inimicos ejus." It was kept in France, and was ſaid to have been delivered by Lewis XIV. with an ill grace, to the late duke of Shrewſbury.

a meaner

a meaner and lower opinion of Arthur's power and greatneſs is, what Caer Carndock relates in the life of Gildas, that Melvas, the king of that country, which is now called Somerſet, kept his wife Gueniver from him one whole year in the town of Glaſton, and reſtored her at the entreaty of Gildas, rather than from any enforcement that Arthur with his chivalry could make againſt ſo ſmall a town, defended only by a moory ſituation. Had either his knowledge in war, or the force he had to make, been anſwerable to the fame they bear, that petty king had neither dared ſuch an affront, nor he been ſo long, and at laſt without effect in revenging it. This, I preſume, may ſuffice to ſhow the fables and flouriſhes that antient writers have grafted upon the true hiſtory of king Arthur, which are ſo groundleſs and romantic, as not to deſerve the trouble of a ſerious confutation. I ſay, grafted upon the true hiſtory of Arthur; for that there was really ſuch a king, and that he was a great warrior, and an excellent prince, appears from authentic and undeniable monuments; from a place in that country called to this day Caer Arthur, from a gate in Montgomery, that likewiſe bears his name; and alſo from a ſtone near Camelsford, where it is ſaid this prince received his death wound, fighting againſt his kinſman Madred, called by the name of Arthur's Stone, but by the common people, Atry. To theſe monuments of king Arthur may be added, the caſtle of Tindagel, one of the oddeſt places in the world, called in that country Arthur's Caſtle, as being the place (ſaith Carew) where he was begotten by the brave Uther Pendragon, on the body of the fair Igerna. But the greateſt proof of the being and reality of ſuch a prince, is the inſcription upon his coffin, which was found at Glaſtonbury, in the reign of Henry II. in theſe terms.

Hic jacet inclitus rex Arturus in Inſula Avalonia, i. e. Here lies the famous king Arthur in Glaſtonbury. Now the roughneſs and great antiquity of the letters that are inſcribed in a croſs, as they are repreſented in Camden, as alſo the plainneſs and modeſty of the inſcription, are a good argument that this epitaph was not a forgery of the monks. Since, though they might have imitated antient letters, if theſe impoſtors had any hand in it, they would never have forged ſuch a low, modeſt and dry elogium, but would have contrived one to equal, if not to ſucceed the imaginary writing about the ſeal, eſpecially ſince they had the authority of antient tradition on their ſide, and of thoſe early writers, who had ſpoken of him in ſuch ſtrains of panegyric. But, not

to conceal any thing that ſeems to make againſt the Hypotheſis I maintain, I muſt confeſs there lies an objection againſt the exiſtence and hiſtory of king Arthur, which ſeems material, and to carry ſome weight along with it, which is that Gildas, an ancient Britiſh writer of note, who muſt have been contemporary with king Arthur, and who ſpeaks in his writings of ſeveral petty princes of Britain, as Conſtantine, Aurelius, Conanus, Vortiper and Cuniglaſſus doth not make the leaſt mention of this prince, which one would think he could not fail of doing for the honour of his nation[e]. Two anſwers are generally given to account for the ſilence of this writer. Sir John Price, (after Giraldus Cambrius,) ſaith he omitted him out of revenge, becauſe he had killed his brother Hoel. But this reaſon ſeems rather to make againſt that gentleman; ſince, if he bore a grudge to Arthur, he would have mentioned him the ſooner, and drawn his character with colours of infamy and reproach, for putting an innocent perſon to death. What renders this more probable is, that Gildas was remarkable for the great liberty he took of arraigning the actions of princes, and cenſuring their vices. The other reaſon of this omiſſion of Gildas, aſſigned by Collier, does not ſeem to be more ſatisfactory. He ſaith Gildas's principal deſign is more exhortation and preaching than hiſtory, and therefore he paſſeth over other things, and addreſſes himſelf to his main buſineſs, which was the repentance and reformation of the Britons; and that if he mentions thoſe petty Britiſh princes, I have named above, the reaſon is that theſe princes had been guilty of very great diſorders, both in their public adminiſtration and private life, and therefore Gildas treats them with great freedom and ſatyr. But king Arthur being a prince of great regularity and religious conduct, there was no reaſon for bringing him within his invectives. But this anſwer, I conceive, doth by no means reach the point, and take off the objection; ſince, if he was ſuch an excellent prince, ſuch a promoter of piety, and as Buchanan calls him, a reſtorer of the true religion, Gildas ought rather to have mentioned him, as a bright inſtance of juſtice and piety in ſuch a corrupt and degenerate age, and propoſed him as a mirror or pattern for other kings and princes to follow. The beſt reaſon I can think of to account for this omiſſion is, that Gildas might have mentioned Arthur in ſome other of his

[e] Collier ſaith, Nennius a Britiſh writer ſpeaks honourably of Arthur. But as this Nennius is a trivial and indifferent writer, the teſtimony of Gildas would have been of greater weight in the preſent controverſy.

writings,

writings, which have been loſt by time or ſome unlucky accident. However, the ſilence of this Arthur cannot be ſufficient to balance the antient monuments I have produced, to overthrow ſuch a long received tradition, nor to prove that there never was ſuch a king as Arthur in Britain.

I ſhall conclude this article with the words of a very judicious hiſtorian, the lord Bacon in the life of Henry VII. where ſpeaking of the birth of the eldeſt ſon of that king, he ſaith, that, in honour of the Britiſh race, of which he was himſelf, he called him Arthur, according to the name of that antient worthy king of the Britons, in whoſe acts there is truth enough to make him famous, beſides that which is fabulous.

DISSERTATION IV.

I. Of King ATHELSTAN.
II. Of FAIR ROSAMOND.
III. Of the Wound received by EDWARD I. in the Holy-Land.

ONE of the great cauſes of corrupting and falſifying of hiſtory, hath been a kind of delight and pleaſure ſome writers have taken of giving into the marvellous, and ſeeking not ſo much to inſtruct, as to ſurprize and divert their readers. When once this ſpirit prevails, and ſtrongly poſſeſſes an author, there is nothing ſo abſurd, fabulous or ridiculous, but what ſhall readily go down. In this caſe, a dream, a viſion, the fiction and fancy of a poet, even a ſong and a ballad, ſhall be thought foundation enough to ground an hiſtorical fact upon. This is a fault that ſome of the greateſt writers have not ſufficiently guarded againſt.

Livy himſelf, who is eſteemed the prince of the Roman hiſtorians, has been exceſſively guilty of it. As he knew his Roman readers were fond of auguries, omens, wonders and prodigies, he took every opportunity of entertaining them in this manner. He ſometimes ſpeaks of a ſhower of blood or ſtones; ſometimes of an ox that ſpoke with an audible human voice in the forum; ſometimes the ſtatues of the gods were all in a ſweat at Rome. Laſtly, he brings a ſpectre and phantom upon the ſcene, as that which, he ſaith, appeared to Hannibal in Spain when he was on his march for Italy, which ſpurred him on to his undertaking, and promiſed him all the ſucceſs and victories that attended his arms againſt the Roman people. Polybius, a judicious Greek writer, from whom Livy has copied ſeveral books almoſt verbatim in his hiſtory, ſhewed more reſerve and a greater regard for truth. He had heard of this apparition, and mentions ſuch a tradition; but then he diſproves and rejects it, and ſaith, ſuch fabulous tales are more proper for a poem or a ſtage, than for a grave and ſerious hiſtory. And yet Livy, though he had this writer and his cenſure before him, could not reſiſt the temptation of the marvellous, nor reſtrain inſerting it in his work, with other things of the ſame kind, which have caſt a blemiſh upon his

his writings, that are more valued for the beauty of the language and the excellency of the ſtyle, than for the real truth and authority they bear.

Of the ſame nature with this apparition is the ghoſt of the duke of Buckingham's father in my lord Clarendon, which, he ſaith, appeared to an officer of Windſor, charging him to tell his ſon, that if he did not ingratiate himſelf with the people, or at leaſt abate the malice they had againſt him, he would be ſuffered to live but a ſhort time. Thus the noble hiſtorian relates with great ſeriouſneſs, as if he really believed it himſelf. Such is the ridiculous tale in Eachard's hiſtory of Oliver Cromwell's meeting the devil in a wood, and bargaining very hard for a longer leaſe of life. For which, ſaith a late writer, he will have the honour to be quoted by old women about the nurſery fires.

Salmon.

I could give ſeveral inſtances of the ſame nature in other writers, but ſhall confine myſelf at preſent to the three points of hiſtory I have prefixed to theſe papers: the firſt, about Athelſtan the eighth king of England? the ſecond, concerning Roſamond the miſtreſs of Henry II. and the third, concerning the wound received by Edward I. in the Holy-Land.

I. Of King ATHELSTAN.

ATHELSTAN was certainly a great and mighty prince, as remarkable for his clemency and humanity, as for his conqueſts and victories. He bravely overcame the kings of Northumberland and Wales, and as generouſly reſtored them to their crowns; declaring, that he thought it a greater glory for him to make or reſtore a king, than even to ſit upon a throne himſelf. He extended his conqueſts and enlarged his dominions farther than any of his predeceſſors, and was greatly reſpected and eſteemed by the neighbouring princes. But there is a ſtain and blemiſh upon his memory, which, if true, muſt very much tarniſh and eclipſe his glory: I mean, his hard and cruel uſage of his brother Edwin. For (if we may believe ſome writers) under a falſe ſuſpicion of a conſpiracy againſt him, he not only baniſhed him his dominions, but baniſhed him in a moſt barbarous and inhuman manner, by putting him into a ſhip without ſails, helm and tackle, and expoſing him thus to the mercy of the waves; which uſage drove the young prince to ſuch deſpair, that he leaped overboard and miſerably periſhed. But Athelſtan, they ſay, repented his cruelty, and to atone for the crime and make ſome ſatisfaction to

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the mans of his brother, he built and founded the abbey of Middleton, where prayers were to be put up conſtantly for his ſoul. But the murderer did not long eſcape his due puniſhment. For as he was ſerving the king, as cup-bearer at his table, and one of his feet happened to ſlip from under him, he quickly recovered himſelf with the other, and ſaid in a jeſting way, "See how one brother is always ready to help "another." Theſe words ſtruck and affected the prince, called to his mind the murder of Edwin, and made ſo deep an impreſſion upon him, that he ordered the falſe accuſer to be immediately put to death. Thus is the matter related by Simon Dunelmenſis, Howel, Rapin, and other writers, without the leaſt ſcruple or heſitation, or giving any hint of its being doubtful and ſuſpicious. But if they had been at the pains of conſulting antient hiſtorians, they would have found the whole ſtory ſtands upon a very weak and ſandy foundation. For William of Malmſbury, one of the firſt writers who mentions it, ſhows plainly he did not believe it himſelf. He ſaith this account had no better grounds than the ſongs and ballads of that age. It is no wonder indeed, that a prince, who, being only natural ſon of the late king, had ſet aſide his lawful iſſue, and ſtept into the throne; 'tis no wonder, I ſay, he ſhould meet with many enemies to abuſe him, and with ſongs and ballads to blacken and revile his memory.

Henry of Huntingdon, another antient writer of credit, gives a different account of the death of the young prince, and does by no means lay it to the charge of Athelſtan. He relates, that Edwin was accidentally loſt at ſea in a ſtorm; and adds, that it was a ſenſible grief and affliction to the king: and what renders this more probable is, that Athelſtan was remarkable for his tenderneſs to his brothers and ſiſters, and made them all the amends he could for his uſurpation of the throne. As for the [a] abbey which is ſaid he built to expiate the murder, it may be conſidered as the effect of his grief and affliction, for having been, in ſome meaſure, though innocently, the cauſe of his brother's death, by hearkening overhaſtily to a falſe accuſer, and ſending him on that voyage in which he unhappily periſhed.

[a] This abbey, now called Melton, is three miles from the Piddle. The greateſt part of it is ſtill ſtanding, as having been the ſeat of the Tregonnels of Dunſtar-caſtle; ſince that it came to the Lutterels, by the marriage of the heireſs of Sir John Tregonnel. Vide Camden's Addit. to Dorſetſh.

II. Of

II. Of Fair Rosamond.

OF the ſame nature, and of equal credit, I take to be the ſtory of Roſamond, whom Henry II. as ſome writers relate, upon his departure for Normandy, fearing the attempt of his queen Eleanor, concealed in the bower at Woodſtock. But all his precaution was vain; for the jealous princeſs, by the help of a clue of thread (as Theſeus did by the help of Ariadne) found means to come at her in that retreat, forced a cup of poiſon upon her, and thus freed herſelf from a dangerous rival. This is the famous ſtory of Fair Roſamond, which at firſt ſight appears fitter for a tragedy or a romance, for a ballad or a ſong, than for a ſerious hiſtory; and indeed it was from theſe laſt, I mean from the ſongs and ballads of that age, it had its firſt original. For (as a judicious author obſerves) not one antient and authentic writer has ſpoken a word of it. And the queen's getting to Roſamond in this artful manner, and forcing the bowl of poiſon upon her, have no other foundation than an old ballad. And Nicholas Trivet, ſon of Sir Thomas Trivet, and prior of the Dominicans, who lived very near that time, and mentions the death of Roſamond, only ſaith, that ſhe died young, but takes not the leaſt notice of theſe particulars. Can it be ſuppoſed that ſo exact a writer as Trivet, and who lived in that very age, ſhould not mention ſuch remarkable circumſtances of her death, had they been true? It is the general tradition, that Henry, out of love to that lady, founded the nunnery of Godſtow, where prayers were to be ſaid for her ſoul. But Trivet, who deſerves more credit, ſaith expreſsly, it was founded long after by his ſon John (perhaps by the command of his father) for the ſoul of his father's concubine. But ſhe did not long enjoy peace and quiet in her grave. For, in the next reign, Groteſt, the famous biſhop of Lincoln, as he went his viſitation, and found her body in that church, with a taper burning before it, declared that ſuch an honour done to a ſtrumpet was a profanation of that ſacred place, a ſcandal to religion, and an encouragement to others to lead the ſame lewd and vicious life, and ordered the corps immediately to be flung out of the church.

Tyrrel.

III. Of

III. Of the wound received by EDWARD I. in the Holy-Land.

A Third inſtance of the marvellous; and which ſtands upon no better foundation than thoſe of Athelſtan and Roſamond, is the cure of the wound received by Edward I. in the Holy-Land. This cure, by ſome moderns, is aſcribed not to phyſic or ſurgery; but to the affection of Eleanor his queen, who (ſay they) ſucked the poiſon out of the wound.

As Camden is the firſt of the Engliſh hiſtorians that has given this account, I ſhall ſet it down in his own words, as I find them in his Britannia, under the article of Middleſex; where ſpeaking of Charing-Croſs, which, with many others, was erected to honour the memory of that excellent princeſs; he goes on thus. "Eleanor being daughter of the king of "Caſtile, was given in marriage to Edward I. king of Eng-"land, and accompanied him into the Holy-Land; where, "when he was by a certain Moor wounded by an enve-"nomed dagger, and by all the remedies that the phyſicians "could deviſe, not ſo much eaſed as afflicted, ſhe took her "to a cure, ſtrange, I muſt needs ſay, and never heard [b] of "before, howbeit; full of love and affection. For her huſ-"band's wounds infected with poiſon, and which by reaſon "of the malignity thereof could not be cloſed or healed, ſhe, "day by day, licked with her tongue and ſucked out the ve-"nomous humour, which to her was a moſt ſweet liquor by "the vigour and ſtrength thereof; or to ſay more truly, by "the virtue of his wife's lovely fidelity, ſhe drew unto her "all the ſubſtance of the poiſon, that the wound being cloſed, "he became perfectly healed, and ſhe caught no harm at all. "What then can be heard more rare, what more admirable "than this woman's faithful love? That a wife's tongue thus "anointed (as I may ſay) with faith and love to her huſband, "ſhould from her well-beloved draw thoſe poiſons, which "by an approved phyſician could not be drawn; and that "which many and thoſe exquiſite medicines effected not, "the love and piety of a wife performed."

This account is entertaining enough, and wants nothing but truth to make it really ſo. 'Tis a thouſand pities an action ſo honourable to the ſex, and that reflects ſuch praiſe and commendation upon the conjugal ſtate, ſhould not be

[b] 'Tis ſtrange Camden never heard of the Marſi and Pſylli, a people who made it their trade and buſineſs to ſuck the poiſon of ſerpents out of wounds.

ſupported by better authority. For upon a nearer examination, we ſhall find it ſtands upon a very weak foundation. My firſt argument to diſprove it, and which I conceive has ſome weight in it, is the ſilence of all the Engliſh writers. For it can hardly be imagined, that all the hiſtorians that lived at or near the time, ſhould wholly paſs over a fact ſo remarkable, and ſo honourable to a queen of England, and that not a ſingle word of it ſhould appear in the Engliſh hiſtory till the time of Camden, who lived at leaſt three hundred years after that prince. This writer ſeems to be pleaſed and delighted with the ſtory: he expatiates upon it: he is ſo fond of it, that he croſſes the ſeas for authority, and brings a Spaniſh [c] biſhop for his voucher, without ſhowing the leaſt doubt and ſuſpicion, or taking any manner of notice of the ſilence of all the antient Engliſh writers. I was once of opinion, it was the invention of that biſhop to do honour to the memory of queen Eleanor, who was a Spaniard by birth, the daughter of Ferdinand king of Caſtile and Leon. But I find there is no ground for that conjecture. For Tirrel, a very exact hiſtorian, who has conſulted the original (which I own I have not by me) ſaith, that biſhop declares he had finiſhed his hiſtory in the year 1243, which is juſt twenty years before the wound of that prince. But granting Camden all we can, granting that Roderick of Toledo did really record that ſtory, will his ſingle authority outweigh that of a cloud of Engliſh writers, who aſſert the contrary? I ſhall, for brevity ſake, ſingle out one, who I believe will be thought at leaſt of equal credit with the Spaniſh biſhop, as he lived at that time, and might have had his account from the very people that were eye-witneſſes of the fact. This writer is Nicholas Trivet, ſon to Sir Thomas Trivet, who in the reign of Edward I. was prior of the Dominicans in this nation, a man of weight and figure, who has written the lives of the Engliſh kings of the line of Anjou. Trivet then, in his account, ſaith not a word of the love and tenderneſs of the queen, and her ſucking the poiſon out of her huſband's wound, but wholly aſcribes the cure to the remedies that were applied. His words are theſe: "The [d] prince in wreſting the dagger out "of the hand of the aſſaſſin, received a wound in his hand "and forehead, which (by reaſon of the ſpreading of the "poiſon) was with difficulty cured by the remedies applied." As for the croſſes which by king Edward's order were erected

[c] Roderick biſhop of Toledo.

[d] In extractione cultelli princeps ſe ipſum vulnerat in manu & in fronte vulnera ejus (graſſante veneno) multis & variis adhibitis remediis vix curantur. Vide Trivet. Vit. Edwardi.

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in every place where her body lay, and which are ſometimes urged in proof of this ſtory, I do not ſee they are at all to the purpoſe. If they prove any thing, 'tis that ſhe was a tender and loving wife; and he a kind and affectionate huſband, and was willing to do all the honour he could to her memory.

What I have ſaid, is ſufficient to ſhow that the narration of Camden is entirely fabulous, and does not deſerve a place in the Engliſh hiſtory. I have often wondered with myſelf what it was that gave riſe to this ſtory, for I could not imagine but there muſt be ſome ground and foundation for ſo remarkable a fact.

Since the writing of this, I have met with a paſſage in a very exact writer, which has unravelled the difficulty, and convinced me that the account is not wholly fabulous, but only miſapplied by ſome writers, that have aſſigned that piece of conjugal affection to this queen, which properly belonged to another princeſs, Sybill the wife of Robert of Normandy, brother to William the Conqueror [c]. That prince received a poiſoned wound in his arm, which the phyſicians told him could only be cured by ſuction. But the duke declined it, leſt the perſon that made the experiment ſhould be poiſoned by it. But Sybill his wife took the opportunity of ſucking the wound in his ſleep, and ſo cured him. She was a lady of great beauty and virtue, and worthy of a better fate than to die ſometime after by poiſon herſelf. This account I find in Dr. Friend's entertaining hiſtory of phyſick. I wiſh that gentleman had been a little more particular and circumſtantial in his account, and acquainted us with the reaſon and manner of the death of that princeſs. This parallel of the two princes wounded with poiſoned weapons, was enough to occaſion the miſtake in a careleſs writer, to make him confound theſe two accounts, and aſcribe that to one princeſs which truly belonged to another.

As to the Croſſes which the king erected to the memory of queen Eleanor his wife, in the ſeveral places where her corpſe lay in its way to London from Herdeby in Lincolnſhire, where ſhe died, I obſerve that thoſe that conveyed the body, did not take the ſtraiteſt and readieſt road. For the corpſe reſted at Northampton and Waltham. Perhaps the ways were not then made and cut as they are now. But I rather believe

[c] This Robert was only half-brother to William the Conqueror; for his mother Arlet, with the conſent of duke Robert, married one Herlain a Norman gentleman, and had by him this Robert and another ſon, whom duke William owned and preferred as his brothers. This Robert was made earl of Montaigne, and was ſent by the conqueror to oppoſe Edgar Atheling's inroad into England, but was killed upon the ſpot, with ſeven hundred men.

the reaſon was, that the body ſhould reſt in ſome royal manſion or ſome religious houſe, to lie in ſtate and have funeral obſequies, as dirges, &c. performed. The two laſt croſſes were in Cheapſide, over-againſt Woodſtreet, and at Charing-Croſs. Thoſe at Dunſtable and St. Alban's were demoliſhed in the rebellion by fanatical zeal. That at Waltham now is now in a ſad ruinous condition; the ſteps are removed and taken away, and the body of the croſs ſtands upon wooden props that will not long ſupport it. 'Tis pity but ſome generous perſon and lover of antiquity would be at the charge to repair that curious piece, and preſerve ſo remarkable a monument of conjugal affection. The gentlemen of Northampton have ſhewn a great regard to their croſs; they have always taken great care to repair it; and about twenty years ago, they beautified and adorned it with an handſome inſcription written by the late ingenious Dr. James Keil. Felibien, architect to the late king of France, in his curious book of the Lives of the painters, relates, that Hemſkirk, a famous Dutch limner, left a yearly ſum to the town where he was born, to diſpoſe of two young women in marriage that wanted fortunes; and that at the time of the reformation, as the furious zealots ran over the country pulling down all the croſſes they could find, and were going among the reſt to demoliſh that which was upon Hemſkirk's tomb, the women and maids got up in a body with pitchforks, ſpits and other arms, and made ſo brave a reſiſtance, that they drove away the mob and preſerved the croſs, which that writer ſaith is the only one at this day to be ſeen in Holland.

[f] An ingenious friend of mine, Dr. J———, thinks it was called at firſt Chere Reine, Dear Queen, as that at Northampton is called Queen's Croſs.

DISSER-

DISSERTATION V.

Of Queen EMMA, and the Trial of Ordeal.

THIS remarkable piece of hiſtory is thus related by two Engliſh writers, Higden and Rudburn. Queen Emma had very much diſobliged her ſon Edward, not only by marrying king Canute, his father's moſt bitter and inveterate enemy, but alſo by conſenting and contriving (as far as it lay in her power) to ſettle the crown upon the iſſue ſhe ſhould have by that prince, to the excluſion of Edward, the true and undoubted heir. So when this prince came to the throne, to make her feel the effects of his reſentment, he haſtened to Wincheſter, where he knew ſhe kept her treaſure, ſtriped her of all her money, jewels and eſtate, and left her under a ſort of confinement at Wincheſter, with a ſcanty penſion and ſhort allowance to ſubſiſt upon. To this hard uſage ſhe was forced to ſubmit, ſhe that had been widow to two kings, and mother and daughter to a duke of Normandy. But her proſecution did not end here; for beſides that wound in her eſtate, ſhe ſoon ſuffered a more ſenſible one in her reputation. For Robert, now advanced to the ſee of Canterbury, charged her, at the inſtigation (as it was thought) of the king, with the crime of incontinence, and accuſed her of a criminal affair with Alwin biſhop of Wincheſter. This matter, which made much noiſe, was brought before a ſynod of clergy, who condemned her to undergo the trial of ordeal. The manner of which was this: The perſons accuſed were to walk barefoot and blindfold over ſo many red-hot plowſhares; if they performed it without being burnt, they were eſteemed to be guiltleſs, but if otherwiſe, they were to undergo a puniſhment ſuitable to the crime. The queen, conſcious of her innocence, chearfully ſubmitted to that fiery trial; and the better to prepare herſelf for it, ſpent the whole night in prayer and devotion at the ſhrine of St. Swithin in the church of Wincheſter. But ſo far was ſhe from being hurt by the fire, that, when ſhe was paſſed all danger, ſhe deſired to know when ſhe was to come to her trial; and being told it was all over, ſhe kneeled down and thanked God for her deliverance.

The king, who was preſent, was ſo moved and affected with this miraculous preſervation, that he fell on his knees, begged pardon of the queen and the biſhop, ſubmitted to his diſcipline, and as a memorial of ſo remarkable a providence, ordered the plowſhares to be buried in the church of Wincheſter, and the queen, as a thankful return to God for his mercy, ſettled nine manors upon that church, to which the biſhop added twelve more, to remain in that ſee for ever.

This is what is roundly told by thoſe two hiſtorians, what has been delivered down for many generations, and paſt for real fact. But I hope, before I leave this ſubject, to ſhew that there is not one circumſtance in the account that will ſtand the teſt of a ſtrict examination; not one period in the whole ſtory, but what is loaded with falſehood and abſurdity. To make this clear, I ſhall, 1ſt, conſider the credit of the writers, and, 2dly, the matter of fact itſelf. And 1ſt, as to the writers, I will not pretend to ſay that the ſilence of ſome writers is always a concluding proof of falſehood in others. Such an argument would often prove fallacious. But I think, there may be caſes where ſuch a total ſilence may make other accounts very liable to ſuſpicion: as where a remarkable fact is taken no notice of by the beſt and moſt antient writers who lived about the time and ſcene of the action, and is not mentioned but ſome hundred years after, and that by writers of very low credit and ſlender reputation. To apply this to the preſent caſe. Can it be imagined that ſo remarkable a piece of hiſtory as a king's putting his mother to the fiery trial, her providential deliverance from that danger, and that noble benefaction to the ſee of Wincheſter; can it be imagined (I ſay) that all theſe particulars ſhould not have been once mentioned by Florence of Worceſter, Malmſbury, Huntingdon, and Weſtminſter, who lived ſo near the time of Edward, and ſhould never be heard of in any hiſtory, till Higden and Rudburn, who lived ſome hundred years after, one in the XIVth the other in the XVth century? This, if it does not come to a full proof, may, I believe, be called a good preſumptive argument, and ſuch as may very much ſhake the credit of the ſtory.

But to proceed to other proofs. The perſon that accuſed the queen and the biſhop of incontinence, is called by thoſe writers Robert archbiſhop of Canterbury; whereas it is certain, from the beſt antient authors, that Eadſius archbiſhop of that ſee, did not die till the year 1050, which falls juſt three years after the death of Alwin, who was the perſon

perſon[z] accuſed with the queen, and who is ſaid to be alive at the time of her trial, and to have given twelve manors to the ſee of Wincheſter in memorial of this deliverance. Rudburn himſelf ſeems to be aware of this blunder, and in another place makes Robert only vicar to the archbiſhop. But this evaſion will do him no good, ſince it can be proved from very good authority, that it was not Robert, but Syward abbot of Abindon that was vicar to biſhop Eadſius. After this, what credit can be given to ſo careleſs and unexact a writer? But as one falſehood ſeldom walks alone, but generally another after it, they ſay farther, that when the queen's innocence was ſo miraculouſly proved, and the calumny of Robert ſo plainly diſcovered, he, to avoid the ſtorm he ſaw coming upon him, withdrew out of the realm and retired to Normandy, where he remained till he obtained his pardon. That Robert indeed left the kingdom, is not to be denied, ſince 'tis related by an antient writer of credit; but he aſſigns the flight of that pre- late to a different cauſe. He ſaith, that when earl Goodwin, whoſe anger he was afraid of, was reſtored to the king's favour, and returned to England, he fled the kingdom, and to ſecure himſelf againſt the earl's reſentment, he appealed to the pope. Whereas 'tis certain that earl Goodwin and his ſon were not returned till Anno 1054, two years after the death of Emma, and ſeven years after that of Alwin, who was accuſed and impeached with that queen. So that if blunders and miſtakes are of any weight, there ſeems to be more than enough to ſink the credit of this ſtory. Theſe writers add, that when the Confeſſor ſaw his mother ſo providentially delivered, he fell on his knees, aſked her pardon, was reconciled to her, and proved afterwards a dutiful and obedient ſon. Whereas 'tis certain he uſed her very ill to the laſt, and kept her like a priſoner with a ſmall penſion at Wincheſter, where ſhe remained till his death. Malmſbury, lib. ii. c. 13.

Laſtly, to complete the legend, they tell us that Emma, in memory of the plowſhares, ſettled nine manors upon the biſhopric of Wincheſter for ever. But where had that poor princeſs thoſe manors to diſpoſe of? For all writers of credit agree, that the king had ſeized all her land and treaſure, and left her but a ſmall penſion to ſubſiſt upon in her retreat. The plow-

[z] One thing that is ſurprizing in this account is, that no manner of notice was taken of the biſhop of Wincheſter. He was not, as it appears, proſecuted, nor put to the trial of ordeal; and yet the man is generally reckoned the moſt guilty: he is reputed to be the firſt tempter and enticer in a caſe of incontinence, which was further aggravated by the character he bore of a clergyman and a biſhop. The whole judgment, it ſeems, fell upon the poor queen, which adds farther to the diſcredit of the ſtory.

ſhares, it ſeems, were buried in the church. But why ſhould they be buried? Why not rather preſerved and ſhewn as proofs and memorials of that wonderful deliverance? For my part, I rather wonder the monks did not forge ſome ſince that time, and produce them as vouchers of this ſtory. If thoſe are buried, I believe they lie ſo deep under ground, that they will never be found as long as the world endures. It is no matter if this fable was alſo buried in oblivion, and never appeared again in the Engliſh hiſtory. I have often thought it was one of thoſe pious frauds that were ſo common in thoſe ages, and the forgery of the monks (who have always been good at that kind of mint and theſe holy tricks) to create a reſpect, raiſe veneration for their cathedral, and to procure gifts and offerings to the ſhrine of St. Swithin, to whoſe powerful interceſſion they imputed this miraculous deliverance. But I believe now that it was not purely their own invention; that they only vamped up an old ſtory, and to ſerve the purpoſe I have juſt now mentioned, and applied it to this Engliſh queen. The ſtory I mean is a paſſage concerning Cunigunda, wife to Henry II. emperor of Germany, which is related by Baronius, Surius, Bellandus, and ſome other writers. I ſhall give it in the words of monſieur Heiſs, the late accurate author of the hiſtory of the German empire, which run thus. "Henry II. had lived "with his wife Cunigunda in perpetual continence during his "marriage, for which extraordinary chaſtity, and for his other "remarkable virtues, he was placed by the church among "the ſaints after his death. The ſame honour was done to "his empreſs, who after his deceaſe had retired to a nunnery, "lived a recluſe and religious life, and died with the charac-"ter and reputation of a ſaint. This princeſs however, not-"withſtanding her great appearance of chaſtity, had once "given violent ſuſpicions of infidelity to her huſband; to "clear herſelf from theſe, ſhe was obliged to walk over red-"hot iron plowſhares, which ſhe performed without receiv-"ing the leaſt hurt. This extraordinary deliverance filled "the emperor with the utmoſt confuſion, gave him the great-"eſt uneaſineſs, and made him heartily repent his driving the "matter to ſuch an extremity, and putting his wife to ſo ſe-"vere a trial." I do not at all queſtion but the monks firſt, and after them the Engliſh writers (I have quoted above) borrowed from thoſe hiſtorians this fact which happened but twenty-five years before the pretended trial of Emma, and ſo aſcribed to an Engliſh queen, what literally happened to a German empreſs.

DISSERTATION VI.

Of the Death of WILLIAM RUFUS.

THE tragical end of this prince is thus related by the Engliſh hiſtorians: Sir John Heyward ſaith, "That "as he was hunting at Choringham in the New Foreſt, he "ſtruck a deer lightly with an arrow, and ſtopt his horſe to "look after the deer, holding his hand before his eyes, be-"cauſe the ſun-beams dazzled his ſight. Another deer croſ-"ſing the way, Sir Walter Tyrrel ſhooting at it too care-"leſsly, or at the king too ſteadily, ſhot him full in the "breaſt and killed him. Mr. Daniel relates the matter thus: "The king being hunting with his brother Henry, in the "New Foreſt, Sir Walter Tyrrel, a [a] Norman, and his "kinſman, ſhooting at a deer, whether miſtaking his mark "or not, is uncertain, ſhot him to the heart, ſo that he im-"mediately died, in the 13th year of his reign, and 44th of "his age. A prince, who for the firſt two years of his "reign, while either through fear or deſign, he followed the "wiſe councils of biſhop Lanfrank, behaved himſelf as one of "the beſt of princes, and might have had an abſolute govern-"ment of all his ſubjects, if he had continued to ſeek it by "endearing acts; but ſeeking to eſtabliſh it by force, made "both himſelf and his people miſerable.

Theſe modern relations agree with thoſe of the moſt an-tient writers, as Florence of Worceſter, Malmſbury, and Simeon of Durham. But, notwithſtanding theſe authorities, I muſt confeſs I have always had ſome ſuſpicion as to that part of the hiſtory that relates to the perſon who is ſaid to have been the author of the death of that king. For can it be imagined that there ſhould follow no trial and proſecution upon ſuch a fact? That not ſo much notice ſhould be taken of the accidental death of a prince, as is ever done of the death by chance-medley of the meaneſt ſubject? Suppoſing, (as Rapin relates) the knight took care to withdraw and to fly out of the land; yet is it poſſible there ſhould enſue no

[a] Ordericus Vitatis ſaith, he was a French knight, and a native of Pontoiſe, in the iſle of France.

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proſecution, or proceſs, no ſummons of appearance, no attainder or outlawry ſhould follow? eſpecially ſince, from the accounts I have given, it appears that there was ſome ſuſpicion of treaſon. What I believe is, that the king was killed in that foreſt, and by one of his own ſubjects, who might perhaps take this opportunity to deliver himſelf and the nation from a very bad prince: For it is certain, he was a great tyrant and oppreſſor, and much hated and deteſted by the people; that Sir Walter finding the ſuſpicion to fall upon him, as being a foreigner, like a wiſe man, choſe to withdraw and depart out of the land; and that the king not finding the evidence clear and full againſt him, took no farther notice of it, but let the matter drop. And this is not a bare conjecture, and without authority to ſupport it. For an hiſtorian of this age, a writer of good credit, ſaith, that though Florence of Worceſter, Malmſbury, and Simeon of Durham, agree in the place and the perſon that killed the king, yet there are authors of that very age, who not only doubt, but poſitively deny, that Tyrrel had any hand in it. Since that gentleman has not thought fit to quote thoſe authors by name, I will venture to produce one that lived at that very time, was acquainted with Tyrrel himſelf, and is eſteemed an author of great weight and credit. I mean the famous abbot Sager, who was ſo conſiderable a perſon in France, as to be entruſted with the regency of that kingdom during the abſence of Lewis the Younger in the Holy Land, and has written the life of Lewis the Fat, in which we read theſe words. "Sir Walter Tyrrel "(ſaith he) was accuſed of killing the king with an arrow "in hunting. But I have heard him (at a time when he "could have no reaſon either to hope or fear) declare, in the "moſt ſolemn manner, that he never was at that time in "that part of the foreſt, and never once ſaw the king the "whole day in which he died."

Tyrrel.

As the world is ready to paſs a verdict and cenſure upon remarkable events, and to impute them right or wrong to the judgments of God, ſo moſt of the writers, both antient and modern, have aſcribed the tragical death of this prince to the crimes and ſacrilege of the conqueror his father, who, to make room for his hunting, had deſtroyed and depopulated a vaſt tract of land, and had demoliſhed a hundred and thirty villages, and pulled down as many churches to make this foreſt, that proved ſo fatal afterwards to his family. For, beſides Rufus himſelf, Richard, ſecond ſon to the conqueror, and another of the ſame name, ſon to Robert duke of Normandy, all met with their deaths in the ſame foreſt. But ſurely there

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is no need to load this prince with the guilt of his father, who had a ſufficient ſhare of his own to draw God's judgments upon him, ſince he was (as I have already obſerved) a very wicked prince, guilty of all manner of injuſtice and oppreſſion. He had, as Rapin obſerves, all the vices, and not one virtue and good quality of his father, and is generally reckoned one of the worſt princes that ever ſat upon the Engliſh throne. The monks (who hated him becauſe he was the firſt king that ſeized the vacant biſhopricks and benefices, took the profits of them himſelf, and, when he had enjoyed them long enough, uſed to diſpoſe of them to the beſt bidder, which practice he continued to the very laſt. For at his death, he had actually got into his hands the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, the biſhopricks of Wincheſter and Saliſbury, twelve rich abbeys, beſides ſeveral good benefices. The monks, I ſay, who hated him mortally upon that account, took care to blacken and revile his memory, and ſpread ſeveral idle fables, and ſpiteful ſtories of him after his death. They gave out, among other things, that a monk dreamed that he ſaw the king gnaw a crucifix with his teeth, and that, as he was going to bite off the legs, the image with his foot ſpurned him to the ground, and that, as he lay down, a flame of fire and ſmoke came out of his mouth; that the very ground where he received the fatal arrow had been the foundation of a church which his father had pulled down; and alſo, that the tree on which the fatal arrow glanced, that pierced him through the body, was the very oak which ever ſince that time has bloomed and budded at Chriſtmas, which miraculous quality, they ſay, was communicated to it for having been inſtrumental in the death of the tyrant. But the moſt ſilly and ridiculous ſtory of all is, that on the day the king was killed, a gentleman of his retinue ſaw a black goat carrying a body all bloody upon his back, and that the beaſt told the perſon who aſked what it was, that it was king Rufus's body, which he was carrying to hell to be puniſhed for his ſacrilege. Rapin.

As the manner of carrying off and burying the king's body is not related by any hiſtorian that I know of, and has ſomething very remarkable in it, I ſhall ſet down the tradition which is believed at this day by the people in the New Foreſt, and which I had from a perſon of good credit, who lived for ſome time in thoſe parts. The account runs thus: Rufus's body being forſaken by all his courtiers and attendants, who haſtened to worſhip the riſing ſun, and to make their court to his brother, a gentleman ordered it to be removed, and

for

for want of a more honourable conveyance, cauſed it to be put into the cart of one Purchas, that dealt in the charcoal trade, who carried it to Wincheſter, where it was interred by the monks of St. Swithin. It is remarkable, that there is a family of the ſame name and occupation of the coal-trade to this day in the foreſt. The ſpot of ground where the king fell has, they ſay, been ſince called Mineſteed, from his crying out, Mineſteed, Mineſteed, calling for his horſe that had run away from him. I will not vouch for the truth of this particular, but it is the tradition believed in that country. I have ſeen at Lindhurſt a ſtirrup, which it is reported belonged to William Rufus, the circumference of which was made the rule and ſtandard of the dogs allowed to be kept in the foreſt, and continues to be ſo this day; it is big enough for a pretty large dog to go eaſily through it.

DISSERTATION VII.

Remarks upon the Reign of King JOHN.

I AM now come to one of the moſt ſad and melancholy times that is to be met with in the Engliſh hiſtory. Never was nation more harraſſed and convulſed, or underwent more revolutions and calamities during one ſingle reign. The pope firſt gave away the kingdom to Philip king of France. King John to prevent his dominions from falling into the hands of the French, made a gift of reſignation to the pope. The barons, following their examples, gave in their turn the kingdom to Lewis the dauphin of France; and (if we believe ſome writers) king John made an offer of it to Miramumalin, the great king of Morocco; ſo that in the compaſs of about four years, the kingdom of England was four times given away, a misfortune, that I believe never happened to any nation before.

As to the character of king John, no doubt it was extremely bad. His unnatural behaviour to his brother, whoſe kingdom he endeavoured to uſurp in his abſence; his cruelty to him afterwards, in rendring his confinement as long, painful and uneaſy as he could; and laſtly, the murder of his nephew Arthur, the lawful and undoubted heir to the crown, which, it is ſaid, he had the barbarity to commit with his own hands, and which he never once offered to clear himſelf of, are ſtains of ſuch a nature, as nothing can waſh away and excuſe. But as bad as his character was, I am apt to think it was made a great deal worſe than it was, and that he was drawn in darker lines and deeper colours, than he really deſerved. He lived in an age, when the monks were the framers and keepers of the records, and almoſt the ſole treaſurers of hiſtory, and theſe king John had (like a neſt of hornets) drawn all upon himſelf, and uſed all the means imaginable to render his mortal enemies. He made an open jeſt of the religion he profeſſed, and upon all occaſions uſed the clergy and monks with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity. We are told, that as he was once preſent at the breaking up of a buck that proved very fat, he cried out merrily, "See "how fat this creature is, and yet it never once heard maſs."

To

To the jeſts he made upon religion, king John added the moſt cruel uſage of the clergy and monks. Nothing could be more ſhocking and provoking than his behaviour towards them. The high ſheriff of Wales having ſent a man bound to the king, who had robbed a prieſt upon the road, and murdered him, and deſired his pleaſure about the malefactor; he anſwered, "He has killed one of my enemies, untie him, "and let him go about his buſineſs." About the ſame time, Jeffery the arch-deacon of Norwich, who had ſaid, that beneficed men could not lawfully remain in the ſervice of an excommunicated king, was by that prince's order caſt into priſon, and there loaded with ſo heavy a cope of lead, that he periſhed with the weight of it, together with the want of proviſions. He alſo cauſed the poor hermit of Wakefield to be unjuſtly hanged, who had prophecied he would not be king after the next Aſcenſion-day. I ſay unjuſtly hanged, ſince the poor man's prediction was literally fulfilled by king John's reſigning his kingdom to the pope. Laſtly, to mention but one more cruelty, when he aſſembled a parliament, and propoſed to them to grant him an aid or ſubſidy of three ſhillings on every hide of land, to pay the dowry of his niece Blanch of Caſtile, which he had engaged himſelf to give to Philip king of France, this propoſal met with great oppoſition; among others that oppoſed this extraordinary levy, the abbots of the Ciſtercian order coming in a body to make him a humble remonſtrance againſt it, king John, who was on horſeback, and juſt going to hunt, was ſo provoked at their oppoſition, that he ſpurred his horſe, rid in among them, and maimed and trampled them under foot [a]. After ſuch uſage as this, we cannot wonder that the monks took their revenge, and as they were the only writers of figure in thoſe days, ſhould tranſmit his character to poſterity, in the moſt dark and frightful colours, of which I ſhall ſoon give a remarkable inſtance.

[a] To atone for this fact, he built and richly endowed the abby of Beaulieu in Hampſhire, whither he ſent ſome Ciſtercian monks from France. He did not live to ſee the place conſecrated. This was done after his death by his ſon the king of the Romans, who invited king Henry III. the queen, and many nobles, to the ceremony. Theſe monks were fetched from France, as appears by ſeveral names of places there that are ſtill entirely French. They wore a black caſſock, a white gown, and red ſhoes. The revenues of this abbey were (ſaith Speed) 428 l. a year. The ſanctuary of Beaulieu was famous; thither fled queen Margaret, wife to Henry VI. after the battle of Barnet, and regiſtred herſelf, ſon, and family, as perſons privileged. Perkin Warbeck alſo fled thither, from whence, king Henry VII. being unwilling to violate the ſanctuary, by fair words and promiſes perſuaded him to ſurrender himſelf. This abbey, at the diſſolution, was given to the lord Southampton's family, from which, by marriage, it came to the duke of Montague's.

My

My deſign in theſe preſent remarks is not to trace every ſtep of this unhappy reign. This would carry me into too great a length, and may be ſeen at large in the writers of this prince's life. I ſhall only ſingle out two particulars, about which the hiſtorians have differed, and which have not, I conceive, been ſet in the cleareſt light. The firſt is the embaſſy, which it is ſaid he ſent to the king of Morocco and Africa. The ſecond, the manner of the death of this king. As to the embaſſy to the king of Morocco, the firſt writer that mentions it, is Matthew Paris, who wrote in the ſucceeding reign. Daniel, who took it from him, relates it in this manner. "King John ſent an embaſſage by Sir Thomas Hardington, Ralph Fitz-nichols, and Robert of London Clerc, "his commiſſioners to Miramumalin the Moor, the great "king of Africa, Morocco and Spain, who was then the "terror of all Chriſtendom, with his mighty army, promiſing him to reſign his kingdom to him, and hold it "ever after by tribute from him, as ſovereign lord, to forſake the Chriſtian faith, which he held vain, and to become "Mahometan, if he would lend him a ſufficient aid to accompliſh his deſigns. But they returned with an ineffectual "anſwer, either becauſe (as his enemies the monks relate) "he diſdained the baſeneſs and impiety of the offer, or that "he was unable to do it by reaſon of the overthrow of his "great army, with the death of his ſon, which happened "ſoon after."

This is the account of Matthew Paris, which Daniel, by his manner of telling it, plainly ſhows, that he gave no credit to, but looked upon it as a fable and invention of the monks. The author of the notes upon him, in Kennet's edition of the Compleat Hiſtory of England, inclines to believe the ſtory to be true, and thinks that Matthew Paris, who wrote in the reign of this king's ſon, and by his encouragement, would not have dared to relate ſo ſcandalous an affair, had it not been matter of fact. Rapin denies the force of this argument, becauſe the ſame writer had made bold on ſome occaſions with the character of king Henry himſelf. Beſides, books were not then, as they are now, publiſhed as ſoon as they were wrote, but were often kept dormant in a monaſtery, if there was any reaſon to conceal and ſuppreſs them. However, Rapin himſelf thinks, there is no likelihood of the ſtory's being true. Salmon likewiſe declares, he gives no manner of credit to it. "It is impoſſible (ſaith he) to ſuppoſe that any prince at that diſ-

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" tance from England, would have been of any ſervice to " him in carrying on his deſigns."

Having laid down the opinions of the ſeveral writers concerning the fact in queſtion, as fairly as I could, I ſhall now humbly propoſe my own. I take this ſtory then to be a compound and mixture of falſehood and truth, which I ſhall endeavour to ſeparate, and to ſet the matter in the cleareſt light I can. I make no queſtion but an embaſſy was actually ſent to Morocco by king John. The account of Matthew Paris, who lived in the next reign, is ſo circumſtantial, the names of the ambaſſadors, and perſons concerned, are ſo exactly ſet down, that the fact in the main can hardly be denied. Salmon's objection, that it cannot be ſuppoſed that any prince at that diſtance from England, could be of any ſervice to him, ſeems at firſt view to carry ſome ſtrength along with it; but, alas! what twig will not a man catch at that is juſt ready to ſink! What diſtant proſpect will not a prince embrace? What aſſiſtance will he not accept of, that is in the diſtreſs that king found himſelf in; the king of France, the pope, and the barons, all conſpiring againſt him? It is certain he endeavoured to ſupport himſelf by foreign auxiliaries. We are ſure he had made a treaty with Sancho king of Navarre, who was not ſo powerful as the African prince, nor, to come cloſer to Salmon's objection, much nearer to England than he. For though Miramumalin is called by the hiſtorians king of Africa and Morocco, it is certain he was maſter of a great part of Spain, which made him almoſt as near a neighbour as the king of Navarre, with whom king John was certainly in alliance, as appears from the Collections of Rymer, where the original deed is to be ſeen. I wonder Rapin, who made good uſe of thoſe curious papers, took no manner of notice of this treaty, ſince it alſo relates to the king of Morocco, and ſeems to ſolve the preſent difficulty, and to make good what I endeavour to prove, that there was an alliance between the king of England and that African prince. The deed I mean in Rymer, is a treaty by which king John and Sancho engage to defend one another againſt all but the king of Morocco; which I conceive does plainly intimate, that theſe two princes were in league with Miramumalin, who is expreſsly excepted from the number of their enemies. From which I preſume it is plain that king John did really ſend an embaſſy to the Saracen prince, to make a treaty with him, and to beg his aſſiſtance againſt his enemies, which he was prevented from doing, not by any indignation at the king's offer to change his religion, which is ridiculous to ſuppoſe in

a heathen prince, but by a great overthrow which his army had received, and the death of his ſon which ſoon after happened. As to the reſt of the ſtory, his offering to reſign his crown, and change his religion, the formal ſpeech [b] which Matthew Paris puts into the mouth of the Saracen prince, who commends St. Paul and his epiſtles, which he ſaith he had lately read, and ſhews a willingneſs to embrace Chriſtianity, the ſcorn and contempt with which it is ſaid Miramumalin received this meſſage, and diſmiſſed his embaſſadors: All theſe particulars, I take for granted, are the fiction of the monks, charitable additions of thoſe his enemies, from whom that hiſtorian, who lived in the ſucceeding reign, took them and inſerted them into his work, or are perhaps artful ſuggeſtions, and inſinuations of thoſe creatures of the pope, in order to excuſe the hard and cruel uſage of that prelate, who forced him to reſign the crown to himſelf, as if he, like a true father of the church, out of a pious zeal and a tender concern for a Chriſtian kingdom, choſe rather to take poſſeſſion of it himſelf, than ſuffer it to fall into the hands of an infidel prince.

The other particular relating to king John, which I propoſed to examine, and about which the hiſtorians are divided, is the manner of his death. Daniel who took this account, as well as the other, from Matthew Paris, relates it in this manner. "But this miſchief which had continued all the "ſummer, came to an end about the latter end of October, "when a burning fever ſeized upon this fiery king. The "cauſe of it was thought to proceed from the extreme grief "he had conceived for the loſs of his carriages, which paſſing over the ſands between Lynn and Boſton, were loſt; "and was encreaſed by a ſurfeit of peaches and new ale, "gotten at the abbey of Swinſtead, from whence he was "conveyed in great weakneſs to Newark, where, after he "had received the Euchariſt, and taken order about the ſucceſſion of his ſon Henry, he died in the fifty firſt year of

[b] I ſhall give it in the words of Collier. This prince being a prince of ſenſe and elocution, after he had pauſed a little upon the propoſal, gave this anſwer. "I have lately peruſed a "Greek book, written by one Paul, a "learned Chriſtian. I am very much "pleaſed with the doctrine, hiſtory, "and behaviour of this man. How-"ever, his quitting his religion he was "bred in, and turning to a new belief "does not pleaſe me; and I muſt tell "you, your king is much to blame for "his inconſtancy, and for diſcovering "himſelf inclined to renounce the in-"ſtitution of Chriſtianity. God Al-"mighty knows, were I at liberty "to chuſe my perſuaſion, Chriſtianity "ſhould certainly be my religion." In ſhort, Miramumalin deſpiſed king John for making ſo ſcandalous an offer, and refuſed to engage with him. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. i.

" his age, having reigned eighteen years, five months, and " four days." In this account of king John's death, Daniel is followed by ſome other writers, and among the reſt, by the two laſt Engliſh hiſtorians, Mr. Rapin and Mr. Salmon. The firſt of theſe ſaith, " It was reported the king had been poiſoned " by the monks of Swinſtead; but as it is not mentioned by the " contemporary writers, there is no manner of likelyhood of " its being true." Mr. Salmon's account runs thus: " The " king paſſed the Waſh with moſt of his army in pretty good " order, but the tide coming on ſooner than it was expected, " he loſt all his baggage, treaſure, regalia, and ſome of his " troops; and either by the fatigue of the march, or the " concern for his loſs, he fell ill of a fever at Swinſtead-abbey, " and the next morning not being able to ride, was carried " in a litter to Newark, and died there. As to the ſtory of " his being poiſoned by the monks of Swinſtead-abbey, while " he continued there, I find the beſt of our hiſtorians give " no credit to it."

But on the other ſide, there are writers of note, who do not look upon this account of the king's death as altogether fabulous. Among the antient ones there are two monks, Caxton and Walter de Hemmingford, and among the moderns, Fox, Fuller, Speed, and Howel, are poſitive for the poiſon. Howel relates it from thoſe monkiſh writers thus: " Moſt " report, that the king died of poiſon. For coming (ſay they) " from the Waſhes to Swinſtead-abbey, and there taking " notice, as he ſat at meat, of their too prodigal proviſions, " he ſwore, that if he lived but an half-year longer, he " would make an half-penny loaf as dear as twelve. To " prevent which, a monk preſented him with an envenomed " cup, taking firſt thereof himſelf, ſo becoming the wicked " inſtrument of his own and his ſovereign's death. He was " buried at [e] Worceſter." Walter de Hemmingford agrees that he was poiſoned, but differs in the manner it was done. He ſaith, it was performed by a poiſoned diſh of pears. The remarker upon Daniel's hiſtory, lays ſome ſtreſs upon this difference of the accounts, which he thinks adds to the diſcredit of the ſtory. But this, I think, is not very material, ſince it is poſſible, the monks, to make ſurer work, might poiſon both the cup and diſh, which they ſerved up at his table. The whole ſtreſs of the difficulty conſiſts in the ſilence of Matthew Paris, who, as I have ſhown above, ſaith not a word of the poiſon, but imputes the king's death to a fever,

[e] Rapin by a miſtake ſaith Wincheſter.

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contracted either by the fatigue of the march, or the grief and concern for the loſs of his carriages. To this it may be replied, that though this writer ſaith nothing of it in his account of king John, yet, in the life of his ſon, he plainly intimates, that king Henry believed his father had not fair play for his life, but was poiſoned by the monks of Swinſtead. It is likely therefore it was only then a common report without any certain proof, which Matthew Paris might be unwilling to publiſh, and upon ſo ſlender an evidence expoſe thoſe monks to the indignation and revenge of the king, or perhaps the matter did not come out till a good while afterwards, and till the death of thoſe perſons, that were concerned in the fact. It will be ſaid, that theſe are all meer ſuppoſitions; I grant it, but I would rather ſuppoſe any thing, than believe the monks could be guilty of forging ſuch a ſtory. Thoſe that invent lies and falſehoods to corrupt hiſtory, always do it with ſome end or deſign, either out of national zeal to magnify the glory and greatneſs of their country, to raiſe the worth and merit of the princes and kings, whom they bring upon the ſcene, or to gratify ſome paſſion, as ſpight, anger, and revenge. But no men were ever ſo mad as to publiſh lies without ſome end and view, much leſs to their own prejudice and diſadvantage, which is the very caſe before us. For what could theſe monkiſh writers expect from ſuch an impoſture (if it was one) but to draw a diſgrace and ſcandal upon their own order, to expoſe themſelves as regicides, to the hatred and deteſtation of mankind, to the wrath and indignation of princes. Theſe reaſons, I conceive, are ſufficient to ſhew, that theſe monks had a deep hand in the death of this prince, ſince nothing but the force of truth could ever draw ſuch a confeſſion from their pens.

The End of the Fifth Volume.

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